East Meets West in the Middle Ages and Early Modern Times

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Fundamentals of Medieval and Early Modern Culture

Edited by
Albrecht Classen and Marilyn Sandidge

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East Meets West in the Middle Ages and Early Modern Times

Transcultural Experiences in the Premodern World

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Table of Contents

Introduction
Albrecht Classen
Encounters Between East and West in the
Middle Ages and Early Modern Age:
Many Untold Stories About Connections
and Contacts, Understanding and Misunderstanding.
Also an Introduction
1. New Voices Reflecting Contacts Between Latin-Europa
and the Muslim World 1
2. Xenology and Intercultural Research 5
3. Orientalism, Postcolonial Studies, and the Premodern World 12
4. Economic, Political, and Cultural Connections:
Ignored but Significant Features Under the Radar Screen 16
5. Literary Reflections on the Foreign in Medieval Literature 19
6. Arab Writers, Geographers, and Travelers 24
7. St. Francis of Assisi's Attempt to Reach Out to
the Saracens: The First Peaceful Missionizing
in the Thirteenth Century 41
8. The Christian Perspective: Pilgrimage to the Holy Land
A First Step Into a Vast Field 46
9. The Diplomat Pilgrim Bertrandon de la Broquière 49
10. The Helpful Saracen in Margery Kempe's *Book*:
A Mystical Woman's Perception of the Foreign World 57
11. Locations of Contacts Between East and West 58
12. Travel as a Medium of Cultural Contacts 65
13. Curiosity Among Muslim Travelers? 66
14. Jewish Travelers in the Middle Ages 68
15. A Parallel Christian Travel Account and
Literary Narrative: *Fortunatus* 77
16. Jewish Communities in the Diaspora 79
17. Historical Contacts Between East and West 80
18. Rabbi Petachia of Ratisbona 81
19. Additional Jewish Perspectives 85

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Authenticated
Download Date | 2/16/15 1:55 AM

20. Christian Pilgrim Narratives in the Late Middle Ages 92
21. The Most Astute Observer and Reporter: Felix Fabri 93
22. A Brief Comparison with Giovanni Boccaccio: *Decameron* 120
23. Trouble and Conflicts: Christian Pilgrims and Muslim Population 122
24. Bernhard von Breydenbach's *Peregrinatio* 130
25. Other Contacts and Contact Zones 135
26. Europeans and the Ottoman World 137
27. Anton von Pforr's German Adaptation of Indian Literature: Cross-Cultural Experiences in the Late Middle Ages 153
28. Origin and Framework of this Volume 165
29. Summaries of the Contributions and Critical Reflections 166
30. Conclusion and Outlook 211

Acknowledgments 217

Chapter 1
Linda T. Darling
Mirrors for Princes in Europe and the Middle East: A Case of Historiographical Incommensurability 223

Chapter 2
Courtney Catherine Barajas
Reframing the Monstrous: Visions of Desire and a Unified Christendom in the Anglo-Saxon *Wonders of the East* 243

Chapter 3
Glen M. Cooper
Byzantium between East and West: Competing Hellenisms in the *Alexiad* of Anna Komnene and her Contemporaries 263

Chapter 4
Alan V. Murray
Franks and Indigenous Communities in Palestine and Syria (1099–1187): A Hierarchical Model of Social Interaction in the Principalities of Outremer 291

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Chapter 5
K. A. Tuley
A Century of Communication and Acclimatization:
Interpreters and Intermediaries in
the Kingdom of Jerusalem 311

Chapter 6
Jens T. Wollesen
East Meets West and the Problem with Those Pictures 341

Chapter 7
Christopher R. Clason
Walther von der Vogelweide and the Middle East:
"Holy Land" and the Heathen 389

Chapter 8
Heiko Hartmann
Wolfram's Islam: The Beliefs of the Muslim Pagans
in *Parzival* and *Willehalm* 427

Chapter 9
Andrew Holt
Crusading against Barbarians: Muslims as
Barbarians in Crusades Era Sources 443

Chapter 10
Albrecht Classen
The Encounter with the Foreign in Medieval and Early
Modern German Literature: Fictionality as a
Springboard for Non-Xenophobic Approaches
in the Middle Ages. *Herzog Ernst*, Wolfram von Eschenbach,
Konrad von Würzburg, *Die Heidin*, and *Fortunatus* 457

Chapter 11
Patricia E. Black
Rumi's *Mathnawi* and the *Roman de la Rose*:
The Space of Narrative 489

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Chapter 12
Connie L. Scarborough
The Moors in Thirteenth-Century Spain: "They are Us!" 505

Chapter 13
Mark T. Abate
The Reorientation of Roger Bacon:
Muslims, Mongols, and the Man Who Knew Everything 523

Chapter 14
Jean E. Jost
The Exotic and Fabulous East in *The Travels of Sir John Mandeville*: Understated Authenticity 575

Chapter 15
Scott L. Taylor
Merveilles du Monde: Marco Millioni, *Mirabilia*, and the Medieval Imagination, or the Impact of Genre on European *Curiositas* 595

Chapter 16
Romedio Schmitz-Esser
Embalming and Dissecting the Corpse between East and West: From Ar-Razi to Henry de Mondeville 611

Chapter 17
Stefanie Helmschrott
West-östliche Dialoge in der *Mörin* Hermanns von Sachsenheim (1453) 625

Chapter 18
Denis Bjaï
La représentation de l'Orient dans les *Essais* de Montaigne 649

Chapter 19
Thomas Willard
The Strange Journey of Christian Rosencreutz 667

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Download Date | 2/16/15 1:55 AM

Chapter 20
Ramón E. Duarte
Producing *Yeni Dünya* for an Ottoman Readership:
The Travels of Ilyas bin Hanna al-Mawsuli in
Colonial Latin America, 1675–1683 699

Chapter 21
Allison P. Coudert
Orientalism in Early Modern Europe? 715

Chapter 22
Pascale Barthe
A Seventeenth-Century French Merchant in the Orient:
The Portrait of Jean-Baptiste Tavernier in *Les six voyages* 757

List of Illustrations 781

Contributors 787

Index 797

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Encounters Between East and West in the Middle Ages and Early Modern Age

Many Untold Stories About Connections and Contacts, Understanding and Misunderstanding

Also an Introduction

Albrecht Classen

1. New Voices Reflecting Contacts Between Latin-Europa and the Muslim World

The tenth-century Hispano-Arabic traveler, diplomat, perhaps spy, and certainly most open-minded and curious author, Abraham ben Jacob, better known under his Arabic name of Ibrāhīm ibn Ya`qūb al-Isrā'īlī al-Turṭūshī, can be identified as one of the earliest reporters about Eastern, Slavic, but also northern Europe, including Germany.[1] He originated from Moorish-ruled Turṭūšah, or Tortosa, close to the estuary of the Ebro in northeastern Spain; he himself may also have lived in Córdoba, considering his political function at the court there. In 961–962 he traveled throughout Western and Central Europe and in Italy.[2] Since he was

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1 Abdurrahmane al-Hajji, *Andalusian Diplomatic Relations with Western Europe During the Umayyad Period (A.H. 138–366/A.D. 755–976): An Historical Survey* (Beirut: Dar al-Irshad, 1970), 245; Ahmad Nazmi, *Commercial Relations Between Arabs and Slavs (9th–11th Centuries)*. Dzieje orientu (Warsaw: Akademickie DIALOG, 1998), 40; Semen Rapoport, "On the Early Slavs, The Narrative of Ibrahim ibn Yakub," *The Slavonic and East European Review* 8 (1929): 331–41; here 333. See also the contributions to *Ibrahim ibn Ya'qub at-Turtushi: Christianity, Islam and Judaism Meet in East-Central Europe, c.800–1300 A.D.: Proceedings of the International Colloquy 25–29 April 1994*, ed. Petr Charvát and Jiří Prosecký (Prague: Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic, Oriental Institute, 1996).

2 Lutz Richter-Bernburg, "Ibrāhīm ibn Yāqūb al-Isrā''īlī al-Tūrṭūshī," *The Oxford Companion to World Exploration*, ed. David Buisseret. 2 vols. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), I: 402b–403b. Many times I will refer to Arabic names and terms in the following pages. I have tried my best to render them in the proper fashion, with all the necessary macrons and other specific Arabic letters,

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officially received in audience by the Holy Roman Emperor Otto I during the first week of February of 962, perhaps in Magdeburg (today northeastern Germany), he might have been in the service of the Umayyad Caliph of Córdoba, al-Hakam II (ca. 961–973).

His work is widely known as the first reliable description of the Polish state under Mieszko I, the first historical ruler of Poland.[3] He is also noted for his description of the Vikings living in Hedeby, the Nakonid fortification at "Dorf Mecklenburg" and of what was, in all likelihood, the nucleus of the later ducal castle and palace at Schwerin. His descriptions of the Slavic world in Poland and then in Bohemia would not be so exciting for us today if they did not originate from a Hispano-Arabic writer at such an early age, which signals clearly how little our modern concepts of the divide between East and West in the Middle Ages and the early modern ages, specifically in cultural-historical terms, correspond with the actual reality at that time. If northeastern Poland was well within the reach of a Muslim traveler from al-Andalus, many other visits and contacts can well be imagined.

In his account, Abraham discusses, among other aspects, also the cities of Prague and Magdeburg, the territory of Prussia, the kingdom of Bulgaria, always with a focus on commercial activities, and then turns his attention to the climatic conditions, the cultural idiosyncracies, building styles, and the sexual mores of unmarried and married people.[4] It would be a fruitful effort to compare his account with that provided by the Venetian traveler Marco Polo from the end of the thirteenth century because we would probably recognize a surprising number of parallels in interests, topics, and attitudes toward the foreign world. From there we should move into the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries when the number of global travelers increased dramatically, while the basic patterns of intercultural contacts and awareness of otherness and linguistic challenges, for instance, did not change fundamentally, as we will see below.

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but being not an Arabist, I cannot fully vouch for the complete correctness of the transcriptions. In the sources we also observe a considerable degree of variances in that regard, especially because many scholars simply ignore those diacritial marks. I have also worked closely with the various contributors to secure the highest possible accuracy in that regard, but I must beg the reader for some indulgence if we have not met all expectations.

3 W. Sarnecki and D. Nicolle, *Medieval Polish Armies 966–1500*. Men-at-Arms Series, 445 (Oxford and New York: Osprey Publishing, 2008); Gerard Labuda, *Mieszko I* (Wrocław: Zakłd Narodowy im. Ossolin'skich Wydawn, 2009).

4 *Relatio Ibrāhim Ibn Ja'kūb de itinere slavico, quae traditur apud Al-Bekrī*, ed. Thaddaeus Kowalski. Monumenta Poloniae Historica. Nova Series, I (Cracow: Polska Akademia Umiejetnosci, 1946), 138–51. In Arabic, the work is entitled as *Kītab al-mamālik wal-masālik*. Alauddin Samarrai, "Ibrāhīm Ibn Ya'qūb al-Isrā'īlī (fl. 960s)," *Trade, Travel, and Exploration in the Middle Ages: An Encyclopedia*, ed. John Block Friedmann and Kristen Mossler Figg (New York and London: Garland, 2000), 271.

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Abraham's visit to northern Germany to the court of Emperor Otto I had a surprising consequence for the world of religious literature. The Canoness Hrotsvita of Gandersheim (end of the tenth century), who was related to the emperor and seems to have had fairly close contacts with the imperial court, became familiar with the account of the martyr Pelagius who had suffered his death as a martyr in Córdoba for his courage to uphold his Christian faith at the Muslim court. Hrotsvita had most likely heard about him through reports provided by the Muslim travel group and their companions (perhaps one of their translators might have been a Christian). Subsequently Hrotsvita composed her own version, a legendary tale in which she portrays the Sultan in Córdoba as a homosexual—a common stereotype of Muslims constantly perpetuated by European Christian writers—who tried to seduce the young, beautiful, but virtuous man. But Pelagius harshly rejected him, hitting the Sultan even in his face when the latter requested a kiss from him, which naturally prompted the incensed ruler to have Pelagius executed. Hrotsvita's verse narrative can be identified as the first and only literary reflection in northern Germany from the early Middle Ages about the truly distant Iberian Peninsula.[5]

The historical facts, though often mixed in with legendary tales, as far as we can reconstruct them, are as follows: After the Arabs' victory over the Christian forces in Galicia against King Ordoño II of León in 921, Pelagius had been sent to Córdoba as a hostage for his defeated father. After three years in the dungeon, his beauty attracted the court's attention, so they brought him to the Caliph Abdurrahmane Al-Haji III (born 889/891; ruled 912–961), also known as Abd al-Rahmān ibn Muhammad ibn Abd Allāh).[6] He was said to entertain two harems

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5 Hrotsvit, *Opera* omnia, ed. Walter Berschin. bibliotheca scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana (Munich: Saur, 2001); for an English translation, see Hrotsvit of Gandersheim, *A Florilegium of Her Works*, trans. with intro., interpretive essay and notes by Katharina M. Wilson. Library of Medieval Women (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1998), 29–40; see also the contributions to *Hrotsvit of Gandersheim: Rara Avis in Saxonia?*, ed. Katharina M. Wilson. Medieval and Renaissance Monograph Series, VII (Ann Arbor, MI: Marc Publishing, 1987); and to *Hrotsvit of Gandersheim: Contexts, Identities, Affinities, and Performances*, ed. Phyllis R. Brown, Linda A. McMillin, and Katharina M. Wilson (Toronto and London: University of Toronto Press, 2004); Stephen L. Wailes, *Beyond Virginity: Flesh and Spirit in the Plays of Hrotsvit of Gandersheim* (Selinsgrove: Susquehanna University Press; Cranbury, NJ: Associated University Presses, 2006). I have researched the relationship between medieval Spain and medieval Germany in "Spain and Germany in the Middle Ages: An Unexplored Literary-Historical Area of Exchange, Reception, and Exploration," *The Lion and the Eagle. Interdisciplinary Essays on German-Spanish Relations over the Centuries*, ed. Conrad Kent, Thomas K. Wolber, and Cameron M. K. Hewitt (New York and Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2000), 47–76; and: "Espanya, València i Oswald von Wolkenstein: Geografia de la Baixa Edat Mitjana i història de la mentalitat geogràfica" (trans. Ferran Robles i Sabater), *Paisajes Espirituales. El Diálogo cultural entre Alemania y Valencia*, ed. Berta Raposo y José A. Calañas (Valencia: Generalitat Valenciana, 2003), 13–37.

6 E. Lévi-Provençal, "'Abd al-Raḥmān," *Encyclopaedia of Islam*. New Edition, ed. H. A.R. Gibb, J. H.

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for himself, one with women, the other with men; hence the charge of homosexuality against him. However, the young man, who soon gained the status of a martyr, steadfastly refused to convert to Islam, so he was condemned to death in 925.[7] In 967 Pelagius's relics were transferred to León, in 985 to Oviedo.

While the first written account of his martyrdom by the Spanish cleric Raguel dates from ca. 960, oral reports must have been well known even among the Arabic diplomats, led by the Mozarabic Bishop Recemundus of Elvira, at the court of Otto I, who must have been competent enough in Latin to communicate with the German courtiers and intellectuals or had Christians in their company, who could help them linguistically.[8] Although Recemundus never mentions Pelagius in his own writings, he included the saint's feast in his *calendarium* in 961. We can easily imagine that he included a reference to the young martyr in his discussions with the representatives of the Ottonian court to ingratiate himself there as a witness of the suffering of a major Christian martyr in Córdoba.[9]

Altogether, this rather obscure example, when carefully examined, sheds enormously illuminating light on the actual intercultural conditions even within early-medieval Europe across deep cultural, religious, and linguistic divides, where obviously some diplomatic relationships existed between al-Andalus on the southern Iberian Peninsula and the Holy Roman Empire under Otto I in northern Germany.[10] As much as we tend to regard the premodern world as rather limited or uninterested in foreign cultures, religions, and countries, here I will provide a vast sweep of how much travel was possible and eagerly pursued by Jewish, Christian, and Muslim intellects, scholars, artists, and politicians, who thus built a wide range of intercultural bridges.[11] If political exchanges between a major Muslim ruler in al-Andalus and the German emperor were in fact possible and

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Kramers, E. Lévi-Provençal, and J. Schacht. Vol. 1 (Leiden: E. J. Brill; London: Luzac & Co., 1960), 81–84, esp. 83–84. According to the information provided there, 'Abd al-Raḥmān did not really fight in Galicia, but in Asturio-León, especially conquering and sacking Pamplona in 920. The best and most updated study on these historical events seems to be the article in *Wikipedia*: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Abd-ar-Rahman_III (last accessed on Aug. 11, 2012). I will refer back to him below in the context of Jewish travelers in the Middle Ages.

7 *Butler's Lives of the Saints*. New full ed.: *August*, rev. by John Cumming (Collegeville, MN: The Liturgical Press, 1998), 288–89.

8 *Hrotsvithae Opera*, mit Einleitung und Kommentar von H. Homeyer (Munich, Paderborn, and Vienna: Ferdinand Schöningh, 1970), 123–29.

9 Linda A. McMillin, "'Weighed down with a thousand evils': Images of Muslims in Hrotsvit's *Pelagius*," *Hrotsvit of Gandersheim: Contexts, Identities* (see note 5), 40–55; here 41–42.

10 See also the contributions to *Al-Andalus und Europa: zwischen Orient und Okzident*, ed. Martina Müller-Wiener (Petersberg: M. Imhof, 2004).

11 Cf. also the excellent introduction by Juan Martos and Rosario Moreno Soldevila in Rosvita de Gandersheim, *Obras completas*. intro., trans., and notes [in Spanish]. Arias Montano, 78 (Huelva: Universidad de Huelva, 2005), xxi–-xxiv; see also M. C. Díaz y Díaz, "La pasión de S. Pelayo y su difusión," *Anuario de Estudios Medievales* 6 (1969): 97–116.

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actively pursued already in the tenth century, we ourselves might have to question whether political, economic, and artistic interests throughout the following centuries might not have continued as well, despite the Crusades.[12]

Linguistic aspects also have to be considered since cultural and political exchanges are only possible if the parties involved are familiar enough with the language/s spoken by the other side. Diplomats such as Ibrāhīm ibn Ya`qūb al-Isrā'īlī al-Turṭūshī (see above) could only accomplish their tasks of reaching out to political leaders in the target countries if they were linguistically competent enough to communicate across the various language divides. Both today and in the past, the problem in this regard gains in weight if Arabs and Latin-Europeans try to speak to each other, while those representing the various Indo-European languages enjoy many commonly shared linguistic elements.[13] We will encounter numerous examples below where European Christian pilgrims had to struggle very hard to cope linguistically in the Holy Land and beyond.

2. Xenology and Intercultural Research

Research in xenology (the study of the foreign or the encounter with the foreign/er) has progressed considerably in the last few years, with scholars examining both the philosophical underpinnings of the encounter between self and other and concrete documents reflecting those experiences in specific terms.[14]

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12 Mahmoud Makki, "The Political History of Al-Andalus," *The Legacy of Muslim Spain*, ed. Salma Khadra Jayyusi (Leiden: Brill, 1994), 3–60; Enrico Cerulli, "Le calife 'Abd ar-Raḥmān III de Cordoue et le martyr Pélage dans un poème de Hrotsvitha," *Studia Islamica* 32 (1970): 69–76.

13 Reinhard Schneider, *Vom Dolmetschen im Mittelalter: Sprachliche Vermittlung in weltlichen und kirchlichen Zusammenhängen*. Beihefte zum Archiv für Kulturgeschichte, 72 (Vienna: Böhlau, 2012), offers a fairly global survey without going into specific details or analyzing his sources.

14 In political terms, of course, throughout history the various countries/kingdoms have regularly tried to establish contacts with their neighbors or more distant lands if there were specific economic, political, or military interests; see, for instance, T. H. Lloyd, *Alien Merchants in England in the High Middle Ages* (Brighton: Harvester, 1982); Pierre Chaplais, *English Diplomatic Practice in the Middle Ages* (London: Hambledon and London, 2003); for a more specific angle, see the contributions to *Peace Treaties and International Law in European History: From the Late Middle Ages to World War One*, ed. Randall Lesaffer (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004); cf. also Torstein Jørgensen and Gastone Saletnich, *Letters to the Pope: Norwegian Relations to the Holy See in the Late Middle Ages* (Stavanger: Misjonshøgskolens, 1999). Still of relevance is C. F. Beckingham, *Between Islam and Christendom: Travellers, Facts and Legends in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance* (London: Variorum Reprints, 1983); *A Inglaterra e a Península Ibérica na Idade Média: séculos XII–XV: intercâmbios cultrais, literários e políticos*, ed. María Bullón-Fernández. Forum da história, 46 (Mem Martins: Publicaçöes Europa-Ameérica, 2008); *Western Europe, Eastern Europe and World Development, 13th–18th Centuries*, ed. Jean Batou and Hnryk Szlajfer. Studies in Critical Social Sciences, 16 (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2010). We should also not forget the Eastern perspective, considering, for instance, the Byzantine Empire and its neighbors; see *Die Awaren am Rand der*

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We probably would not overextend our critical reach if we argue that all cultural development has been predicated on the separation of self and other, of establishing borders and frontiers and, most importantly, of transgressing them again.[15]

As all historians can confirm, which unfortunately might be misconstrued as a political statement today, all borders throughout times and in all systems have lasted only temporarily and were eventually permeated so much that they became meaningless, such as the Chinese wall or the Roman *limes*, not to mention the border between East and West Germany from 1961 to 1989. As much as individual cultures might have tried to stay in splendid isolation (USA, China, Japan, North Korea), ultimately the outside/rs entered the interior space, exerted influence, and made the borders meaningless. This understanding is of fundamental relevance for all cultural history, both in past, and present, and also future.

Culture forms both internally and through an exchange with the exterior. While this might be more difficult to determine on the European continent, especially north of the Alps, the situation in the Mediterranean during the entire Middle Ages provides excellent insight into the exchanges among the various peoples, languages, religions, and economic and political entities. The Crusades and the subsequent wars between the Christians and the Arabic Muslims (later especially the Turks) represented just one dimension, but below the military surface we can always and rather easily recognize countless cultural, linguistic, mercantile, and perhaps even literary and artistic contacts of great profit for both sides. After all,

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byzantinischen Welt: Studien zu Diplomatie, Handel und Technologietransfer im Frühmittelalter, ed. Falko Daim, Júlia Andrási, and István Bóna. Monographien zur Frühgeschichte und Mittelalterarchäologie, 7 (Innsbruck: Universitätsverlag Wagner, 2000); see also the contributions to *Multicultural Europe and Cultural Exchange in the Middle Ages and Renaissance*, ed. James P. Helfers. Arizona Studies in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance, 12 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2005). For the study of xenology in related fields, see Munasu Duala-M'bedy, *Xenologie: die Wissenschaft vom Fremden und die Verdrängung der Humanität in der Anthropologie*. Fermenta philosophica (Freiburg i. Br.: K. Alber, 1977); see also the contributions to *L'Europe des religions: eléments d'analyse des champs religieux européens*, ed. Richard Friedli and Mallory Schneuwly Purdie. Studia Religiosa Helvetica, 8/9 (Bern: Peter Lang, 2004).

15 Undoubtedly, the examination of how people in the past engaged with others, if not 'the Other,' in practical and epistemological terms, represents a hugely productive hermeneutic enterprise, as a whole league of scholarship has already demonstrated. See, for instance, Götz Pochat, *Das Fremde im Mittelalter: Darstellung in Kunst und Literatur* (Würzburg: Echter, 1997); see also the contributions to *Meeting the Foreign in the Middle Ages*, ed. Albrecht Classen (New York and London: Routledge, 2002); and for theoretical reflections, see my introduction. See now also Frank Meier, *Gefürchtet und bestaunt: vom Umgang mit dem Fremden im Mittelalter* (Ostfildern: Thorbecke, 2007); *Den Fremden gibt es nicht: Xenologie und Erkenntnis*, ed Christian Bremshey. Kulturwissenschaft, 2 (Münster: Lit-Verlag, 2004). See also the contributions to *Fremdes wahrnehmen – fremdes Wahrnehmen: Studien zur Geschichte der Wahrnehmung und zur Begegnung von Kulturen in Mittelalter und früher Neuzeit*, ed. Wolfgang Harms and C. Stephen Jaeger, together with Alexandra Stein (Stuttgart and Leipzig: S. Hirzel, 1997).

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the Crusades were brilliantly engineered by the various popes and represented a masterpiece of global politics by the Holy See throughout the centuries, but this did not mean that the official propaganda fully represented the broader mentality, or that all people in Christian Europe fully embraced the image of the Muslims as their arch-enemies.[16]

Yaacov Lev recently offered a detailed study of the Fāṭimid dynasty and its attitude toward medieval (Christian) Europe. They ruled a huge empire that extended from northern Africa well into Egypt, then Palestine, and into the Middle East during the time from ca. 909 to ca. 1171. Although they commonly pursued military strategies against their neighbors, especially the Byzantines, they primarily worked hard to protect their own interests in Sicily and Syria. In Lev's words:

> The Fatimid raids on Italy were of peripheral significance, being an outcome of internal considerations to maintain their image as warriors of the holy war. They were not a reflection of bigotry toward the Christian world [, they were] rather marked by misunderstanding as exemplified by the Fatimid policy toward the First Crusade and their attempts to co-operate with the Franks against the Seljuks. This misguided policy reflects the basic inward Islamic orientation of the Fatimid state. The first priority of the political vision of the Fatimids was their desire to rule the Muslim world and their

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16 Aziz Suryal Atiyah, *Crusades, Commerce and Culture* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, and London: Oxford University Press, 1962); see the contributions to *Relations Between East and West in the Middle Ages*, ed. Derek Baker (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1973); Claude Cahen, *Orient et Occident au temps des Croisades*. Collection historique (Paris: Aubier Montaigne, 1983); Robert Lopez, "The Trade of Medieval Europe: the South," *Cambridge Economic History of Europe*, rev. ed., vol. 2: *Trade and Industry in the Middle Ages*, ed. M. M. Postan and Edward Miller (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 306–401; Philip. D. Curtin, *Cross-Cultural Trade in World History*. Studies in Comparative World History (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984); Benjamin. Z. Kedar, *Crusade and Mission: European Approaches Toward the Muslims* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1984); David Abulafia, "The Role of Trade in Muslim-Christian Contact During the Middle Ages," id., *Mediterranean Encounters, Economic, Religious, Political, 1100–1550*. Variorum Collected Studies Series (Aldershot, Burlington, VT, et al.: Ashgate Variorum, 2000, orig. 1994), 1–24; Stephen O'Shea, *Sea of Faith: Islam and Christianity in the Medieval Mediterranean World* (Vancouver, BC: Douglas & McIntyre, 2006), focuses on the battles between Muslim and Christian forces from 636 (Yarmouk) to 1565 (Malta). See also Amin Maalouf, *Les Croisades vues par les Arabes* (Paris: Lattès, 1983); trans. by Jon Rothschild as *The Crusades Through Arabic Eyes* (London: Al-Saqi Books, 1984). For the role of the papacy in the Crusade history, and this on a European level, see the contributions to *La Papauté et les croisades The Papacy and the Crusades: Actes du VII Congres de la Society for the Study of the Crusades and the Latin East/ Proceedings of the VIIth Conference of the Society for the Study of the Crusades and the Latin East*, ed. Michel Balard. Crusades. Subsidia, 3 (Farnham, Surrey, and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2011). See also the contributions to *Travellers, Intellectuals, and the World Beyond Medieval Europe*, ed. James Muldoon. The Expansion of Latin Europe, 1000–1500, 10 (Farmham, Surrey, and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2010).

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> struggle against Shi'i and Sunni internal foes. Any notion of world rule and the fighting of external enemies came second.[17]

The exploration of foreign cultures, peoples, religions, and countries is only possible if the traveler has some, if not good, command of the foreign languages, and also has some awareness of his own place in cultural space. While Mikhail Bakhtin still believed that this skill was characteristic of the Renaissance (Rabelais) only, we can now point to many previous and also much later examples. However, irrespective of this effort to specify a cultural period in which such a phenomenon emerged, individual Westerners tried throughout time, at least since the late Middle Ages, to gain an understanding of the East and to learn the necessary languages.[18]

The opposite might not quite have been the same case, but we can be certain, following Charles Taylor's significant reflections on this phenomenon, travel, hence, dialogue, constitutes one of the essential functions in the formation of the self everywhere: "Thus discovering my own identity doesn't mean that I work it out in isolation, but that I negotiate it through dialogue, partly overt, partly internal, with others . . . . My own identity crucially depends on my dialogical relations with others."[19]

Globally speaking, this claim might go too far, especially if we consider the basic immobility of the masses of people living in the countryside both in the past and the present, but deserves us to bear it in mind for our subsequent discussions of contacts between Europeans and Muslims/Arabs (but then also Jews and other people) during the Middle Ages and the Early Modern Age, often highly problematic, but yet not impossible, and sometimes even regarded with great curiosity and interest.[20] Already by the tenth century an intense translation

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17 Yaacov Lev, "A Mediterranean Encounter: The Fatimids and Europe, Tenth to Twelfth Centuries," *Shipping, Trade and Crusade in the Medieval Mediterranean: Studies in Honour of John Pryor*, ed. Ruthy Gertwagen and Elizabeth Jeffreys (Farnham, Surrey, and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2012), 131–56; here 150–51.

18 Mikhail Bakhtin, "From the Prehistory of Novelistic Discourse," id., *The Dialogic Imagination* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1981), 41–83; see now Peter Burke, "The Renaissance Translator as Go-Between," *Renaissance Go-Betweens: Cultural Exchange in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Andreas Höfele and Werner von Koppenfels. Spectrum Literaturwissenschaft, 2 (Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2005), 17–31; id., "Translation into Latin in Early Modern Europe," *The Cultural History of Translation in Early Modern Europe*, ed. id. and R. Po-Chia Hsia (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 65–80. Now see also Reinhard Schneider, *Vom Dolmetschen im Mittelalter* (see note 13).

19 Charles Taylor, *Philosophical Arguments* (Cambridge, MA, and London: Harvard University Press, 1995), 231. For a practical case, see *An Early Modern Dialogue with Islam: Antonio de Sosa's Topography of algiers (1612)*, ed. with an intro. by María Antonia Garcés, trans. by Diana de Armas Wilson (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2011).

20 For further theoretical reflections on this topic, see also Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (London: Routledge, 1992), who identifies transculturation as "a

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process, rendering Arabic texts into Latin, had started at the monastery of Santa María at Ripoll in the Spanish Marches, a monumental new process which initiated the subsequent and long-term cultural-intellectual exchanges between the European and the Arab world throughout the Middle Ages and the early modern age.[21]

This had certainly nothing to do with tolerance or an open-minded interest in the other culture; on the contrary, Christians tried to learn Arabic so they could missionize among Muslims, if not colonize them, as we would say today. Nevertheless, the acquisition of a foreign language has always represented the first step in learning about a foreign culture, regardless of how hostile both sides might be toward each other. In the twelfth century, Robert of Ketton (or of Chester) (ca. 1110–ca. 1160) created, upon the encouragement of Peter the Venerable, together with Herman of Carinthia (ca. 1100–ca. 1160), Peter of Poitiers (ca. 1130–ca. 1215), and a man only identified as Mohammed, the first translation of the Qur'an into Latin (*Lex Mahumet pseudoprophete*, 1143), but then it took more than three hundred years for the first vernacular translation, the one written by Juan de Segovia, who produced a Spanish translation in 1456.

Intriguingly, Juan deeply distrusted Robert's previous work and made a very serious attempt to achieve the highest possible philological accuracy in his task, for which purpose he invited the spiritual leader of Segovia's Mudejar community, 'Isā ibn Jābir, to his residence in Savoy, who worked with him for four months until that project was completed. Subsequently Juan translated the Spanish text also into Latin. In the following centuries, at least until the early seventeenth century when the Mudejars, or Moriscos, were finally all expelled from Spain between 1609 and 1614, at least ca. twenty-six other Spanish translations of the Qur'an came into existence. In other words, Islamic culture continued to exist in Spain for a very long time after 1492, and survived, even if with many difficulties,

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phenomenon of the contact zone" (6); this is now also examined, though for the early modern age, by Simone Testa, "Travellers' Accounts, Historians and Ambassadors in the Sixteenth Century,"*Cross-Cultural Travel: Papers from the Royal Irish Academy Symposium on Literature and Travel. National University of Ireland, Galway, November 2002*, ed. Jane Conroy. Travel Writing Across the Disciplines, 7 (New York, Washington, DC, et al.: Peter Lang, 2003); Daniel Carey, "Travel, Identity, and Cultural Difference, 1580–1700," ibid., 39–47. See now also Joan-Pau Rubiés, "Late Medieval Ambassadors and the Practice of Cross-Cultural Encounters 1250–1450," *The 'Book' of Travels: Genre, Ethnology, and Pilgrimage, 1250–1700*, ed. Palmira Brummett. Studies in Medieval and Reformation Traditions, 140 (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2009), 37–112.

21 Gabriele Crespi, *The Arabs in Europe*. Intro. by Francesco Gabrieli (1979; New York: Rizzoli International Publications, 1986), 305–12. See also the contributions to *Intercultural Contacts in the Medieval Mediterranean*, ed. Benjamin Arbel. Mediterranean Historical Review. Special issue (London: Frank Cass, 1996).

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until 1609, when the final, though probably not complete ethnic cleansing took place.[22]

We could even extend our perspective further geographically and include the study of contacts between medieval Europe and the Asian world, as best represented by Marco Polo, though we then would open another vast window of research, which would go beyond the limit of this study.[23] Still, let us keep in mind that Polo was a most intrepid traveler, reaching the Far East, spending close to two decades there, enjoying a high reputation and serving in a number of political functions at the Mongol court. Moreover, Franciscan missionaries such as William of Rubruck (ca. 1215–1270), John de Plano Carpini (1245–1247), Odoric of Pordenone (ca. 1286–1331), or John of Montecorvino (1247–1328) had also made their way to the Far East,[24] although it remains difficult for us to understand how

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22 For a recent study on Robert of Ketton and his predecessor Mark of Toledo (also: Marcos de Toledo), see Ulisse Cecini excellent comparative study with its in-depth textual analysis, *Alcoranus latinus: eine sprachliche und kulturwissenschaftliche Analyse der Koranübersetzungen von Robert von Ketton und Marcus von Toledo*. Geschichte und Kultur der Iberischen Welt, 10 (Berlin and Münster: Lit, 2012); for the later history of translations, see Consuelo López-Morillas, "Secret Muslims, Hidden Manuscripts: Spanish Translations of the Qur'ān from the Fifteenth to the Seventeenth Centuries," *Frühe Koranübersetzungen: Europäische und außereuropäische Fallstudien*, ed. Reinhold F. Glei. Bochumer Altertumswissenschaftliches Colloquium, 88 (Trier: WVT, Wissenschaftlicher Verlag Trier, 2012), 99–116. See also id., "Lost and Found? Yça of Segovia and the Qu'rān Among the Mudejars and Moriscos," *Journal of Islamic Studies* 103 (1999): 277–92. I will engage with Juan de Segovia and then also with Nicholas of Cusa further below.

23 See the contributions to *Crossings: Early Mediterranean Contacts with India*, ed. Federico De Romanis and André Tchernia (New Delhi: Manohar, 1997).

24 For a good selection of primary texts concerning those Franciscan missions to the Mongolian court, see *The Mongol Mission: Narratives and Letters of the Franciscan Missionaries in Mongolia and China in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries*, trans. by a nun of Stanbrook Abbey, ed. and with an intro. by Christopher Dawson. The Makers of Christendom (New York: Sheed and Ward, 1955); cf. Michèle Guéret-Laferté, *Sur les routes de l'empire mongol: Ordre et rhétorique des relations de voyage aux XIIIe et XIVe siècles*. Nouvelle Bibliothèque du Moyen Âge (Paris: Honoré Champion Éditeur, 1994); Marina Münkler, *Erfahrung des Fremden: Die Beschreibung Ostasiens in den Augenzeugenberichten des 13. und 14. Jahrhunderts* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2000), 30–40. She also refers to the Dominican André de Longjumeau (also known as Andrew of Longjumeau in English), who traveled to the Tartars in 1248 on behalf of King Louis IX of France and returned in 1251 (40–42), and to the Franciscan William of Rubruck, who went to the Mongols from 1253 to 1255 (43–49).Cf. Albrecht Classen, "Indien: Imagination und Erfahrungswelt in Antike und Mittelalter," *Mittelalter-Mythen*, V. Ed. Ulrich Müller and Werner Wunderlich (St. Gall: UVK, 2008), 359–72. See also Antti Ruotsala, *Europeans and Mongols in the Middle of the Thirteenth Century: Encountering the Other*. Suomalaisen Tiedeakatemian Toimituksia. Sarja-ser. Humaniora nide-tom, 314 (Helsinki: The Finnish Academy of Science and Letters, 2001). See now also the contributions to *Historicizing the "Beyond": The Mongolian Invasion as a New Dimension of Violence?*, ed. Frank Krämer, Katharina Schmidt, and Julika Singer (Heidelberg: Universitätsverlag Winter, 2011). See also Peter Jackson, "Medieval Christendom's Encounter with the Alien," *Travellers, Intellectuals, and the World Beyond Medieval Europe* (see note 16; orig. 2001), 31–53; O. R. Dathorne, *Asian Voyages: Two Thousand Years of Constructing the Other* (Westport, CT: Bergin & Garvey, 1996). Cf. also the

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they perceived that foreign world and how, if at all, they could function there in that really different cultural and linguistic environment. Nevertheless, they were neither the first nor the only ones, but they certainly blazed paths that have been of greatest significance ever since for Western observers, writers, politicians, and artists.[25] Moreover, our topic is not limited to the two groups of Europeans and Arabs, as complex as their relationships were throughout the centuries (and actually until today). We also need to consider how Jews encountered the Christian and the Muslim world, how representatives of individual countries traveled and visited each other, although often linguistic hurdles were difficult or impossible to overcome. Within the framework of the present study I will not consider the Christian-Jewish context, as important as it certainly is, because this has already been covered by a rich body of modern scholarship, and so there is no point in carrying coal to Newscastle.

Here I also abstain mostly from the examination of how poets or artists viewed the foreign in a fictional context, both because there is already much work on that topic and because several contributors to this volume will offer specialized studies on literary material reflecting on the East-West relationship in the premodern world. We would have to include, for example, an extensive analysis of the Old English *Wonders of the East* and *The Letter of Alexander the Great*, both in their

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very insightful survey by Joan-Pau Rubiés, *Travel and Ethnology in the Renaissance: South India Through European Eyes, 1250-1625*. Past and Present Publications (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 35–84. He emphasizes also: "While it is necessary to distinguish the books of Marco Polo and Mandeville as the two most important instances in the development of the genre of travel literature in the Latin West, it is nevertheless unacceptable to compare Mandeville *as an observer* (which he never was) with the Venetian merchant. In order to understand medieval ethnographical practices we must therefore compare Marco Polo with those Franciscan and Dominican missionaries whose accounts did actually reflect an experience in South India and China" (49). See now also Romesh Gyaram Molle, *Dschingis Khan und das Bild der Mongolenherrscher in der deutschen Literatur des Mittelalters*. Göppinger Arbeiten zur Germanistik, 769 (Göppingen: Kümmerle, 2012), which offers excellent text excerpts and translations, not at all limited to German medieval literature. *Wikipedia* offers a good article on Rubruck, including important links to online sources and editions: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/William_of_Rubruck (last accessed on March 19, 2013).

25 As far as Polo is concerned, the most influential study continues to be John Larner, *Marco Polo and the Discovery of the World* (1999; New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2001). See now also the valuable contributions to *Marco Polo and the Encounter of East and West*, ed. Suzanne Conklin Akbari and Amilcare A. Iannuci (Toronto, Buffalo, and London: University of Toronto Press, 2008), where even Chinese historians comment on the authenticity of Polo's account (Yunte Huang and Longxi Zhang). For the connection between the Christian West and the Mongolian empire, see Peter Jackson, *The Mongols and the West: 1221–1410*. Medieval World (Harlow, England, and New York: Pearson Longman, 2005). For a discussion of the wondrous and wonders in nature and in the East, see Lorraine Daston and Katharine Park, *Wonders and the Order of Nature, 1150–1750* (New York: Zone Books, 1998), 32–34. I would disagree, however, with their assessment of Polo's account as "an ecstatic description of the natural wonders" (33), discounting some exceptions.

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ancient Greek and Latin, and then in their various medieval vernacular versions. The myth of Alexander the Great certainly played a huge role in shaping the European imagination of the mysterious East, and writers throughout time projected, hence, a variety of utopias far beyond the borders of the European continent.[26]

The burning question, by contrast, that I will mostly pursue in this 'introduction' concerns concrete, specific encounters between people from East and West, as we can trace them in travelogues, scientific work, pilgrimage accounts, and mystical reports, and my critical concern will focus on perceptions by individual writers, who often reveal more about their own attitudes toward the foreign world and its peoples than they might have intended.

3. Orientalism, Postcolonial Studies, and the Premodern World

One important danger in all of xenological studies really has to be avoided, as Sharon Kinoshita recently pointed out in her review of the volume *Contextualizing the Muslim Other in Medieval Christian Discourse*, edited by Jerold C. Frakes (2011). In the wake of current postcolonial approaches also to the premodern world, scholars tend to perceive everything in the straightjacket of the Christian-Muslim conflict, as if there had not been many other cultural, ethnic, religious, and national groups that faced each other and constituted parts of a very mixed kaleidoscope of perceptions, assumptions, ideals, values, fears, and concepts already in the European and Middle Eastern (probably also East Indian and African) worlds: "Absent such cross-conversations, readers are likely to dip into the volume for essays on their preestablished areas of interest, missing the opportunity productively to rethink the problematics of Muslims in/and medieval 'Christian' discourse."[27]

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[26] For a solid text edition and English translation of both, see *The Beowulf Manuscript: Complete Texts and The Fight at Finnsburg*, ed. and trans. R. D. Fulk. Dunbarton Oaks Medieval Library (Cambridge, MA, and London: Harvard University Press, 2010). For the Alexander myth, see the contributions to *Alexanderdichtungen im Mittelalter: Kulturelle Selbstbestimmung im Kontext literarischer Beziehungen*, ed. Jan Cölln, Susanne Friede, and Hartmut Wulfram. Veröffentlichungen aus dem Göttinger Sonderforschungsbereich 529: "Internationalität nationaler Literaturen, 1 (Göttingen: Wallstein Verlag, 2000). See now the contribution to this volume by Courtney Catherine Barajas.

[27] Sharon Kinoshita, review of *Contextualizing the Muslim Other in Medieval Christian Discourse*, ed. Jerold C. Frakes. The New Middle Ages (New York: Palgrave, 2011), in *The Medieval Review* (online, 12–8–11; Aug. 31, 2012). Obviously, research that investigates non-Orientalizing perspectives in the premodern world does not enjoy favor among scholars, such as Frakes; see the contributions to *Juden, Christen und Muslime: Religionsdialoge im Mittelalter*, ed. Matthias Lutz-Bachmann and Alexander Fidora (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2004); and to

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While Frakes seems to pursue a somewhat ideological agenda in casting an almost stereotypical paradigm of the Christian-Muslim relationship in the Middle Ages,[28] David Tinsley, in his contribution to Frakes's own volume, argued rather

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Christians and Muslims in Dialogue in the Islamic Orient of the Middle Ages = Christlich-muslimische Gespräche im Mittelalter, ed. Martin Tamcke. Beiruter Texte und Studien, 117 (Beirut: Orient-Institut; Würzburg: Ergon Verlag in Kommission, 2007). See now the contribution to this volume by Allison P. Coudert who focuses on the way Europeans viewed the Orient from the sixteenth through the early eighteenth centuries. Scholars in other disciplines have long recognized the intense cultural exchanges between Europe and India since antiquity, as reflected by borrowings and copying of images, ideas, and concepts. Aesop's fables, for instance, enjoyed vast success both in East and West; see, for instance Matteo Compareti, "Classical Elements in Sogdian Art: Aesop's Fables Represented in the Mural Paintings at Penjikent," *Iranica Antiqua* XLVII (2012): 303–16. I thank the author for sharing his publication with me. Ancient Greek and Roman culture, philosophy, and literature apparently exerted deep and continuous influence both on West and East. By the same token, both Far East and the West identified India as the land of the miraculous and exotic. See Gioia Zaganelli, *L'Oriente incognito medievale: enciclopedie, romanzi di Alessandro, teratologie*. Medioevo romanzo e orientale. Studi, 10 (Soveria Mannelli [Catanzaro]: Rubbettino, 1997); Duccio Balestracci, *Terre ignote strana gente: storie di viaggiatori medievali*. Storia e società (Bari: GLF Ed. Laterza, 2008).

28 Such a charge by Kinoshita, however, might not be quite appropriate or fair to the approach pursued here, at least on the surface, considering that Frakes attempts, as he states in the Foreword, to recognize "the interstitial cultural space," which "did indeed exist for Muslims in medieval Iberia and Sicily and for Jews especially in medieval Iberia, central Europe, and somewhat later in the Venetian republic" (xiii). To support his claim, he also refers to Janet L. Abu-Lughod's *Before European Hegemony: The World System A.D. 1250–1350* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989). Then, however, he radically rejects the work by Sharon Kinoshita, *Medieval Boundaries: Rethinking Difference in Old French Literature*. The Middle Ages Series (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2006), without indicating what his objections really might be or engaging with her arguments in any detail (xx). A brief glance into Kinoshita's Introduction reveals where the true differences lie, since she admonishes us, right from the beginning, to abstain from traditional stereotypical Orientalizing perspectives, as if the Middle Ages had been a homogenous block in its absolutist rejection of all Saracens/Muslims. In Kinoshita's words: "Obscured in the process, however, are medieval Christians' lived reactions to and interactions with Muslims and the Islamic world—interactions much more complex and multifaceted than implied in the demonizing depictions by Norman Daniel or Edward Said himself" (6). I am afraid that in the case of Frakes's Foreword to his collection of essays we face a bad case of ideologized polemics in Medieval Studies that result from personal sensibilities and not from objective scholarly observations. Surprisingly, John Tolan, in his "Afterword" to Frakes's volume (171–77), correctly notes: "one must take into account the complexity and richness of contacts among medieval Jews, Christians, and Muslims. Muslims lived cheek by jowl with Latin Christians as subjected minorities in Spain, Sicily, and the Latin states of the holy land. European traders, principally Italians and Catalans, frequented the ports of North Africa and the Middle East. Indeed, trade with the East nurtured a sense that the Saracen ruled over lands of fabulous riches" (174). Reflecting on the enormous degree to which both worlds and the many different cultures were in concrete contact with each other, he concludes: "It is in the context of this diverse and intense interaction, which often led Latin Christians to sense the inferiority or fragility of their own culture, that the polemics must be understood" (175). Frakes deserves recognition for having accepted both Tinsley's article and Tolan's Afterword as part of his volume, since they both

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the very opposite. In Kinoshita's words, "In the end, Tynsley's [sic] panorama of examples attests 'the remarkable diversity' (92) of medieval German depictions of the Muslim Other." Both in research and in public media it is always much easier to project negative perspectives into the past as a contrast to the advancements of the present than to recognize, based on a large and diverse amount of evidence, the multifarious situations and conditions. To give Tinsley a chance, here as well, it deserves to be recognized that he does not simply side, in the case of Wolfram von Eschenbach's *Willehalm*, with the interpretation that the former Saracen woman Arabel, now turned Christian and baptized Gyburg, expressed tolerant attitudes or preached tolerance, as Wolfram's mouthpiece. Nor does he naively follow Frakes's and others' opinion that Wolfram was a typical colonialist and racist already in the Middle Ages. Instead, as he emphasizes, "Wolfram's message, voiced through Gyburg and the deeds of Rennewart, is not the humanist mantra of 'we are all brothers' but rather a stern warning that compassion is essential in a fallen world where human frailty can bring damnation to all."[29]

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strongly disagree with his own views, but both in his footnotes and in his monograph, *Vernacular and Latin Literary Discourses* (see note 41 below) he completely rejects any attempts by Kinoshita and others to recognize a certain degree of complexity and difference in the relationships between East and West and thereby the necessity to overcome some of the deep flaws of traditional approaches to Medieval Studies. As Kinoshita concludes: "I hope to have shown that neither the nationalizing taxonomies of late nineteenth-century official culture nor the conventional orientalizing tropes deployed by an unreflective strain of late twentieth-century postcolonial medievalism can do justice to the complex and often astoundingly bold cultural work being done by texts we too often dismiss as charmingly simple or conventionally formulaic" (236). Hopefully, our own volume will do justice to this somewhat contortionist view of intercultural relations in the premodern world as espoused by Frakes and others. Edward Said's approach to Orientalism (so the title of his book, 1978) proves to be a valuable theoretical concept, certainly applicable to European approaches to the Eastern world at least since the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. In our volume Pascale Barthe will even suggest that specific features of Orientalism can be detected in seventeenth-century France. However, Said's theoretical model cannot simply be transferred to the Middle Ages with their very different socio-economic, religious, and cultural conditions. For a very thorough critique from the perspective of an early modernist, see the contribution to this volume by Allison P. Coudert. See also Robert Irwin, *Dangerous Knowledge: Orientalism and Its Discontents* (Woodstock, NY: The Overlook Press, 2006)

[29] David F. Tinsley, "Mapping the Muslims: Images of Islam in Middle High German Literature of the Thirteenth Century," *Contextualizing the Muslim Other* (see note 27), 65–101; here 89. However, Tinsley might go too far as well when he positions all Latin-European perspectives toward the Muslim, or Saracen, world in the context of an apocalyptic mentality: "The rise of Islam, the flourishing of heresy, and the failure and disintegration of the Christian consensus were all viewed as signs of the imminent Apocalypse" (93). After all, Islam had risen already in the seventh century, and Wolfram, for instance, had nothing to do with Beguines or mystics. I also would question that he created his *Willehalm* or his *Parzival* in light of an apocalyptic perspective. See now Albrecht Classen, "Early Outreaches from Medieval Christendom to the Muslim East: Wolfram von Eschenbach, Ramon Llull and Nicholas of Cusa Explore Options to Communicate with Representatives of Arabic Islam: Tolerance Already in the Middle Ages?," *Studia Neophilologica* 84.2 (2012): 1–15. See also Pauline Moffit Watts, "Talking to Spiritual Others: Ramon

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As Kinoshita then concludes, Frakes's overarching "focus on the Muslim Other means that a consideration of cases where a Muslim is represented as a friend, an ally, a business associate, a companion, or even a run-of-the-mill adversary is discouraged, if not foreclosed, from the start. Perhaps this explains the absence of an entry on Iberia in this volume, except from the perspective of the post-medieval, post-expulsion seventeenth century. Finally, Medieval Christian Discourse subsumes texts as linguistically, culturally, and generically varied as Wolfram von Eschenbach's Parzival, Brut y Tywysogion, the Letter of Prester John, Rudolf of Ems' Weltchronik, and Matthew of Edessa's chronicle into a religiously-defined singular, implying a unity that the Foreword must belatedly work to undo."

But to be fair, we would also have to acknowledge that Frakes does not simply cast all European discourse of Muslims in the paradigm of 'the Other,' as he openly acknowledges the significance of Tinsley's contribution: "The chapter is in general a reformulation of the classic argument against a generalized anti-Islamic prejudice in medieval Europe and thus a chapter that in its conception and purpose forms a clear counterpoise to others in the volume" (xxvi). Ironically, however, in a footnote Frakes then slyly and radically distances himself from Tinsley's approach as misguided and wrong, after all, and refers the readers to his own monograph on this topic, *Vernacular and Latin Literary Discourse*.[30]

A great counter-example to Frakes's global perspective can be found in the world of medieval Spanish altarpieces, many of which were actually produced by Jewish artists who apparently enjoyed, at least until the late fifteenth century, a considerable degree of toleration.[31] In general, as we will see below, it was hard for

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Llull, Nicholas of Cusa, Diego Valadés," *Nicholas of Cusa in Search of God and Wisdom: Essays in Honor of Morimichi Watanabe by the American Cusanus Society*, ed. Gerald Christianson and Thomas M. Izbicki. Studies in the History of Christian Thought, 45 (New York and Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1991), 203–18.

30 In fact, I find Frakes' s method here to be rather disingenuous, if not deceptive: "While I respectfully disagree with most aspects of Professor Tinsley's interpretation, the editor's foreword is not the proper place to attempt a refutation" (xx). Why did he then include that article in his collection? Does it perhaps serve as a kind of fig-leaf to hide his ideologically driven interpretation that stands on rather shaky grounds? Where is then the critical engagement with Tinsley's opposing views? See the contribution to this volume by Heiko Hartmann, who offers a trenchant critique of Frakes's work, which proves to be predicated on outdated research and long abandoned theoretical models.

31 See the contributions to *Uneasy Communion: Jews, Christians, and the Altarpieces of Medieval Spain*, ed. Vivian B. Mann (New York: Museum of Biblical Art, 2010). Cf. also the excellent articles in *The Jew in Medieval Iberia, 1100-1500*, ed. Jonathan Ray (Brighton, MA: Academic Studies Press, 2012), and the review of this book by Paola Tartakoff in *The Medieval Review* 12.10.15 (online). For post-medieval perspectives, focusing on the Turkish-European relationship, see Nancy Bisaha, *Creating East and West: Renaissance Humanism and the Ottoman Turks* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004). Cf. also the contribution to this volume by Jens T. Wollesen.

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people north of the Alps to have any good understanding of the cultures in the Eastern Mediterranean and the Middle East, whereas a specifically Mediterranean perspective, keeping the close proximity of various cultures there in mind, will alert us to much more complex conditions and the possibility of existing communicative channels. After all, the direct contacts between Muslim traders and merchants with their Christian partners, for example in Venice, Genoa, Barcelona, and Alexandria, then the intellectual exchanges between Muslim and Jewish, ultimately also Christian scholars and scientists, not to forget the large number of artists, composers, and architects both in north and south, in east and west, established surprisingly intense and constructive networks involving both cultures and religions.[32]

4. Economic, Political, and Cultural Connections: Ignored but Significant Features Under the Radar Screen

The simple economic factor, that is, the global interest in trade, business, and hence profit, confirms, without requiring any further evidence, the universal interest in contacts, in exchanges, and hence in markets where people get together coming from all over the world. They come together not because they intentionally seek out foreigners because of their exotic nature, but because the others offer products or material that meets their needs and allows them to sell them well in their own markets. Whether there is then a common language between the two merchants or not, the product itself and the process of mercantile exchange speak their own languages, based on gestures and objects, such as gold coins and the like.[33]

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32 Anthony Cutler, "Everywhere and Nowhere: The Invisible Muslim and Christian Self-Fashioning in the Culture of Outremer," *France and the Holy Land: Frankish Culture at the End of the Crusades*, ed. Daniel H. Weiss and Lisa Mahoney (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 2004), 253–81; Maher Y Abu-Munshar, *Islamic Jerusalem and Its Christians: A History of Tolerance and Tensions*. Library of Middle East History, 13 (London and New York: Tauris Academic Studies, 2007); Richard Hitchcock, *Mozarabs in Medieval and Early Modern Spain: Identities and Influences* (Aldershot, England, and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2008); cf. also Stephen O'Shea, *Sea of Faith: Islam and Christianity in the Medieval Mediterranean World* (Vancouver, BC: Douglas & McIntyre, 2006). See also the contribution to this volume by Jens T. Wollesen.

33 See, for instance, the contributions to *Fremdheit und Reisen im Mittelalter*, ed. Irene Erfen and Karl-Heinz Spieß (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1997). The authors discuss, for example, the European marriage politics involving the transfer of numerous young women as future brides to courts in distant countries (Karl-Heinz Spieß and also Doris Ruhe); the experience of the foreign world in medieval epic literature (Rolf Bräuer); the value of royal and other itineraries for our understanding of medieval travel experience (Marc Löwener); the extensive travels by merchants of the Hanseatic League (Horst Wernicke); the meeting with and integration of foreign merchants

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Without going into details, we can be certain that international trade was quite common already in the early Middle Ages and steadily continued and expanded throughout the following centuries. But theological and historiographical authors, such as the Venerable Bede in his *Historia ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum* from 731 only knew of the horrible dangers resulting from the Saracen threat endangering English travelers or pilgrims to southern France, while Saint Boniface warned one of his female friends, a nun in England, to abstain from a pilgrimage to Rome for the same reasons.[34] Similarly, Liudprand of Cremona (ca. 920–972) commonly made references to the Saracens/Muslims and described them simply as the enemies of European Christendom who were to be feared and to be fought with at any possible opportunity.[35] At the same time we find enough examples of gift exchanges over vast distances, such as that of an elephant, called Abdul Abbas, for Charlemagne, sent to him in 801 by the Caliph Hārūn ar-Rashīd all the way from Persia to northern Germany, Aachen, where it lived until 810.[36]

The material consequences of those exchanges can be fairly easily identified and determined, while the deep cultural impact on the Christian and the Muslim world, for instance, is much harder to fathom, especially because of the deep divide between these two world religions, or, for that matter, among all major world religions. Faith is a glorious matter, but it also bitterly divides people into polar camps, both in the past and in the present.[37] David Abulafia noted, for

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in fifteenth- and sixteenth-centuries England (Nils Jörg); the traveling apothecary (Christoph Friedrich); and stereotypes of and prejudice against foreigners at large (Jürgen Regge).

34 Richard Fletcher, *Ein Elefant für Karl den Großen: Christen und Muslime im Mittelalter*, trans. from the English by Dirk Oetzmann (2002; Darmstadt: Primus Verlag, 2005), 29.

35 Liudprand of Cremona, *The Complete Works of Liudprand of Cremona*, trans. with an intro. and notes by Paolo Squatriti. Medieval Texts in Translation (Washington, DC: The Catholic University of America Press, 2007), 45–47; 94–95; 96–97; 123; 142, et passim. As to the phenomenon of 'fear' associated with the conflict with 'foreigners' in the Middle Ages, see now Charles W. Connell, "Foreigners and Fear in the Middle Ages," *Handbook of Medieval Culture*, ed. Albrecht Classen (Berlin and Boston: De Gruyter, forthcoming).

36 Fletcher, *Ein Elefant* (see note 34), 41–42.

37 See the contributions to *The Meeting of Civilizations: Muslim, Christian, and Jew*, ed. Moshe Ma'oz (Brighton, Portland, and Toronto: Sussex Academic Press, 2009). See also the bibliography, *Christian-Muslim Relations: A Bibliographical History*, ed. David Thomas and Barbara Roggema, et al. 3 vols. History of Christian-Muslim Relations, 11, 14, 15 (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2009–2011). In vol. 2 we learn about the Muslims' attitudes toward Christians and Christianity (David Thomas) and about the diplomatic relations between Christian and Muslim rulers (Nicolas Drocourt). Emphasizing the ordinary nature of the political contacts between both worlds at least in the early Middle Ages, Drocourt posits: "Diplomatic relations were frequent, and religious difference seems not to have been considered an obstacle to such relations and understandings. Each ruler acted to further his own ambitions and interests. It was not uncommon for Christians to call on Muslims to help them maintain their independence from other Christian powers" (vol. 2, 47). The contributors to vol. 3 examine, for instance, Western narratives of the First Crusade (Marcus Bull), the treatment of Christians in Shī ī law (David M. Freidenreich), the discussion of

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instance, "It is true that until the late twelfth century there was little demand in the Muslim world for Western industrial goods; but this changed dramatically as Flemish, north French and even English woollen cloths, made to very high specifications, became the preferred export of the Genoese, Pisans and Venetians to eastern markets."[38]

Silver, armaments, and probably also tools of all kinds, and other products out of metal were welcome items on the Muslim markets, but trade with the Muslim world always proved to be rather difficult and was somewhat closed to or inaccessible to the European merchants. For that reason the opening up of the Silk Route during the Mongol rule in the thirteenth century[39] constituted a most welcome opportunity for Westeners to reach the Chinese markets and so to import their products to Europe. But economic exchange hardly ever knew real concrete barriers and disregarded cultural, religious, or linguistic conflicts. When problems occurred, such as when merchandise was captured by pirates or stolen by robbers, when local authorities confiscated goods for a variety of reasons, negotiations quickly developed that indicate how little political and military problems and tensions really mattered on that level and that monetary interests were actually equally shared in East and West.[40]

Muslims in Western canon law (also by Freidenreich).

38 Abulafia, "The Role of Trade" (see note 16), 8.

39 Luce Boulnois, *The Silk Road*, trans. from the French by Dennis Chamberlin (1963; London: Allen & Unwin, 1966); Irene M. Franck and David M. Brownstone, *The Silk Road: A History* (New York: Facts on File, 1986); Frances Wood, *The Silk Road: Two Thousand Years in the Heart of Asia* (2002; London: British Library, 2003); Jonathan Tucker, *The Silk Road: Art and History* (Chicago: Art Media Resources, 2003); Colin Thubron, *Shadow of the Silk Road* (2006; London: Vintage, 2007); see now the contributions to *The Silk Road and Beyond: Travel, Trade, and Transformation*, ed. Karen Manchester. Museum Studies (New Haven, CT, and London: Yale University Press, 2007). Cf. also Christopher I. Beckwith, *Empires of the Silk Road: A History of Central Eurasia from the Bronze Age to the Present* (2009; Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2011). However, this study is more concerned with the transition of a rhetorical method in the academic discourse which the Europeans inherited, as Beckwith argues, from Central Asia. See the review by Will Sayers in *Mediaevistik* 26 (forthcoming).

40 Abulafia, "The Role of Trade" (see note 16), 18–19. See also Michel Balard, "A Christian Mediterranean: 1000–1500," *The Mediterranean in History*, ed. David Abulafia (London: Thames & Hudson, 2003), 183–217. Both confirm two central points in the entire history of trade between East and West; one, the strong role which the ports and merchants on the Iberian Peninsula played, and two, the continued significance of the Arabic influence there as well. Balard also underscores the importance of the reopening up of the Atlantic trade already in the thirteenth century, when, in 1277, for the first time, a Genoese ship managed to travel through the Straits of Gibraltar in order to reach the northwestern coast of Europe and to begin trade with Flanders and England (203). Economically speaking, then, the Muslim ports and zones of influence in the Eastern Mediterranean were difficult to enter for the Christian merchants, though they tried very hard. Nevertheless, international trade flowed well between East and West since the early Middle Ages and never suffered from real set-backs, even when the Ottomans had conquered Constantinople in 1453, which motivated Columbus and others to seek other trade routes to India

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All this, however, still leaves us rather baffled as to the real contacts and the true level of exchange between both cultures, as far as poets, writers, composers, architects, and artists might be concerned. I will return to this issue once again at the end of this study, but here I need to stake out the basic criteria determining the East-West relationships. We still face many difficult questions that refuse simple answers because the records tend to be quiet about them: How were linguistic barriers overcome? To what extent were poets and artists, for instance, allowed to travel in and through foreign countries? Did patrons in East and West demonstrate any interest in hiring or sponsoring composers and musicians from foreign cultures? To what extent were painters, architects, sculptors, and musicians welcome at foreign courts, either in the West or in the East? How did diplomats and other politicians develop the necessary skills (linguistic or cultural) to engage with their respective partners in the distant lands.

5. Literary Reflections on the Foreign in Medieval Literature

Here I intend to make an exception to my own previous statement to refrain from the analysis of literary and artistic expressions in order to gain at least a modicum of insight into the discursive dimension of the contacts between East and West. Medieval and early modern writers in Europe hardly ever, if at all, engaged in a fully-fleshed attempt to examine the foreign culture to the East in any more critical or thorough fashion, and instead mostly pursued individual and pragmatic perspectives to enhance the interest of their accounts so that they could appeal better to their audiences. As Stephanie Cain Van D'Elden correctly observes with regard to medieval German literature, "within a single work the poets were often inconsistent and thus unable, even in the most anti-Muslim setting, to maintain a totally black and white dichotomy. . . . Some were imbued with a blind adherence to the teachings of the Church in their condemnation of all non-Christians; others appear to be indifferent to religion. Some were persuaded that people are human beings, capable of both good and evil, whether they are black or white. Contact

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and China. For an excellent collection of relevant sources, see *Medieval Trade in the Mediterranean World: Illustrative Documents*, trans. with introductions and notes by Robert S. Lopez and Irving W. Raymond. Records of Western Civilization (1955; New York: Columbia University Press, 1990). Money and trade, however, often also led to conflicts and tensions, though these were then regularly dealt with in official manners and through a variety of channels, while religious or ethnic arguments then did not matter at all (303–37). See also Lianna Farber, *An Anatomy of Trade in Medieval Writing: Value, Consent, and Community* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2006); see also Sharon Kinoshita, "'Noi siamo mercatanti cipriani': How to Do Things in the Medieval Mediterranean," *The Age of Philipp de Mézière: Fourteenth-Century Piety and Politics Between France, Venice, and Cyprus*, ed. Renate Blumenfeld-Kosinski and Kiril Petkov. The Medieval Mediterranean (Leiden: Brill, 2011), 41–60.

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with the Mediterranean world did indeed contribute a new dimension to medieval German narrative, albeit a confused one."[41]

Wolfram von Eschenbach's *Parzival* (ca. 1205) and the goliardic *Herzog Ernst* (ms. B, ca. 1215–1230) prove to be excellent examples, and both have been discussed from that angle already a number of times.[42] But an appropriate word of caution might also be in place here because the number of literary texts from the high and late Middle Ages and beyond in which people from the West make their way to the East, and, to a lesser degree, the opposite way as well, is just too large to assume that these poets and writers were only imagining the other world for the entertainment of their audiences and relying only on stereotypes and topical concepts. After all, both for military and religious reasons, not to mention economic ones, both worlds were in contact with each other, whether in hostile, friendly, or neutral terms.

The fascination with the other culture, whether an outgrowth of Orientalism or Occidentalism, was certainly present and well developed already in the premodern world, both terms implying a certain degree of understanding of the other side, yet predicated on fancifulness as well.[43] As Stephanie L. Hathaway's

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41 Stephanie Cain Van D'Elden, "Black and White: Contact with the Mediterranean World in Medieval German Narrative," *The Medieval Mediterranean: Cross-Cultural Contacts*, ed. Marilyn J. Chiat and Kathryn L. Reyerson. Medieval Studies at Minnesota, 3 (St. Cloud: North Star Press of St. Cloud, [1988]), 112–18; here 116. Jerold C. Frakes, *Vernacular and Latin Literary Discourses of the Muslim Other in Medieval Germany*. New Middle Ages (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), picks up on this theme, applying a strongly critical perspective, denying any kind of real awareness or true understanding of otherness in these medieval German literary accounts, which mostly reflect, as he sees it, nothing but a 'colonialist' attitude, completely anchored in the Christian ideology. I will engage more in detail with his arguments in my contribution to this volume.

42 See, for instance, the contributions to this volume by Heiko Hartmann and Albrecht Classen. For *Herzog Ernst*, see Albrecht Classen, "Multiculturalism in the German Middle Ages? The Rediscovery of a Modern Concept in the Past: The Case of *Herzog Ernst*," *Multiculturalism and Representation. Selected Essays*. Ed. John Rieder, Larry E. Smith (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1996), 198–219; Alexandra Stein, "Die Wundervölker des *Herzog Ernst (B)*: Zum Problem körpergebundener Authentizität im Medium der Schrift," *Fremdes wahrnehmen – fremdes Wahrnehmen: Studien zur Geschichte der Wahrnehmung und zur Begegnung von Kulturen in Mittelalter und früher Neuzeit*, ed. Wolfgang Harms and C. Stephen Jaeger, together with eadem (Stuttgart and Leipzig: S. Hirzel, 1997), 21–48; Barbara Haupt, "Ein Herzog in Fernost: Zu Herzog Ernst A/B," *Bild, Rede, Schrift; Kleriker, Adel, Stadt und ausserchristliche Kulturen in der Vormoderne; Wissenschaften und Literatur seit der Renaissance. 'Germanistik im Konflikt der Kulturen', 7. Akten des XI. Internationalen Germanistenkongresses Paris 2005*, ed. Jean-Marie Valentin, Ronald Perlwitz, et al. Jahrbuch für Internationale Germanistik: Reihe A: Kongressberichte (JIGA), 83 (Bern: Peter Lang, 2008), 157–68; Albrecht Classen, "The Crusader as Lover and Tourist: Utopian Elements in Late Medieval German Literature: From *Herzog Ernst* to *Reinfried von Braunschweig* and *Fortunatus*," *Current Topics in Medieval German Literature: Texts and Analyses (Kalamazoo Papers 2000-2006)*, ed. Sibylle Jefferis. Göppinger Arbeiten zur Germanistik, 748 (Göppingen: Kümmerle, 2008), 83–102.

43 See the contributions to *Medieval Cultures in Contact*, ed. Richard F. Gyug. Fordham Series in

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new study illustrates, the conversion of Saracens and the possibility of love between a Christian knight and a formerly Saracen princess, as colonialist as it probably was at that time, represented a remarkable dream in and for the Middle Ages, as perhaps best represented by Wolfram von Eschenbach's *Willehalm* (ca. 1218–1220).[44] As Hathaway argues, to which Jerold C. Frakes would be probably vehemently opposed, Wolfram's "Saracens exemplify this chivalry in part or convey messages to the Christian protagonists and to the audience about how it should be retained and employed."[45] Moreover, as she correctly emphasizes, "conversion to Christianity in *Willehalm* is presented only in terms of spirituality and union with God, not as a motivation for war or killing heathens."[46]

To be sure, as to the recognition of the other religion, the Muslim side obviously did not fare much better than its European counterpart, which would not really surprise us because throughout times people have always had great difficulties in dealing with otherness and foreign cultures if their representatives suddenly come very close to them.[47] There were certainly a number of contacts and exchanges, as we have seen above and as we will learn more below as far as Muslim scholarship was concerned, but the fact still remains that the Muslim world did not really make any serious effort to learn much about the Western world, and those isolated efforts did not really lead to any kind of extensive exchanges or an in-depth learning process, although the *Idrísí-Map*, which I will discuss further below, indicates the true extent of geographical knowledge about Northern and Western

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Medieval Studies (New York: Fordham University Press, 2003).

44 Stephanie L. Hathaway, *Saracens and Conversion: Chivalric Ideals in* Aliscans *and Wolfram's* Willehalm. Studies in Old Germanic Languages and Literature, 6 (Oxford, Bern, et al.: Peter Lang, 2012).

45 Hathaway, *Saracens and Conversion* (see note 44), 290. For the radically opposed view, see Frakes, *Vernacular and Latin Literary Discourses* (see note 40).

46 Hathaway, *Saracens and Conversion* (see note 44), 291.

47 Nizar F. Hermes, *The [European] Other in Medieval Arabic Literature and Culture: Ninth-Twelfth Century AD*. New Middle Ages (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012). For an early attempt to come to terms with this issue, see Gustav Diercks, *Die Araber im Mittelalter und ihr Einfluss auf die Cultur Europa's* (Annaberg: C. O. Schreiber, 1875). He emphasizes, first of all, the development of the sciences and the arts among the Arabs, then argues that they must have deeply influenced the poetry and the arts on the Iberian Peninsula and in the Provence (86–88), concluding that the Arabs really awoke the new spirits of the medieval courtly world (92), but he keeps owing us the evidence. For scientific and scholarly exchanges throughout the Middle Ages, see the contributions to *Wissen über Grenzen: arabisches Wissen und lateinisches Mittelalter*, ed. Andreas Speer and Lydia Wegener. Miscellanea mediaevalia, 33 (Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2006). See also *Geography and Ethnography: Perceptions of the World in Pre-Modern Societies*, ed. Kurt A. Raaflaub and Richard J. A. Talbert. The Ancient World—Comparative Histories (Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010). As Romedio Schmitz-Esser alerts us in his contribution to this volume, it would be dangerous to attribute all major scientific or medical innovations in the Middle Ages to influences from the Arabic or Persian world. There were also indigenous developments, especially in the world of embalming corpses.

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Europe which was available in the Muslim world, at least among the scholars. After all, the Crusades had a traumatic effect on the Muslim world, despite its rigorous and ultimately successful defense, ultimately leading to the fall of the last Christian fortress, Acre, in 1291. But what happened thereafter? That would be the topic for a whole monograph on its own, while the question all by itself clearly alerts us to the enormous *desiderata* of this entire research field.

Muslim poets and writers extensively reflected on their encounters with the enemy, and they pursued a similarly pejorative ideology of the other side in this universal religious-military conflict, whether they simply denigrated the opponents or appealed to their own rulers to rekindle their Muslim spirit and turn to a resolute *jihad* in order to oust the Christian crusaders altogether.[48] More important might also be that the Muslim world neighbored the Middle East and entertained intensive economic relationships with India and other countries there, in many respects more important than those relationship with the trading centers in the West.

Since Europe proved to be the hostile foreign world, Arab scholars and writers were certainly less inclined to turn their attention to the West than the other way around especially because the Europeans were certainly considerably behind them in philosophical, medical, scientific, and other terms. This must, however, not be confused with ignorance or complete unfamiliarity.

While Edward Said's famous dictum of European "Orientalism," circumscribing ideological strategies to justify colonizing efforts,3 has resonated strongly throughout modern Western research, including Medieval Studies,[49] as problematic as it might be in light of the complex conditions of medieval society, we suddenly seem to face also a kind of "Occidentalism" as developed by Muslim, Oriental, writers, as Nizar F. Hermes now alerts us, strongly arguing against such intellectual giants in the field of historiography as Bernard Lewis, David Morgan, and, above all, Franco Cardini.[50] Countless Arab scholars, merchants, diplomats,

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48 Hermes, *The [European] Other* (see note 47), 160–62. Allan V. Murray, in his contribution to this volume, offers an insightful analysis of how the Franks actually accommodated themselves with the highly varied indigenous population in the Holy Land (though less so with the Muslims).

49 Edward W. Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1978). For recent criticism, see the contributions to *Orientalism Revisited: Art, Land and Voyage*, ed. Ian Richard Netton. Culture and Civilization in the Middle East, 34 (Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon, and New York: Routledge, 2012). Cf. also Ibn Warraq, *Defending the West: A Critique of Edward Said's "Orientalism"* (Amherst, NY: Prometheus Books, 2007). For a powerful critique, see now the contribution to this volume by Allison P. Coudert.

50 Bernard Lewis, *The Muslim Discovery of Europe* (New York: Norton, 1982); id., *Islam and the West* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993); id., *A Middle East Mosaic: Fragments of Life, Letters, and History* (New York: Random House, 2000); id., *From Babel to Dragomans: Interpreting the Middle East* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004); David Morgan, "Persian Perceptions of Mongols and Europeans," *Implicit Understandings:Observing, Reporting, and Reflecting on the Encounters Between*

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geographers, and diplomats traveled far and wide, never closing their eyes toward the Far East, as Jacques Le Goff once famously but rather erroneously stated. According to Hermes, "medieval Muslims showed an enormous interest in their own 'Orient' especially after the conquest of the region of *al-Sind* (modern Pakistan) in 711 by Muhammad ibn Qasim."[51]

At the same time, European writers increasingly projected their protagonists operating somewhere in the Orient, and this quite well without facing serious challenges, as if the differences in languages, religions, and culture mattered less and less. One intriguing example for this intriguing normalization of the relations from a Western perspective, at least in fictional terms, would be the heretofore virtually unknown verse narrative *Der Herzog von Braunschweig* from the middle or late fourteenth century which has survived in a Heidelberg manuscript (Universitätsbibliothek Heid 1012) from the second half of the fifteenth century. The author seems to have been the Dutch Augustijn van Dordt, who probably based his text on the Middle Dutch verse romance *Heinric en Margriete van Limborch* from ca. 1300.[52]

The two lovers, the Duke of Brunswick and the wife of the King of Sevilla, run away, she pretending to have drowned, and hide in anonymity in Venice. After one year of happiness, however, he is overwhelmed by remorse for having robbed the king of his wife, while she feels deep regret over having deprived her lover of the chance of gaining new fame as a knight. Consequently she secretly leaves him and departs with a merchant for Baghdad, where she lives for a long time working in the service of this merchant whose daughters she educates. She later learns that

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Europeans and Other Peoples in the Early Modern Era, ed. Stuart B. Schwartz. Studies in Comparative Early Modern History (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 201–17; Franco Cardini, *Europe and Islam*, trans. by Caroline Beamish. Making of Europe (1999; Oxford and Malden: Blackwell, 2001).

51 Hermes, *The [European] Other* (see note 47), 23. Even distant countries such as Cambodia were obviously not beyond Arab reach, as the case of 'Abd Allah Muhammad ibn Ishaq confirms (ibid., 24).

52 The text is currently prepared by Thomas Klein for a critical edition. For a description of the manuscript Heid 1012 and a bibliography of recent critical studies on this ms. and other texts contained in it, such as Elisabeth von Nassau-Saarbrücken's *Loher und Maller* (1437), see http://www.handschriftencensus.de/3678. A digital version of this manuscript can be found online at: http://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/diglit/heidhs1012?action=fulltextsearch&ft_query=Heid%201012&navmode=fulltextsearch (last accessed on Dec. 27, 2012). Although some scholars have mentioned this verse narrative before, it represents a truly unchartered narrative territory. See now Johanna Thali, "Sinnwidrigkeiten: Interferenzen zwischen Text, Bild und Layout in der Erzählung vom 'Herzog von Braunschweig in der Heidelberger Handschrift 1012," *Wolfram-Studien* XXII: *Finden – Gestaten – Vermitteln: Schreibprozesse und ihre Brechungen in der mittelalterlichen Überlieferung. Freiburger Colloquium 2010*, ed. Eckart Conrad Lutz, together with Susanne Köbele and Klaus Ridder (Berlin: Erich Schmidt Verlag, 2012), 467–512.

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her lover has been appointed king of Spain after her own husband back in Sevilla had died. In order to communicate with the new ruler, she sends six valuable tapestries to Spain, where the king immediately recognizes the ekphrastic message woven into the textiles. So he travels to Baghad, reunites with his beloved, takes her back home to Spain, and marries her.

While the critical issue certainly rests on issues pertaining to love, chivalry, communication, and the use of various media for that purpose, first there is the war against the Muslims in Spain, in which the Duke of Brunswick triumphantly defeats the opponents—for a significant parallel in this motif, see the anonymous sentimental romance *Mai und Beaflor* (end of the thirteenth century)—and later his mistress's move to Baghdad, from where he retrieves her at the end. As this narrative indicates, following a number of other examples in late-medieval European literature, especially if we think of the rich and highly diverse tradition of *Floire and Blancheflor* or the Old French *chantefable Aucassin et Nicolette*, not to forget the anonymous Middle High German romance *Reinfried von Braunschweig* (late thirteenth century), locations such as Bagdhad and other cities in the Near East were certainly within reach of European authors, whether in actual travelogues or in fictional accounts.

6. Arab Writers, Geographers, and Travelers

We also would have to consider the history of Arabic seafaring in the Mediterranean, although that part of the world never seems to have gained as much importance for the Arab rulers as the Indian Ocean, which enjoyed mostly peace throughout times; here disregarding smaller skirmishes and the attacks by pirates.[53] But this did not mean that Arabs were not working to improve their cartography of the Mediterranean, did not attempt on a regular basis to expand their hold on islands and neighboring countries, were not constantly engaged with the Byzantines despite the latter's vastly superior fleet, and did not attempt to develop their own ship-building skills and navigation abilities.[54]

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53 George F. Hourani, *Arab Seafaring in the Indian Ocean in Ancient and Early Medieval Times*, rev. and expanded by John Carswell (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1995). Despite its narrow title, there is also a whole chapter on the early history of Arabic seafaring in the Mediterranean, 53–61. The early Middle Ages witnessed some development in Arab navigation, but the competition with Byzantium and a variety of Christian countries to the north and west kept all those efforts on a low level.

54 This entire topic still seems to be somewhat in its infancy, but see the contributions to *Aspects of Arab Seafaring: An Attempt to Fill in the Gaps of Maritime History*, ed. Yacoub Yousef al-Hijii and Vassilios Christides, together with Peggy Moschona and Christos G. Makrypoulias (Athens: Institute for Graeco-Oriental and African Studies, 2002).

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Arabic geographers at least since the ninth century, whether on the basis of personal experiences, which might be unlikely, or rather on the basis of ancient Greek and Roman sources, drew numerous maps of the entire known world, including Europe. "It must be said that in both divisions, Europe is often conceived as including not only al-Andalus (Muslim Spain), the adjacent lands of the Galicians and the Basques, the Franks and *al-Rum* (Romans and Byzantines) but also the lands of the Slavs, the Bulghars, the Rus, and many other eastern European regions."[55]

The most sophisticated and most curious author seems to have been al-Mas'udi (d. 896), often characterized as the Herodotus of the Arabs, who first visited Persia in around 915, then went to India and China, returned to East Africa, visiting Zanzibar, Madagascar, Mozambique, and Sudan. In 926 he reached Palestine, then turned to Arabia for his *hajj*, then got to Syria, the Byzantine Empire, and finally went as far north as to the Slavic world in northern Europe. Once he had settled in Egypt, he died there in 956.[56]

Mostly copying Greco-Roman views of the races in the north, identifying and pitying them as Barbarians with little reason, using coarse language, and characterized by huge white-skinned bodies, this writer imitated much of traditional perceptions, creating—or replicating and expanding on—a kind of medieval "Occidentalism" already.[57] But he still made a serious and noteworthy attempt to bring the world of the Europeans closer to his Arabic readers, although he hesitated little to identify those populations in the north as barbarians, if not as monsters.[58] Undoubtedly, however, beyond those stereotypical opinions, he was the first extensive chronicler of Slavic culture and people in an Arabic context, whether he had been an eye-witness or not.[59]

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55 Hermes, *The [European] Other* (see note 47), 41. The term 'Rum' was used by the Arabs to identify the Christians of the Orient, who could sometimes include the Genoese and other Italians, while the Christians of the Occident were generally called 'Franks.'

56 Ahmad M. H. Shboul, *Al-Mas'ūdī & His World: A Muslim Humanist and His Interest in Non-Muslims* (London: Ithaca Press, 1979); André Miquel, *La géographie humaine du monde musulman jusqu'au milieu du 11e siècle*. Civilisations et sociétés, 7, 37, 68, 78 (Paris: Haye, 1975), 259.

57 David Fraesdorff, *Der barbarische Norden: Vorstellungen und Fremdheitskategorien bei Rimbert, Thietmar von Merseburg, Adam von Bremen und Helmold von Bosau*. Orbis mediaevalis, 5 (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2005).

58 Mas'udi, *The Meadows of Gold, The Abbasids*, trans. Paul Lunde and Caroline Stone (London and New York: Kegan Paul, 1989); see also *Al-Mas'ūdī Millenary Commemorationn Volume*, ed. S. Maqbul Ahmad and A. Rahman (Aligarh: Indian Society for the History of Science, 1960); Ahmad A. M. Shboul, *Al-Mas'udi and His World: A Muslim Humanist and His Interest in Non-Muslims* (London: Ithaca Press, 1979). The article in *Wikipedia* proves to be impressively detailed and nuanced: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Al-Masudi (last accessed on July 27, 2012). See also André Miquel, *La géographie humaine dans le monde musulman jusqu'au XIe siècle*, 4 vols. (Paris: Mouton, 1967–1988; 2nd ed. 2001).

59 Ahmad Nazmi, *Commercial Relations Between Arabs and Slavs* (see note 1), 83; see also Hermes, *The*

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As to Rome, and further on as to London, hence England, the first one to write about the marvels (at least in Rome), was Harun ibn Yahya, of whose biography very little is known. He was captured by pirates in the seaport town of Ascalon shortly before 886, taken to Constantinople, held as a prisoner of war there, ransomed in 886, and then traveled, instead of returning home, to Europe via Greece.[60] His account of Rome with all its churches, but then also of the people of Rome, proves to be most fascinating for its personal approach, his expression of astonishment about the fact that the men all shaved their beards and often also their heads, which signaled to him, being a Muslim, that they must have been homosexuals.[61]

Ibn Yahya's account of northwestern Europe again does not prove to be based on his personal experiences, but it reflects an impressive accuracy: The tenth-century Ibn Rustah, drawing from him, quotes the following in his *Book of Precious Records*:

> From the city (sc. Rome) you sail the sea and journey for three months, till you reach the land of the king of the Burjān (here Burgundians). You journey hence through mountains and ravines for a month, till you reach the land of the Franks. From here you go forth and journey for four months, till you reach the city (capital) of *Bartīníyah* (Britain). It is a great city on the shore of the Western Ocean, ruled by seven kings. At the gate of its city (capital) is an idol (*ṣanam*). When the stranger wishes to enter it, he sleeps and cannot enter it, until the people of the city take him, to examine his intention and purpose in entering the city. They are Christians. They are the last of the lands of the Greeks, and there is no civilization beyond them.[62]

Another major author reflecting on the British Isles was the astronomer Al-Battānī, who published an important tract in 902, who was followed by Ibn Rustah who based his writing (913) on that source as well. This in turn influenced Al-Mas ʻūdī (see above) who began writing in 943, and has to say the following in his *Murūj ah-Dhahab*: "No ship sails therein (Atlantik), nor is any habitable land there, nor any reasonable creature dwelling therein. Neither its extent nor end is known. It is the

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[European] Other (see note 47), 50–51.

60 *Studies on the Travel Accounts of Sallām at-Tarǧumān (before 864), Hārūn b. Yahyā (fl. about 912) and as-Sindibād al-Bahriā (fl. about 912)*, collected and reprinted by Fuat Sezgin in collaboration with Mazen Amawi. Publications of the Institute for the History of Arabic-Islamic Science: Islamic Geography, 166 (Frankfurt a. M.: Institute for the History of Arabic-Islamic Science at the Johann Wolfgang Goethe Universität, 1994).

61 Christian Bromberger, "Hair: From the West to the Middle East Through the Mediterranean," *Journal of American Folklore* 121 (2008): 379–99; here 385, 390–91.

62 D. M. Dunlop, "The British Isles According to Medieval Arabic Authors," *Islamic Quarterly* 4 (1957): 11–28; here 16; see also Hermes, *The [European] Other* (see note 47), 78–79. For a complete text edition, see Ibn Rustah, *Kitāb al-A'lāk an-Nafīsa*, ed. M. J. De Goeje. Bibliotheca Geographorum Arabicorum [BGA] (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1892). His book, published in 903 C.E., is sometimes also translated as *Book of Precious Things*.

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Sea of Darkness, the Green Sea, the Encircling Ocean. . . . Marvellous things are told concerning it . . . ."[63]

The geographer Ash-Sharíf al-Idrīsī (ca. 1154) remarks about the waters surrounding the British Isles: "The waters of this sea are covered with cloud and dark in colour. The waves are enormous, and the sea is deep. Darkness reigns continually, and navigation is difficult. The winds are violent and towards the west its limits are unknown. In this sea are a number of inhabited islands, but few sailors dare to risk their lives therein" (21). In another context I will later return to this amazing and deeply learned scholar who seems to have known so much not only about the Eastern Mediterranean and the Middle East, but also about northern and Western Europe.

Subsequently, another geographer, Abū 'l-Fidā, commented in his work from 1321 both on England and France, drawing from an'Ibn Sa'īd: "And to the east of Bordeaux is the city of Toulouse. . . . The river (sc. Garonne) is south of it, and ships from the Encircling Ocean ascend it, with tin and copper, which they bring from the island of England and the island of Ireland. It is carried on pack-animals to Narbonne, and taken from there on the ships of the Franks to Alexandria" (25).

To what extent all these and other documents confirm a concrete contact between Arabic writers and the British Isles, and other parts of Europe, cannot be confirmed at all. They demonstrate, however, a certain degree of knowledge and clear awareness of the Northwestern parts of that continent. We also would have to keep in mind that throughout times countless authors of travelogues, such as Marco Polo, presented often rather astonishing accounts seemingly unbelievable in their content for their audiences back home. But the point is not so much whether they actually traveled or not, but rather whether they succeeded in conveying a sense of new worlds and thus contributed to the growth of an intercultural awareness.

Dunlop tends to dismiss his evidence as proof for specific travels, since these are all learned reports, hence based on previous writings, probably ultimately going back to the Greeks. Nevertheless, it would go too far to disregard these multiple references altogether (28), especially as he himself is willing to admit: "Possible contacts with the south or west coast of Ireland are as much as can be affirmed. A similar contact with the coast of England is not excluded" (28). Moreover, the various Muslim rulers tried to establish a relationship with the Western rulers, and vice versa.

The Arabic chronicler Awhadi related that Bertha, the daughter of Lothar, queen of France, "sent a gift and a letter to the Abbasid Caliph al-Muktafi in the year 293 of the Hijra (906 C.E.). Accompanying those was a further message, not included in the letter, but addressed directly to the Caliph. The letter, says the Arab

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63 Dunlop, "The British Isles" (see note 62), 18.

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historian, was written on white silk 'in a writing resembling the Greek writing but straighter'. . . . The message, he says, was a request to the Caliph for marriage and friendship."[64] The letter, however, at first represented a linguistic puzzle that did not find an easy solution. The members of the court sought someone who could at least transcribe the text, which a Frankish slave finally could do, rendering it from Latin to Greek writing. Once that had been completed, they could bring in the famous scientific translator Ishaq ibn Hunain, who finally rendered the text from Greek into Arabic.

Unfortunately, it escapes us what happened next, though we can certainly surmise that the outcome was rather modest or even totally meaningless since none of the hoped for diplomatic and political connects were created. As later cases, especially in the Eastern Mediterranean confirm, the linguistic difficulties did not diminish, on the contrary. "An Englishman who had something to say to a Turkish official said it to someone who translated it into Italian and then someone else translated it from Italian into Turkish. The answer came back by the same route."[65] While the many different European vernaculars developed over the centuries, gaining in weight next to the learned language, Latin, in the Arabic world the situation appears to have been quite different, with Arabic, despite many local dialects, rising to the level of a *lingua franca*. Not surprisingly, there was subsequently little interest among Arabic speakers to bother with European languages, which made the contacts difficult. As Bernard Lewis emphasizes: "Why would an Arabic speaker bother to learn the barbarous idioms of infidels and savages beyond the imperial frontier? Arabic provided all his needs, and if anyone wanted to talk to him, they would learn Arabic."[66]

Nevertheless, as we can observe on the basis of a growing body of evidence, linguistic channels to Europe existed after all, and the Muslim world certainly did not remain in splendid isolation throughout the centuries. A very simple example, which I will examine at much greater length below, pertains to the scores of European pilgrims who came for a visit to the Holy Land. Although hardly anyone among them was capable of speaking Arabic, the many exchanges with the local population, with guides, authorities, merchants, inn-keepers, and countless other people confirmed (often via Italian or Latin, rarely through a garbled German) that some sort of communication was possible, and this already in the Middle Ages.

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64 Bernard Lewis, *From Babel to Dragomans: Interpreting the Middle East* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 2004), 20–21.

65 Lewis, *From Babel to Dragomans* (see note 64), 21.

66 Lewis, *From Babel to Dragomans* (see note 64), 22. It needs to be emphasized that Lewis operates without any solid scholarly apparatus, irrespective of a few notes at the end of each chapter. It seems highly problematic to agree with many of his strong arguments since the base for them appears rather thin.

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Turning to the learned tradition, we only need to realize, in our context, how much, in fact, Arabic writers reflected on Europe, which shatters traditional opinions as to the complete ignorance or lack of knowledge about the West. Muslim slaves or captives can probably assumed to be additional sources of information, such as the Syrian Muslim scholar al-Jarmi who was taken prisoner by the Byzantines around 845, transferred to Constantinople, and freed in 847 after his ransom had been paid by the Abbasid Caliph al-Wathiq. His extensive travel accounts about that part of the world, so important for his Arabic audience, were mostly preserved by Ibn Khordadbeh and al-Mas'udi, and later extensively copied by future travel writers. As Hermes notes: "After his return to Baghdad, he wrote an account of his travels that became the most valuable firsthand narrative on the Byzantines, Khazars, and Slavs."[67]

If we followed Hermes's study at length, we would encounter a plethora of additional sources that confirm his arguments of a Muslim "Occidentalism," but he also underscores the true extent of knowledge, even if very fragmentary, about medieval Europe by the contemporary Arabic Muslims, such as, to name one more important name, Ibn Fadlan, a famous emissary of the Abbasid Caliph al-Muqtadir (d. 932) to the city of Bulghar, today in central-European Russia (921) (80–98). This author can also be identified as the first writer to mention the Vikings, here named 'Rus,' whom he characterizes as tall, strongly built in the way of a palm tree, yet also severely criticizes for their habit of exposing their bodies in public, not wearing much clothing.

As to the Viking women, he has the following to say: "Each of the women has fastened upon the two breasts a brooch of iron, silver, copper, or gold in weight and value according to the wealth of her husband."[68] To his shock, women would shamelessly expose their vulva even in the presence of strangers, and would go swimming in rivers together with men, neither wearing any clothing, not to mention the fact that it was not uncommon for them to have sex with slave girls in front of everyone.[69] In many respects, here we encounter an almost stunningly

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67 Hermes, *The [European] Other* (see note 47), 79.

68 Richard N. Frye, *Ibn Fadlan's Journey to Russia: A Tenth-Century Traveler from Baghdad to the Volga River* (Princeton, NJ: Markus Wiener, 2005), 63. The text was already translated into German in 1939, *Ibn Fadlan's Reisebericht*, trans. A. Zeki Validi Togan. Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes, 24.3 (Leipzig: Kommissionsverlag F. A. Brockhaus, 1939). There are a good handful of relevant studies on Ibn Fadlan both in Russian and Arabic, which I could not consult. But see C. M. Fraehn, *Ibn Foszlan's und anderer Araber Berichte über die Russen älterer zeit*. Hamburger philologische Studien, 39 (1823; Hamburg: Buske, 1976); Ibn Fadlân, *Voyage chez les Bulgares de la Volga*, trans. and annotated by Marius Canard. La Bibliothèque arabe. Collection Les Classiques (Paris: Sindbad, 1988). See also Stig Wikander, *Araber, vikingar, väringar*. Svenska humanistiska förbundet, 90 (Nyhamnsläge and Lund: Svenska humanistiska förbundet, 1978).

69 McKeithen, "The *Risala* of Ibn Fadlan: An Annotated Translation and Introduction," Ph.D. diss., Indiana University, Bloomington, 1979, 131; Hermes, *The [European] Other* (see note 47), 92.

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early report about the Russian Vikings observed through the lens of this Arabic travel author.[70]

A variety of Arabic writers commented with ridicule, but also with horror and disgust, on the lack of public morals among European women, as they perceived it, most dramatically formulated by Usamah ibn Munqidh (d. 1188) who visited the city of Nablus, then occupied and controlled by Crusaders. Whether the anecdotes included in his text can really be trusted as representative of the Frankish culture there cannot be fully verified, particularly because they seem to be so titillating, perhaps even pornographic, and transgressive at least, to be sure. What matters, by contrast, is the fact that Arabic writers such as Usamah formulated opinions about the Western culture, which they despised altogether. It might well have been that he had made up some of his anecdotes in order to undermine the Christians' character, but he certainly reflected on them and considered it worth his time to discuss how he perceived the Europeans and, as he emphasized, their lack of jealousy or even decency in terms of sexuality.[71]

The most famous example, truly shocking even for us today, hence perhaps a clever propaganda ploy by the author, proves to be this account of a Frank who had entered his bath in al Ma'arrah. The Frank disapproved of any clothing while in the bath, and so forcefully took off the author's clothing to make him conform to his own customs. The following events are nothing but extraordinary, and have, for that reason, also been quoted a number of times:

> He looked and saw that I had recently shaved off my pubes. So he shouted, "Sālim!" As I drew near him he stretched his hand over my pubes and said, "Sālim, good! By the truth of my religion, do the same for me." Saying this, he lay on his back and I found that in that place the hair was like his beard. So I shaved it off. Then he passed his hand over the place and, finding it smooth, he said, "Sālim, by the truth of my religion, do the same to madame, referring to his wife. He then said to a servant of his, "Tell madame to come here." Accordingly the servant went and brought her and made her enter the bath. She also lay on her back. The knight repeated, "Do what thou hast done to me." So I shaved all that hair while her husband was sitting looking at me. At last he thanked me and handed me the pay for my service. (165–66)

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70 J. E. Montgomery, "Ibn Fadlan and the Russiyyah," *Journal of Arabic and Islamic Studies* 3 (2000): 1–25; id., "Traveling Autopsies: Ibn Fadlan and the Bulghars," *Middle Eastern Literatures* 7 (2004): 4–32; Caroline Stone, "Ibn Fadlan and the Midnight Sun," *Saudi Aramco* 30 (1979): 1–3.

71 Hermes, *The [European] Other* (see note 47), 109. For a translation, see *An Arab-Syrian Gentleman and Warrior in the Period of the Crusades: Memoirs of Usāmah ibn-Munqidh*, trans. Philip K. Hitti (London: I. B. Tauris, 1987). I will quote from this work. But cf. also the new translation, Usama ibn Munqidh, *The Book of Contemplation: Islam and the Crusades*, trans. with an Intro. and Notes by Paul M. Cobb (London: Penguin, 2008). For detailed study focusing on the ethnic, social, and religious groups identified by Usama, see Alexander Schauer, *Muslime und Franken: ethnische, soziale und religiöse Gruppen im Kitāb al-I'tibār des Usāma ibn Munqidh*. Islamkundliche Untersuchungen, 230 (Berlin: K. Schwarz, 2000).

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Whatever we might think about this situation, and we do not really need to assess the historical veracity of this scene in the bath, it clearly emerges how closely the representatives of both religions interacted with each other. The author regularly expresses his dislike of and even disgust for the Frankish culture, the legal procedures practiced by them, and their way of fighting in war. Nevertheless, this also indicates how much he was in contact with them and had obviously no problems in communicating with them.

In one case he even seems to have struck a close friendship with a Frank: "In the army of King Fulk, son of Fulk, was a Frankish reverend knight who had just arrived from their land in order to make the holy pilgrimage and then return home. He was of my intimate fellowship and kept such constant company with me that he began to call me 'my brother.' Between us were mutual bonds of amity and friendship" (161). Usamah also witnessed some truly brutal forms of medicine practiced by a Christian, which immediately led to the death of the patients (leg amputation and an attempt to heal a woman's insanity[162]). But he also knows to report of very successful medical treatments by Frankish doctors, even though he strongly dislikes one of the patients and regrets his complete recovery (162–63).

Freshly arrived Franks appear to him as particularly rude and uncouth because they have not yet acclimatized and are not yet used to Muslim culture. But Usamah explicitly emphasizes that he is protected and helped by the Templars whom he calls his "friends" (164), who went so far as to vacate a little adjoining mosque next to the Aqşa Mosque which they had transformed into a Christian church. The reason for their behavior was simply that they felt motivated to give him room and quiet space to carry out his own prayer (163–64). Moreover, we also hear of religious exchanges between the Christians and Muslims, as when a Frank introduced Usamah and his friends to an image of the Jesus child. The author did not object to that presentation, but quickly added: "But Allah is exalted far above what the infidels say about him!" (164).

We would and could not expect much more from either a Christian or a Muslim author from that time and under those military, political, and religious conditions. The religious barriers did not get lower, and the cultural conflicts continued to be considerably great. Nevertheless, this account by itself confirms how much exchanges, contacts, even friendship were all within the reach of possibility. As Usamah remarks: "Among the Franks are those who have become acclimatized and have associated long with the Moslems. These are much better than the recent comers from the Frankish lands. But they constitute the exceptions and cannot be treated as a rule" (169). One positive example proves to be a Frankish knight who invited Usamah to a delicious meal and assured him that it did not contain any pork and was strictly prepared according to Muslim conditions by an Egyptian cook (169–70).

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Muslim writers were certainly deeply shocked and horrified at first about the attack by the Crusaders, and later also horrified about most brutal attacks against cities such as Damietta, Egypt, in 1219, but in the course of time many channels of communication and mutual interest opened up.[72] After all, the Crusaders operated as knights, and were soon simply recognized as such, as a warrior class, against which the Arabs launched their own armies. Hence, on that level a variety of new perspectives could develop, including mutual respect for heroism, courage, and bravery, piety and devotion. One unique example was the rather friendly relationship between Emperor Frederick II and the ruler of Egypt, al-Malik al-Kāmil, as described by Ibn Wasil.[73] Insofar as this case proves to be so instructive, let us follow it to some length.

In 1226 the Sultan sent as his ambassador to Frederick, the Emir Fakhr ad-Din because he was concerned about the meteoric successes of his brother, the governor of Damascus, who had established close ties with the Khwarizmian Turks, but seemed really to target Egypt. So al-Kāmil hoped to utilize Frederick's crusading intentions as a lever against his brother in Syria, while the Emperor seems to have understood well the power of diplomatic negotiations with the Muslim side at a time when there was a growing disunity in the Arabic world. The Sultan asked Frederick to attack Damascus in return for receiving Jerusalem, which would have worked fine for both sides, except that al-Kamil's brother, al-Mu'azzam, died, which made al-Kamil lose interest in his earlier offer to the Emperor. Nevertheless, Frederick was able to convince him finally to turn over Jerusalem because it was then a city of relatively low importance for the Muslim world, lacked a defense wall, and was rather desolate.

Significantly, the Temple Mount was kept by the Muslims. "Christians could, however, visit the Temple Mount. Around Jerusalem were to remain Muslim settlements, under Muslim control. Hebron . . . , centre of Muslim and Jewish veneration, remained in non-Christian hands. Al-Bira, or la Grande Mahomerie, north of Jerusalem, was to be the local Muslim governmental headquarters. But between Jerusalem and the sea, there would be a narrow corridor, linking the city to the coastal towns still in Frankish hands, by way of the see of St. George at Lydda. Bethlehem too was handed to the Franks, as was Nazareth."[74] The Franks

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72 Aleya Khattab, *Das Ägyptenbild in den deutschsprachigen Reisebeschreibungen der Zeit von 1285–1500*. Europäische Hochschulschriften. Reihe I: Deutsche Sprache und Literatur, 517 (Frankfurt a. M.: Peter Lang, 1982); eadem, *Das Bild der Franken in der arabischen Literatur des Mittelalters: Ein Beitrag zum Dialog über die Kreuzzüge*. Göppinger Arbeiten zur Germanistik, 505 (Göppingen: Kümmerle, 1989).

73 Francesco Gabrieli, *Storici arabi delle Crociata*. Nuova universale Einaudi, 34 (1963; Turin: G. Einaudi, 1966).

74 David Abulafia, *Frederick II: A Medieval Emperor* (London: Penguin, 1988), 183. For a contrastive view, see Ernst Kantorowicz, *Frederick the Second: 1194–1240*. Makers of the Middle Ages (London: Constable & Co., 1931). There is, of course, much research on this emperor; see, for instance,

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rebuilt some of the city's fortifications, but they explicitly banned all Jews from living there, although we know of important exceptions granted by the local viscount, Gerald of Sais, and the local lord of the city, probably the Castellan Baldwin of Picquigny, who allowed Jews to enter Jerusalem as part of their pilgrimage, and they also granted permission to a Jewish dyer to settle in the city.[75]

Unfortunately, if not tragically for Frederick, no one liked the treatye, neither the Muslim nor the Christian side, nor the outcome of his Crusade, whether in the West or in the East, which was mostly determined by negotiations and not by any fighting.[76] Ironically, perhaps for that very reason it was also rather successful for at least ten years when the Franks lost the control of the city entirely in 1244 in the wake of the Khwarazmian Sack, probably because it was not heroic and achieved the emperor's concrete goals in realistic and pragmatic terms without any great fanfare and drama. But the papal propaganda was totally opposed to this remarkable achievement and condemned the emperor even more than before.[77] As to the Muslims, the Sultan knew well how to appease his people and announced subsequently: "We have only conceded to them some churches and some ruined houses. The sacred precincts, the venerated Rock and all the other sanctuaries to which we make our pilgrimages remain ours as they were. Muslim rites continue to flourish as they did before, and the Muslims have their own governor of the rural provinces and districts."[78]

However, for al-Kamil the situation was equally difficult because he was almost regarded as a traitor especially in Damascus, where public mourning for his brother continued, which made al-Kamil's dealing with the infidel Emperor look

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Stupor Mundi: Zur Geschichte Friedrichs II von Hohenstaufen, ed. Gunther G. Wolf. Wege der Forschung, CI (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1982); Wolfgang Stürner, *Friedrich II.* Gestalten des Mittelalters und der Renaissance. 2 vols. (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1992–2000); Ulrich Müller, "Friedrich II: "Jener große Freigeist, das Genie unter den deutschen Kaisern?'," *Herrscher, Helden, Heilige*, ed. id. and Werner Wunderlich. Mittelalter-Mythen, 1 (St. Gallen: UVK Fachverlag für Wissenschaft und Studium, 1996), 213–29; *Kaiser Friedrich II.: Leben und Persönlichkeit in Quellen des Mittelalters*, ed. Klaus van Eickels and Tania Brüsch (Düsseldorf: Artemis & Winkler, 2000); *Kaiser Friedrich II, 1194–1250: Begleitband zur Sonderausstellung "Kaiser Friedrich II. (1994–1250). Welt und Kultur des Mittelmeerraums" im Landesmuseum für Natur und Mensch Oldenburg*, ed. Mamoun Fansa and Karen Ermete. Schriftenreihe des Landesmuseums für Natur und Mensch Oldenburg, 55 (Mainz: P. von Zabern, [2008]); Olaf B. Rader, *Friedrich II.: der Sizilianer auf dem Kaiserthron, eine Biographie* (Munich: Beck, 2010).

75 Joshua Prawer, *The History of the Jews in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988), 90–91.

76 Yvonne Friedman, "Between Warfare and Conflict Resolution: Pilgrimage and Politics in the Holy Land," *Pilgrims and Politics: Rediscovering the Power of the Pilgrimage*, ed. Antón M. Pazos. Compostela International Studies in Pilgrimage History and Culture (Farnham, Surrey, and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2012), 55–68; here 62–64.

77 See, for instance, J. M. Powell, "Patriarch Gerold and Frederick II: The Mathew Paris Letter," *Journal of Medieval History* 25 (1999): 19–26; Friedman, "Between Warefare" (see note 76), 63.

78 Abulafia, *Frederick II* (see note 74), 184.

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highly suspicious. Similarly, most Muslims disliked Frederick for his lukewarm approach to his own religion and felt relatively little, if any, respect for him, and they hated him because he had negotiated the possession of Jerusalem for Christianity. Altogether, despite the Emperor's concrete success, in public opinion and in practical terms he had not achieved much at all and was a disappointment for both sides. He quickly experienced profound antagonism and seems to have hurt or insulted virtually every party, despite his great diplomatic skills.[79]

Nevertheless, apart from the political conflict which the Emperor went through, partly imposed on him by external forces, partly brought upon him by his own actions, we clearly observe one critical aspect truly essential for our purpose here. Whatever Frederick achieved, he did so because he had a whole entourage of diplomats, translators, and advisors with him who certainly could communicate with the Muslims on the other side. After all, in Southern Italy and Sicily he ruled over a relatively large group of an Arabic population. Such high-stake negotiations could only be carried out if there were enough people in both parties who could talk to each other clearly enough to avoid major misunderstandings and hence conflicts.[80] Multilingualism was not an uncommon feature at medieval and early-modern courts, and in the South of Europe it was not unrealistic to encounter a ruler who even knew some Arabic, apart from French, German, Italian, Czech, Latin, or English, depending on the specific framework of his or her kingdom. Moreover, most intellectuals were bilingual (Latin and a vernacular), and merchants in general had greatest need and desire to speak their customers' language, as is the case today.[81]

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79 Abulafia, *Frederick II* (see note 74), 189–94. He emphasizes clearly: "Frederick's crusade left a legacy of conflict and disorder both in Cyprus and in the Holy Land. The imperial factions on the island and on the mainland continued for years to struggle for ascendancy; in the 1230s, the Latin kingdom was, to all intents, split between Gibelins and imperialists. What is clear from the events between September 1228 and May 1229 is that Frederick had consistently underestimated the strength of the Gibelin opposition; this strength was not merely military, but also ideological" (193).

80 Schneider, *Vom Dolmetschen im Mittelalter* (see note 13), 53.

81 Gerrit Deutschländer, *Dienen lernen, um zu herrschen: Höfische Erziehung im ausgehenden Mittelalter (1450–1550)*. Hallische Beiträge zur Geschichte des Mittelalters und der Frühen Neuzeit, 6 (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2012), 30–32; *Intercultural Transmission of Scientific Knowledge in the Middle Ages: Graeco-Arabic-Latin*, ed. Mohammed Abattouy. Science in Context, 14.1/2 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001); for concrete linguistic exchanges in the field of sciences, see the contributions *to Greek Arabic Latin: The Transmission of Mathematical Texts in the Middle Ages: International Workshop Experience and Knowledge Structures in Arabic and Latin Sciences, Max Planck Institute for the History of Science Berlin, December 16 – 17, 1996*, ed. Richard Lorch. organized by Muhammad Abattouy and Paul Weinig (Berlin: Max-Planck-Institut für Wissenschaftsgeschichte, 1997). Although it is rather fashionable among early modern historians to categorize medieval scholarship and learning as limited to creating glossaries, commentaries, and copying of ancient and other texts, the opposite was often the case. Thomas Fuchs, "Einleitung: Bibliotheken zwischen Kultureller Memoria, Wissenschaft und Musealität," *Das Buch in Antike, Mittelalter und*

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However, in later years Frederick radically turned against the Muslim population in Sicily who "were subjected to persecution everywhere and their defeat came with the great massacre at Palermo in 1200. The last act of violence against them was at the hands of the young Sicilian ruler himself, after he came of age: the last rebels were finally rooted out and their leader, Muhammad ibn 'Abbâd, was executed together with his two sons."[82] The small surviving Arab population was resettled in Lucera and turned into a subjugated colony.[83]

Cultural differences and hence conflicts continued to dominate the relationships between the Arabic and the European world, but there were at least relationships, though in a complex way. In Hermes's words, "there was no shortage of Muslims who cast curious eyes and minds toward Europe and the Europeans."[84] However, we still need to differentiate in the regard to what parts of Christian Europe we want to consider. While there were, indeed, many contacts between Arabs and Europeans in the wider Mediterranean since the early Middle Ages, we would look for those in vain if we turn our attention to the world north of the Alps.

After all, both worlds enjoyed the economic and political exchanges, and we might also assume that there were scientific and philosophical exchanges as well, though it still seems hard to trace them in the available records. The tenth-century Baghdad scholar Abu Hayyan al-Tawhidi responded to a question about what part of the world one should favor, the Arabic or the Non-Arabic, in the following way:

> In essence, all nations have merits and demerits in the same way that they have always shared many common things and concepts of life. Yet each nation has cultivated some specific traits that its sister has not. Of course, in what they share, there is the good and there is the bad . . . . as for the Arabs, they excelled in rhetoric, eloquence, encyclopedism, and the magic of the tongue. The Persians are the best when it comes

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Neuzeit. Sonderbestände der Universitätsbibliothek Leipzig, ed. id., Christoph Mackert, and Reinhold Scholl. Schriften und Zeugnisse zur Buchgeschichte, 20 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2012), 1–35, concludes most recently: "Diese Wissensweise erklärt die Kanonizität und die geringe Innovationskraft der mittelalterlichen Informationsgesellschaft. Entsprechend gering war die Zahl der Bücher und der Titel" (13; This mode of acquiring knowledge explains the emphasis on the canon and the limited ability to innovate of the medieval information society. Correspondingly, the number of books and titles was limited). But he relies mostly on the fictional account by Umberto Eco in his famous novel *Il nome di rosa* (1980) (13–14) and relies heavily on stereotypical assumptions about the Middle Ages. See now the contribution to this volume by K. A. Tuley.

82 Crespi, *The Arabs* (see note 21), 297.

83 Eberhard Horst, *Der Sultan von Lucera: Friedrich II. und der Islam*. Herder Spektrum (Freiburg i. Br.: Herder, 197). See also the contributions to *Federico II puer Apuliae: storia, arte, cultura: atti del Convegno internazionale di studio in occasione dell'VII centenario della nascita di Federico II, Lucera, 29 marzo–2 aprile 1995*, ed. Hubert Houben and Oronzo Limone (Galatina [Lecce]: M. Congedo, 2001). See also James M. Powell, *Anatomy of a Crusade 1213–1221*. The Middle Ages (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1986), 74–78, 112–18, 198–203, et passim.

84 Hermes, *The [European] Other* (see note 47), 174.

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> to moderation, manners, politics, order, drawing, and servitude [to God]. As for the Turks, they are famous for courage and bravery.[85]

Of course, all this does not yet mean that we could identify an Arabic source that would reflect a more detailed, more intimate, more familiar awareness about medieval Europe. Even the famous traveler Ibn Jubayr (b. 1145 in Valencia), who went on his pilgrimage to Mecca on February 3, 1183, and returned on April 25, 1185, did not reach any European area apart from Sicily and Southern Italy.[86] Nevertheless, Ibn Jubayr's travelogue provides also highly valuable insights into the quirks of the cultural conditions in the Holy Land and elsewhere, with Muslim and Christian pilgrims peacefully boarding the same ship and crossing, for instance, the Mediterranean without running into conflicts. Coming from Damascus, the author enters Acre at a time when Saladin's army just had won its major victory over the Christians, and yet Ibn Jubayr faced no difficulty "to journey to this Christian stronghold in a caravan of Muslim merchants."[87] He commented on this phenomenon himself: "One of the strangest things in the world is that Muslim caravans go forth to Frankish lands, while Frankish captives enter Muslim lands" (313).

At the same time he marveled, though with some horror as well, about the peaceful coexistence of Muslim farmers and Christian lords:

> Our way lay through continuous farms and ordered settlements, whose inhabitants were all Muslims, living comfortably with the Franks. God protect us from such temptation. They surrender half their crops to the Franks at harvest time, and pay as well a poll-tax of one dinar and five qirat for each person. Other than that, they are not interfered with, save for a light tax on the fruits of trees. Their houses and all their effects are left to their full possession. (316)

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85 Hermes, *The [European] Other* (see note 47), 176, his translation. For al-Tawhidi, see Ibrahim Keilani, *Abā Ḥayyān at-Tawhīdī: essayiste arabe du 4e siècle d'l'Hégire (10e s.), introduction à son œuvre* (Beirut: Institut français du Damas, 1950); Marc Bergé, *Pour un humanisme vécu: Abū Ḥayyān al-Tawhīdī: essai sur la personnalité morale, intellectuelle et littéraire d'un grand prosateur et humaniste arabe engagé dans la société de l'époque bouyide, à Bagdad, Rayy et Chiraz, au I've/Xe siècle (entre 310/922 et 320/932–414/1023*. Publications de l'I.F.E.A.D., 104 (Damascus: Institut Français de Damas, 1979).

86 *The Travels of Ibn Jubayr*, trans. from the original Arabic by R. J. C. Broadhurst (London: Jonathan Cape, [1952]). I will quote from this edition. See also *The Travels of Ibn Jubayr*, ed. from a MS. in the University Library of Leyden by William Wright. 2nd ed. rev. by M. J. de Goeje. "E. J. W. Gibb Memorial" Series, 5 (1852; Leiden: A. J. Brill, 1907). The text has also been translated into French (1846, 1923) Italian (1906), and, more recently, into German: Ibn Ǧubair, *Tagebuch eines Mekkapilgers*, aus dem Arabischen übertragen und bearbeitet von Regina Günther. Bibliothek Arabischer Klassiker, 10 (Stuttgart: Thienemann, Edition Erdmann, 1985). Ibn Jubayr's account of Messina and Palermo (1184–1185) is now also included in *Medieval Italy: Texts in Translation*, ed. Katherine L. Jansen, Joanna Drell, and Frances Andrews. The Middle Ages Series (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009), as section 58.

87 Broadhurst, trans. (see note 86), 17.

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Surprisingly, as we learn, the (Arab-?)Christian custom clerks of Acre speak and write Arabic (317), and everyone seems to be treated with respect and civility, irrespective of the merchants' or pilgrims' religious orientation (317–18). Acre itself proved to be "the meeting-place of Muslim and Christian merchants from all regions" (318), but Ibn Jubayr laments the fact that the Franks (Christians) had conquered that rich and wealthy city from the Muslims, defiling their religious sites, transforming mosques into churches and minarets into bell-towers (318).

In Sur (Tyre), by contrast, the author notices less religious suppression by the Franks, more cleanliness, and more peacefulness among the population. Nevertheless, Ibn Jubayr maintains an ambivalent attitude, on the one hand gazing at the public splendor of the Western culture, including a spectacular wedding procession, on the other criticizing the lack of modesty on the part of the bride.

While everyone, Christians and Muslims, "gazed on them without reproof" (321), our travel author still voices sharp criticism, perhaps intended for his Muslim audience as a kind of self-protection to hide his own fascination with the beautiful woman, not covered by a veil, and with the entire splendid ceremony: "We thus were given the chance of seeing this alluring sight, from the seducement of which God preserve us" (321).

To add to his sharp criticism, he subsequently underscores that no Muslim is allowed to live among Christians (321), while traversing their lands would constitute no problems: "Beware, beware of entering their lands" (322). To his worst chagrin, he even encountered a converted Muslim, which he found, naturally, to be a most egregious transgression of all Muslim laws: "He had been baptised and become unclean, and had put on the girdle of a monk, thereby hastening for himself the flames of hell, verifying the threats of torture, and exposing himself to a grievous account and a long-distant return (from hell)" (323).

Rhetorically, Ibn Jubayr resorted to the same imagery and language as we are wont to hear from Christian authors, especially in later centuries. When they finally board a ship to return to al-Andalus, he disparagingly remarks that a large group of Christian pilgrims came along: "May God in His grace and favour soon relieve us of their company" (325). But when he describes a major Christian festival on November 1, with everyone among that group holding a lit candle and participating in a makeshift mass, Jubary suddenly refrains from commenting and might even have enjoyed the spectacle: "The whole ship, from top to bottom, was luminous with kindled lamps. In this manner we passed most of that night" (328).

Reaching the coast of Messina, they were shipwrecked, but still survived, and in this situation, the author notes with astonishment that they, as Muslim pilgrims, were helped by William, King of Sicily: "when he perceived some needy Muslims staring from the ship, having not the means to pay for their landing because the owners of the boats were asking so high a price for their rescue, enquired, this

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King, concerning them and, learning their story, ordered that they be given one hundred ruba'i of his coinage in order that they might alight" (337–38).

Ibn Jubayr remains torn within himself, despising the Christians, and yet finding among them many times people of extraordinary greatness and humanity who had no to little problems completely disregarding the religious differences and helping the neighbors or fellow travelers in need. As he concludes, recognizing the Christian ruler as a tool in God's hands: "Another sign of the loving-kindness and benevolence of Great and Glorious God towards us in this disaster was the presence of this Rumi [eastern, Christian] king" (338). But when he turns to Messina, where no Muslims are living, he feels no hesitation to malign the city for it belonging to the Christians: "Teeming with worshippers of the Cross, it chokes its inhabitants, and constricts them almost to strangling. It is full of smells and filth; and churlish too, for the stranger will find there no courtesy" (338–39).

In Sicily itself, however, Ibn Jubayr came across fairly large Muslim communities, who enjoyed, as he noted with great surprise, a certain level of toleration: "The Muslims live beside them [the Christians] with their property and farms. The Christians treat these Muslims well and 'have taken them to themselves as friends' [Koran XX, 41], but impose on them a tax to be paid twice yearly" (339). Even more astonishing, the cohabitation of Muslims with Christians worked even better in Palermo: "It has Muslim citizens who possess mosques, and their own markets, in the main suburbs" (340). In addition, King Guillaume (William) II, "is admirable for his just conduct, and the use he makes of the industry of the Muslims . . . . He has much confidence in Muslims, relying on them for his affairs, and the most important matters, even the supervisor of his kitchen being a Muslim" (340).[88] We also learn that William consulted his Muslim physicians and astrologers, whom he treated well (341).

Furthermore, William apparently knew how to speak Arabic and resorted to the Muslim praying formula in his private devotion. It might have been nothing but an anecdote which Ibn Jubayr was told, but even the assumption implied proves to be fascinating: "the Frankish Christian women who came to his palace became Muslims, converted by these handmaidens. All this they kept secret from their King" (341).[89] This account might well have been the result of wishful thinking,

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88 G. A. Loud, "Norman Sicily in the Twelfth Century," *The New Cambridge Medieval History*, vol. IV: *c. 1024–c. 1198*. Part II, ed. David Luscombe and Jonathan Riley-Smith (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 442–74, points out, however, how strongly William fought to support the Western Crusaders and launched a serious attack against Constantinople. He also dispatched naval aid to the Crusader states after the fall of Jerusalem to Saladin (471–72). See also Azīz Aḥmad, *A History of Islamic Sicily*. Islamic Surveys, 10 (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1975); Alex Metcalfe, *Muslims and Christians in Norman Sicily: Arabic Speakers and the End of Islam*. Culture and Civilisation in the Middle East (London: Routledge Curzon, 2003).

89 For a Christian chronicle, see *De vita, et rebus gestis Guilelmi II, Siciliae regis*, ed. Francesco Testa (Monregali: M. Bentivenga, 1769); *The History of the Tyrants of Sicily by 'Hugo Falcandus', 1154–69*,

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especially because later we will hear of parallel accounts by Christian pilgrims (Fabri) about women secretly making signs from within their houses to indicate that despite their Muslim appearance they were really Christians. Then, however, Ibn Jubayr also encounters a high-ranking official at the king's court, 'Abd al-Massih, who, once alone with him and other Muslim travelers, revealed his true faith, that of Islam. As he admitted to them: "'You can boldly display your faith in Islam,' he said, 'and are successful in your enterprises and thrive, by God's will, in your commerce. But we must conceal our faith, and, fearful of our lives, must adhere to the worship of God and the discharge of our religious duties in secret . . . .'" (342).

To what extent we can fully trust his account might remain debatable, especially when he refers to the Muslim officials who secretly make every effort to carry out their prescribed prayers: "They thus continue to labour in their purpose, covertly advising the Muslims in their unending struggle for the faith" (343). But his remarks underscore the amorphous situation for the Muslims in Sicily, being partly tolerated, partly subjugated. After all, many mosques were still standing, prayer service was still performed there, and the Muslim travelers did find a hospitable welcome there (346). Considering how much the Christians had copied even public institutions such as hospitals from the Arab models (346), we can

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trans. and annotated by Graham Loud and Thomas Wiedemann. Manchester Medieval Sources Series (Manchester: Manehester University Press, 1998), 109–10, 121–22, 124, 130, 133, et passim (none of those passages, however, go into any detail as to the Muslim population). See also Annkristin Schlichte, *Der "gute" König: Wilhelm II. von Sizilien, 1166–1189*. Bibliothek des Deutschen Historischen Instituts in Rom, 110 (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer, 2005), 203–11. She concludes her analysis of the situation for the Muslim population under William II as follows: "Die angeführten Belege . . . belegen [sic] dass von einer forcierten Christianisierungspolitik nicht gesprochen werden kann, genauso wenig allerdings von einer bewussten Integrationspolitik. Können und Loyalität waren, wie später unter Friedrich II., Voraussetzung für den Aufstieg muslimischer Beamter im Hofdienst, und wie seine Vorgänger bediente sich auch Willhelm II. der Muslime und ihrer praktischen Kenntnisse, ohne dass dadurch der grundsätzliche christliche Charakter seines Königtums in Frage gestellt worden wäre. Die Autorität des Königs garantierte das weitgehend friedliche Nebeneinander von Muslimen und Christen in einer Situation, die von latenten Spannungen nicht frei war und in der die christlich-lateinische Bevölkerungsgruppe zunehmend an Einfluss gewann" (210; The evidence provided confirms that we cannot speak of a policy of enforcing Christianization; but, by the same token, also not of a deliberate policy of integration. Ability and loyalty were, just as later under Frederick II, the preconditions for the rise of Muslim officials in the court administration. Just as his predecessors William II used the Muslims and their practical knowledge, without thereby undermining the principle Christian character of his kingdom. The king's authority guaranteed the the peaceful cohabitation of Muslims and Christians in a situation that was not free from latent tensions and in which the Christian-Latin population increasingly gained in influence). For the early-medieval history of the Muslims in Sicily, see Bernd Rill, *Sizilien im Mittelalter: Das Reich der Araber, Normannen und Staufer* (Stuttgart and Zürich: Belser Verlag, 1995), 79–132. See also John Phillip Lomax, "Frederick II, His Saracens, and the Papacy," *Medieval Christian Perception of Islam: A Book of Essays*, ed. John Victor Tolan. Garland Medieval Casebooks (New York and London: Garland Publishing, 1996), 175–97.

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easily fathom the dialectics in that contact zone of Sicily, where the King and his people obviously had found a way of *convivencia* there as well, parallel to al-Andalus.

With respect to Palermo we are informed: "The Muslims of this city preserve the remaining evidence of the faith. They keep in repair the greater number of their mosques, and come to prayers at the call of the muezzin. In their own suburbs they live apart from the Christians. The markets are full of them, and they are the merchants of the place" (348). The Muslims even enjoyed the privilege of running their own court system with a qadi, running their own schools, and operating their own inns and hostels. At the same time, "The Christian women of this city follow the fashion of Muslim women, are fluent of speech, wrap their cloaks about them, and are veiled" (349–50).

The rural population seems to have been all Muslim (350), who operated hot baths open to the wearisome travelers (350–51). Mosques and Christian churches almost stood side by side, as in the town of Trapani (351), while the Christian fortress was completely off-limits for Muslims (352). Soon thereafter Ibn Jubayr also comments on reports from Constantinople where the young prince, though a Byzantine, was said to study busily Arabic and other languages (356), while the King of Sicily intended to send a fleet to attack that capital city because of its inner weakness and leaning toward the Muslim world: "in shame for this youth and what befell him" (356). Ibn Jubayr again voices great worries about the well-being of the Muslim world and expresses his hope that William's designs would fail. According to other reports, some of the learned Muslims in Sicily were forced by the king to renounce their faith and accept Christianity, as in the case of Ibn Zur'ah, but the author then gets reassured that despite all external appearance, the jurist only "concealed what was really his true faith" (358).

The similar condition is said to be the case with the Lord of the Muslim community, Abu 'l-Qasim ibn Hammud, known as Ibn al-Hajar, who revealed to the travelers in private the tense relationship between Muslims and Christians. But Ibn Jubayr appears to react more emotionally than would seem logical, considering the extensive power and wealth which that official still commanded under the Christian king (358–59). On the one hand we are told: "When in Palermo we had seen houses belonging to him, his brothers, and members of his house, which were like lofty and superb castles. The condition of these men, in a word, was exalted, and his was so in particular" (359). On the other, which might reveal the rhetorical device at play here, he laments: "The (Muslim) people of this island suffer, amongst other tribulations, one that is very sore" (359).

The narrative account offers two polar perspectives, both confirming a solid state of toleration of the Muslims in that Christian state, and a strong sentiment on the part of the Muslims to leave that Christian kingdom behind or to defend their own faith in any other possible way (360). By the same token, Ibn Jubayr expresses

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the greatest desire, as all the other Muslim pilgrims, to return home to al-Andalus, but the entire travelogue is still predicated on his considerable curiosity about the foreign world beyond the border of the Arabic culture. In all likelihood, we face here a rather typical situation most travelers have always been in, both feeling attracted to the foreign world for a while, but then longing to return home and to leave the exotic, alien culture behind.

Altogether, however, this author offers, probably quite unintentionally, many examples of how much Christians and Muslims could cohabitate in certain areas of the Mediterranean, especially since Muslims were often willing and knew how to adjust to the dominant Christian culture, and since the Christian rulers did not do much against their Muslim subjects. The situation was never ideal, but at least it was functional for both sides, and this as early as the late twelfth century, still in the midst of the Crusades. But that was brutal war, while Ibn Jubayr operated as a traveler and pilgrim, and so could calmly observe that in Cairo, for instance, a small army of captive Christians worked on major building sites: "The forced labourers on this construction, and those executing all the skilled services and vast preparations . . . were the foreign Rumi prisoners whose numbers were beyond computation" (43), and this to the great relief of the Muslims who "are relieved of it all, no work of that nature falling on any of them" (43).

7. St. Francis of Assisi's Attempt to Reach Out to the Saracens The First Peaceful Missionizing in the Thirteenth Century

One of the most impressive religious figures in the high Middle Ages, Francis of Assisi (1181/1182–1226), was already studied intensively during his own life time and immediately thereafter. He founded the Order of the Franciscans in 1210, and it has survived until today, flourishing globally, along with the Order of the Poor Clares. In 1224 Francis received the stigmata, the first human being to be graced with those signs copying the wounds of Christ in His Passion. Pope Gregory IX pronounced him a saint on July 16, 1228, and he is particularly venerated as a patron saint of animals, the environment, and, together with Catherine of Siena, of Italy. He is also deeply admired for his love of the Eucharist, for his sorrow during the Stations of the Cross, and for his introduction of the nativity crèche in 1223.[90]

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[90] There is a virtually infinite amount of research and literature on Saint Francis; see, for instance, Helmut Feld, *Franziskus von Assisi*. 2nd rev. ed. Beck'sche Reihe: C. H. Beck Wissen, 2170 (2001; Munich: Beck, 2007); *Franziskus von Assisi und seine Bewegung*, ed. Helmut Feld (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2007); André Vauchez, *François d'Assise: Entre histoire et mémoire* (Paris: Fayard, 2009; an English translation is forthcoming with Yale University Press).

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In 1219, Saint Francis of Assisi, accompanied by another friar, went to Egypt where a Christian army on the fifth Crusade had been encamped for over a year besieging the walled city of Damietta located ca. two miles south of the estuary of one of the main channels of the Nile.[91] The Sultan, al-Malik al-Kāmal, a nephew of Saladin, had succeeded his father as Sultan of Egypt in 1218 and was encamped south of Damietta, equally unable to relieve it.[92] A bloody and futile attack on the city was launched by the Christians on August, 29, 1219, but since the outcome was inconclusive for either side, the Muslims and the Crusaders agreed to a cease-fire which lasted four weeks.

It was most probably during this interlude that Francis and his companion made their amazing attempt to reach out to the Muslim enemy and to convince them of the truth of the Christian faith—the only ideological-religious position possible for these deeply devout men. They crossed the Arab lines and were brought before the Sultan, remaining in his camp for a few days. The visit is reported in contemporary Crusader sources and in the earliest biographies of Francis, but they do not give information about what occurred during that encounter and only comment that the Sultan received Francis graciously and that Francis preached to the Saracens without durable effect, returning unharmed to the Crusader camp. Unfortunately, no Arab chronicler discusses, as far as I can tell, that highly unusual visit by the founder of the Franciscan Order, and instead we have to rely exclusively, as far as I can tell, on the Christian sources.[93]

The Italian friar minor and later Cardinal Bishop of Albano (1274), Saint Bonaventure (1221–1274), in his official life of Francis (written ca. 1260–1263, i.e., a little more than forty years after the event), mentions that Francis had gone so far as to offer a trial-by-fire in order to prove the veracity of the Christian gospel. But the Sultan rejected this offer because he knew that none of his people would subject themselves to such a terrifying trial; and so he did not even allow Francis to step into the fire as a test to prove the greatness of the Christian God "because

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Augustine Thompson, *Francis of Assisi* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 2012). The latter, although claimed to be authoritative, has met with a bit of criticism; see the review by Jean-François Godet-Calogeras in *The Medieval Review* 12.10.29 (Oct. 2012).

91 James M. Powell, *Anatomy of a Crusade, 1213-1221*. The Middle Ages Series (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1986); *Tolerance and Intolerance: Social Conflict in the Age of the Crusades*, ed. Michael Gervers and James M. Powell. Medieval Studies (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 2001).

92 Hans Ludwig Gottschalk, *Al-Malik al-Kāmil von Egypten und seine Zeit; eine Studie zur Geschichte Vorderasiens und Egyptens in der ersten Hälfte des 7./13. Jahrhunderts* (Wiesbaden: O. Harrassowitz, 1958).

93 See, for instance, *Arab Historians of the Crusades*. Selected and trans. from the Arabic Sources by Francesco Gabrieli. Trans. from the Italian by E. J. Costello (1957; London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1969), 256–59, where the chronicler only covers the military events; he does not even mention the cease-fire.

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he feared a revolt among his people. Nevertheless he offered him many precious gifts, which the man of God, greedy not for worldly possessions but the salvation of souls, spurned as if they were dirt."[94]

Later biographers added even the fanciful detail that a fire was actually kindled which Francis unhesitatingly entered without suffering burns, thus officially confirming his sanctity, which the famous painter Giotto Bondone (1266/1267–1337) depicted in his thirteenth-century fresco cycle in the upper basilica at Assisi. According to some subsequent sources, the Sultan allegedly gave Francis permission to visit the sacred places in the Holy Land and even to preach there as much he liked and could afford to,[95] but we would have to question the validity of those statements, even though this would not change anything in our evaluation of the saint's missionizing outreach which stands out so markedly in comparison with the Fifth Crusade and all other previous military operations.

As to be expected, the intensive effort to establish a believable myth about Francis's triumphal victory over the Saracens, although he could not convert them, led to a comprehensive literary, artistic (Giotto), and religious campaign involving many writers and church leaders.[96] It seems doubtful, however, whether Francis would have approved of their approach and their manipulation of the account about his travails at Damietta since his ideas hinged only on a peaceful strategy predicated on love, in the direct imitation of Christ.

The French canon regular Jacques de Vitry (ca. 1160/1170–May 1, 1240), appointed as bishop of Acre in 1214 and as cardinal in 1229, describes the encounter between Francis and the Sultan in 1220 in his sixth letter to a friend from February/March of the same year, while he accompanied the Crusaders at Damietta, as follows:

> The head of these brothers, who also founded the order, came into our camp. He was so inflamed with zeal for the faith that he did not fear to cross the lines to the army of our enemy. For several days he preached the Word of God to the Saracens and made a little progress. The sultan, the ruler of Egypt, privately asked him to pray to the Lord

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94 *Francis of Assisi: Early Documents*, ed. Regis J. Armstrong, J. A. Wayne Hellmann, and William J. Short. 4 vols. (New York, London, and Manila: New City Press, 1999–2002), vol. 1, 603. See now also *The Writings of Francis of Assisi: Rules, Testament, and Admonition*, ed. Michael W. Blastic, Jay M. Hammond, and J.A. Wayne Hellmann. Studies in Early Franciscan Sources, 2 (St. Bonaventure, NY : Franciscan Institute Publications, 2011).

95 See, for example, *The Little Flowers of Saint Francis*, which is in essence a translation and reediting of Ugolino Boniscambi of Montegiorgio's *The Deeds of Saint Francis and His Companions*, here quoted from *Francis of Assisi: Early Documents* (see note 94), 605–06, ch. 24; see *Fonti Francescane* (Assisi: Movimento Franescano, 1977), 1441–624. For Giotto's paintings, see Gerhard Ruf, *Die Fresken der Oberkirche San Francesco in Assisi: Ikonographie und Theologie* (Regensburg: Schnell + Steiner, 2004).

96 *St. Francis and the Sultan: The Curious History of a Christian-Muslim Encounter* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2009), 135–46.

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> for him, so that he might be inspired by God to adhere to that religion which most pleased God.[97]

In his *Historia Occidentalis* (ca. 1221/1225), Jacques presents further impressions of great significance:

> Not only Christ's faithful but even the Saracens and people in the darkness [of unbelief] admire their humility and virtue, and when the brothers fearlessly approach them to preach, they willingly receive them and, with a grateful spirit, provide them with what they need.

Once Francis had been brought into the presence of the Sultan, the latter appears to have felt great sympathy for that humble and yet forceful man who displayed no fear and was obviously deeply determined by spirituality:

> He recognized him as a man of God and changed his attitude into one of gentleness, and for some days he listened very attentively to Francis as he preached the faith of Christ to him and his followers. But ultimately, fearing that some of his soldiers would be converted to the Lord by the efficacy of his words and pass over to the Christian army, he ordered that Francis be returned to our camp with all reverence and security.[98]

According to Jacques, the only conflict emerged when any of the Franciscans dared to "speak against Mohammed as a liar and an evil man. When they did speak in such a manner, the Saracens irreverently put them to the lash and savagely expelled them from their city . . . ."[99]

As we can recognize clearly, and as we will observe many times later in fifteenth-century pilgrimage accounts, the East-West relationship could develop fairly easily and smoothly, at times even turning into friendship and comradery among the travelers and their guides or drivers, if the religious controversy did not emerge as a topic of debate—certainly a universal and timeless phenomenon.

Whether Francis approved of the Crusade as a military strategy to spread the Christian faith even to the Muslim world, or whether he rejected it, which is a highly divisive issue in Francis of Assisi Studies, does not need to be determined here. What matters for us, however, is that this founder of the Franciscan Order took it upon himself to reach out to the Sultan and fearlessly endeavored to preach to him, which appears to have impressed al-Kâmal deeply. It is worth listening to Francis's own words that he uttered either just before his departure for Damietta or shortly thereafter, since his statement reveals him to be closer to Christ's original teaching, even in face of the enemy of the faith, than all those who subscribed to the Crusade ideology:

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97 *Francis of Assisi: Early Documents* (see note 94), vol. 1, 581.
98 *Francis of Assisi: Early Documents* (see note 94), vol. I: 584.
99 *Francis of Assisi: Early Documents* (see note 94), vol. I: 584-85.

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> All my brothers: let us pay attention to what the Lord says: *Love your enemies* and *do good to those who hate you*, for our Lord Jesus Christ, Whose footprints we must follow, called His betrayer a friend and willingly offered Himself to His executioners. Our friends, therefore, are all those who unjustly inflict upon us distress and anguish, shame and injury, sorrow and punishment, martyrdom and death. We must love them greatly, for we shall possess eternal life because of what they bring us. (Chapter 22 of the *Rules*)

Moreover, as Steven J. McMichael alerts us, Francis even had given specific instructions on how to carry out missionary work among the infidels:

> As for the brothers who go, they can live spiritually among the Saracens and non-believers in two ways. One way is not to engage in arguments or disputes but to be subject *to every human creature in God's sake* [1 Peter 2:13] and to acknowledge that they are Christians. The other way is to announce the Word of God, when they see that it pleases the Lord, in order that [non-believers] may believe in the all-powerful God, Father, and Son, and Holy Spirit, the Creator of all, the Son the Redeemer and Saviour, and be baptised and become Christians because *no one can enter the Kingdom of God without being reborn of water and the Holy Spirit* [John 3:5].[100]

All that can safely be asserted is that Francis and his companion left the Crusader camp for Acre, from where they embarked for Italy in the latter half of 1220.[101] He obviously succeeded in meeting the Sultan and gaining his attention, if not great respect, but there was no conversion possible. While the Crusaders approached their task exclusively with military means, St. Francis developed an alternative model of peaceful missionizing. Unfortunately, neither the one nor the other truly

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100 Quoted from Steven J. McMichael, "Francis and the Encounter with the Sultan (1219)," *The Cambridge Companion to Francis of Assisi*, ed. Michael J. P. Robson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 127–42; here 134–35. See also St. Francis of Assisi, *Writings and Early Biographies: English Omnibus of the Sources for the Life of St. Francis*, ed. Marion A Habig. Third rev. ed. (1973; London: The Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1979), 43 (here identified as chapter 16).

101 A good part of this entire paragraph has been influenced by the article in *Wikipedia* on St. Francis (http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Francis_of_Assisi; last accessed on Aug. 5, 2012), although I have shortened, paraphrased, reworded, and expanded it to some extent. See also Paul Moses, *The Saint and the Sultan: The Crusades, Islam, and Francis of Assisi's Mission of Peace* (New York: Doubleday, 2009); for a more comprehensive treatment of Saint Francis, see the contributions to *The Cambridge Companion to Francis of Assisi*, ed. Michael J. P. Robson (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2012). See also Robson, Michael, O.F.M.Conv., *St. Francis of Assisi: The Legend and the Life* (London: Geoffrey Chapman, 1997); Anita Ganeri, *The Life of St Francis*. Life of Saints (2004; Oxford: Heinemann Library, 2005). There are numerous other biographies on St. Francis, published since the nineteenth century. As to the relevant sources, see *St. Francis of Assisi: Writings and Early Biographies. English Omnibus of the Sources for the Life of St. Francis* , ed. Marion A. Habig, 3rd rev. ed. (Chicago: Franciscan Herald Press, [1973]); *Francis and Clare*, trans. and intro. by Regis J. Armstrong and Ignatius C. Brady. The Classics of Western Spirituality (London: SPCK, 1982).

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achieved their goals,[102] but the dream conceptualized by St. Francis continues to exert a deep influence on us even, if not especially, today, the dream of overcoming religious differences and of establishing a world where all individuals can accept each other irrespective of their differing faiths and cultural values.[103]

8. The Christian Perspective: Pilgrimage to the Holy Land A First Step Into a Vast Field

Stefan Schröder has recently examined the pilgrimage accounts by Felix Fabri as expressions of the fundamental and timeless conflicts between both these world religions in his doctoral dissertation "Zwischen Christentum und Islam," submitted to the University of Kassel in the winter semester of 2007/2008.[104] As he rightly emphasizes, all pilgrimage accounts imply, in one way or the other, the meeting with another world. However, pilgrims mostly traveled in groups and rarely got into contact with the native people except in an official situation, which would be quite typical and characteristic of all travel groups even today because familiarity continues to be highly desired even in the exotic and foreign world which potentially creates fear among the common travelers.

Of course, much depends on the individual experience, the circumstances, and the traveler's character and interests. Felix Fabri made more efforts than many other pilgrimage authors to reach various audiences with different levels of education, composing three separate accounts, one in Latin (*Evagatorium in Terrae Sancta, Arabiae et Egypti peregrinationem*, 1484–1488), one in German (*Eigentliche beschreibung der hin vnd wider Fahrt zu dem Heyligen Land*, also ca. 1484–1488; first

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102 Seee now Richard F. Cassady, *The Emperor and the Saint: Frederick II of Hohenstaufen, Francis of Assisi, and Journeys to Medieval Places* (DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 2011), 144–53. But this is mostly a historical narrative for the broader audience, though still well researched. He characterizes the Sultan as "brilliantly civilized, considerate, and an admirer of Westerners, their literature, and their languages. Basically, he was a man of peace whose major problems, like those of the other Ayyubite rulers, were with his own people" (147).

103 Although not scholarly in its conception, the book by George Dardess and Marvin L. Krier Mich, *In the Spirit of St. Francis & the Sultan: Catholics and Muslims Working Together for the Common Good* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 2011), draws from the bold and courageous efforts by St. Francis to reach out to the Sultan Malik al-Kamil and to preach to him peace and thus perhaps even to convert him to Christianity as a case study of how today religious tolerance could be achieved and practiced: "while Francis always said that he and his friars must be prepared for death, he said also that they must not deliberately seek it. Their purpose was to act according to the law of love they preached, not to provoke the enemy into murder" (115).

104 Now in printed form, *Zwischen Christentum und Islam: Kulturelle Grenzen in den spätmittelalterlichen Pilgerberichten des Felix Fabri*. Orbis mediaevalis: Vorstellungswelten des Mittelalters, 11 (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2009). I will engage with Felix Fabri at greater length below. What matters here pertains only to the larger context of late-medieval pilgrimage accounts.

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printed in 1556), and one, also in German (*Sionpilger*, 1492, original does not seem to have survived, copies were written in 1493, 1494, 1495), but destined for female readers in a convent who could not travel on their own and so had to rely on such pilgrimage reports which allowed them to follow the author from station to station, doing the prayers and meditating on the religious setting, reliquaries, saints, churches, and chapels (*Sionpilger*), but not carrying out those rituals in reality, but virtually back home in their convent. That way they could obey their monastic vow of the *stabilitas loci* and yet concomitantly realize their dream of getting to the Holy Land and hence close to all those holy sites, even if only in proxy.

As Schröder points out, summarizing our basic knowledge about Fabri's works, alerting us to what is not atypical for this type of writing, he resorted to the pilgrimage accounts by previous travelers, such as Burchard of Monte Sion (ca. 1283), Wilhelm von Boldensele (1334–1336), and Ludolf von Sudheim (1336–1341). Many other contemporary pilgrimage accounts exist in large numbers, reflecting a universal fascination with the idea of visiting the Holy Land although it was solidly in the hands of Arabic rulers at the latest since the fall of the last Crusader fortress of Acre in 1291. Some of those were: Jean and Anselme Adorno (1470), Alessandro di Filippo Rinuccini (1474), Wilhelm Tzewers (1478), Hans Tucher and Sebald Rieter (1479), Joos van Ghistele (1481), Francesco Suriano (1481–1484), Antonio da Crema and Konrad Grünemberg (1486), Dietrich von Schachten (1491), Pietro Casola (1494), and Arnold von Harff (1496–1498), coming from virtually all Christian countries in medieval Europe. We can safely trust all their religious devotion, but we can also observe an increasing mix of the profane with the sacred in these late-medieval pilgrimage accounts.[105]

But pilgrimage began already in late antiquity and the early Middle Ages (Egeria; Bishop Arculf) and has basically continued until today, and all pilgrims

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[105] Reinhold Röhricht, *Bibliotheca geographica Palaestina: Chronologisches Verzeichnis der auf die Geographie des Heiligen Landes bezüglichen Literatur von 333 bis 1878, und Versuch einer Cartographie* (Berlin: H/ Reuther, 1890); *Europäische Reiseberichte des späten Mittelalters: Eine analytische Biographie*, ed. Werner Paravicini. Part 1: *Deutsche Reiseberichte*, by Christian Halm. Kieler Werkstücke. R. D.: Beiträge zur europäischen Geschichte des späten Mittelalters, 5 (Frankfurt a. M., Berlin, et al.: Peter Lang, 1994); Part 2: *Französische Reiseberichte*, by Jörg Wettlaufer together with Jaques Paviot. Kieler Werkstücke 12 (1999); Part 3: *Niederländische Reiseberichte*, nach Vorarbeiten von Detlev Kraack bearbeitet von Jan Hirschbiegel. Kieler Werkstücke, 14 (2000); see also Ursula Ganz-Blättler, *Andacht und Abenteuer: Berichte europäischer Jerusalem- und Santiago-Pilger (1320–1520)*. Jakobus-Studien, 4 (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1990). See now Helmut Brall-Tuchel, "Unterwegs im Heiligen Land: Rheinische Pilgerberichte des 14. Jahrhunderts zwischen Tradition und Aneignung," *Wallfahrt und Kulturbegegnung: Das Rheinland als Ausgangspunkt und Ziel spätmittelalterlicher Pilgerreisen. Beiträge des internationalen Symposiums in Erkelenz am 14. Oktober 2011*, ed. id. Schriften des Heimatvereins der Erkelenzer Lande e.V., 26 (Erkelenz: Heimatverein der Erkelenzer Lande, 2012), 143–71; see my review in *Mediaevistik* 26 (forthcoming).

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have consistently disregarded any 'national,' religious, linguistic, or political barriers or borders, since their spiritual desire proved to be overwhelming.[106] The common route to the Holy Land normally began in Venice, then turned toward Alexandria and Cairo, from there to Mount Sinai, to reach Jerusalem and the many other Christian pilgrimage sites. There were individuals like William of Adam from southwestern France (ca. 1275–1338/1339), a member of the Dominican missions in Iran and at the end of his life Bishop of Antivari (Bar on the Adriatic coast) who vehemently argued against pilgrimage at large because it proved to be economically advantageous for the Mamluk rulers in Egypt and elsewhere, and who also opposed all economic trade with the Muslim East.

Yet, despite all his efforts through his *Tractatus quomodo Sarraceni expugnandi* (ca. 1316–1317) he did not achieve his desired goals, both because the religious needs of European Christians and the economic greed especially by many Genoese trading firms, who provided the Egyptians with necessary products out of iron and wood, and then with oil and grain, could not be repressed. After all, the Greeks, or Byzantines, were not to be trusted according to his opinion, since they looked out more for their economic profit than for the pilgrims from the Latin West.[107] Numerous other writers followed his lead, arguing very much along the same lines, but nothing could change the course of history or the weak position of the Latin West vis-à-vis the Muslim world, as the late-medieval pilgrimage accounts testify very vividly.

Fabri, like many others, used his time on the journey to engage first with the Venetians, then with the various Muslims, and Jews while he was in Egypt and Palestine, and so he developed a larger world view characteristic of the late fifteenth century. But the foreign world presented itself to him and the other travelers also in the form of spaces, cities, mountains, and bodies of water. In the process of describing the kaleidoscope in front of his eyes, Fabri resorted to one of the 'classical' strategies, which we can observe in many contemporary and later

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106 Mary B. Campbell, *The Witness and the Other World: Exotic European Travel Writing, 400–1600* (Ithaca, NY, and London: Cornell University Press, 1988); see now the text anthology, *Pilgrimage to Jerusalem and the Holy Land, 1187–1291*, ed. Denys Pringle. Crusade Texts in Translation, 23 (Farnham, Surrey, and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2012). The particular value of this anthology consists of making available in English translation pilgrimage accounts that are normally not considered, such as by Thietmar (1217–1218), Ernoul (ca. 1231), Geoffrey of Beaulieu (1251), Matthew Paris (1250–1259), Friar Maurice (1227–1273), Burchard of Mount Sion (1274–1285), Philip of Savona (1285–1289), and Riccoldo of Monte Croce (1288–1289) (here disregarding some of the anonymous accounts, especially by a Greek anonymous).

107 William of Adam, *How to Defeat the Saracens = Tractatus quomodo Sarraceni sunt expugnandi*, text and trans. with notes by Giles Constable, in collaboration with Ranabir Chakravarti et al. Dumbarton Oaks Medieval Humanities (Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks, 2012) 27–39, et passim; as to Byzantium, see 41–45; see now the excellent review by John France in *The Medieval Review* (online, 13.03.02).

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travelogues as well, comparing and contrasting the foreign with his own home country or city.

His readers were thus given an opportunity to comprehend in more concrete terms what the differences between their own existence and the foreign really might have meant. I will return to his account below to explore concrete details relevant for the purpose of this book. But first we need to get a more diversified understanding of what a variety of pilgrim authors from across Europe had to say about their encounters with the Muslim Others.

9. The Diplomat Pilgrim Bertrandon de la Broquière

One of those daring and truly curious late medieval travelers was the French nobleman Bertrandon de la Broquière (d. on May 9, 1459)[108] who was secretly charged by the Duke of Burgundy, Philip le Bon in 1432 to travel to Palestine, or the Holy Land, from where he returned in 1433, bringing back with him invaluable information in preparation for a possible crusade against the Turks, for which he composed his written account about his travels in 1438, *Le Voyage d'Outre-Mer*.[109] We do not quite know what Philip might have had in mind when he charged Bertrandon with that travel, since a new crusade at that time and age appeared, from out perspective, almost foolish, but there were two serious attempts in 1443 and 1444, both of which failed. Still, he might have toyed with that idea because he was dreaming of the French royal crown and might have believed in the possibility of carrying out a successful crusade which would have given him the European respect he needed for the realization of that dream.[110]

Bertrandon provided him with the desired encouragement, when he concluded his account with the following comment about the Turks: "I don't think, however, for a well-disciplined people, it would be very hard to break and defeat them,

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108 G. Tyl-Labory, "Bertrandon de la Broquière," *Dictionnaire des lettres françaises: Le Moyen Âge*, ed. Michel Zink and Geneviève Hasenhor (Paris: Fayard, 1992), 170–71.

109 *Le voyage d'Outremer de Bertrandon de la Broquière*, publiée et annoté par Ch. Schefer (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1892). For an early English translation, see *Early Travels in Palestine Comprising the Narratives of Arculf, Willibald, Bernard, Sæwulf, Sigurd, Benjamin of Tudela, Sir John Mandeville, de la Broquière*, ed., with notes by Thomas Wright (London: Henry G. Bohn, 1848). Amazingly, there is even an older English trans., this one by Thomas Johnes, *The Travels of Bertrandon de la Broquière . . . to Palestine and His Return from Jerusalem Overland to France* (London: Hafod, 1807). See now *The Voyage d'outremer by Bertrandon de la Broquière*, trans., ed. and ann. with an intro. and maps by Galen R. Kline. American University Studies. Series II: Romance Languages and Literature, 83 (New York: Peter Lang, 1988). I will quote from this version. There is even a Turkish translation of this text by Semavi M. Eyice, *Bertrandon de la Broquière'n denizas, iri seyahati* (Istanbul: Eren, 2000).

110 *Französische Reiseberichte*, bearbeitet von Jörg Wettlaufer (see note 105), 80–88.

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given their lack of arms" (145). We can only regard this remark as disingenuous, misleading his audience either out of naivité or arrogance, and certainly not taking into full account the actual political, military situation in the entire Middle East and in the Ottoman Empire specifically.[111]

Probably fortunately for Philip, despite Bertrandon's optimism, he did not embark on such a suicide mission, considering the overwhelming military successes of the Ottomans, who even captured Constantinople in 1453. Bertrandon's report serves us exceedingly well in the further exploration of the encounters between East and West because he was not really driven by a religious impetus, but served his duke as a spy in military matters, although he himself introduces his work with the devious formulation: "For the amusement and distraction of the hearts of noble men who wish to see the world, by command and order of the most high, most powerful, and my most respected lord, Philip . . ." (1). But only a few lines further down he reveals his true colors: "Should any Christian prince or king wish to undertake the conquest of Jerusalem by taking a large army overland, or should any nobleman want to go or come back by land, he can learn of the cities, towns, regions, countries, rivers, mountains, and topography and of the lords who control them along the route from Jerusalem" (1).

In his narrative Bertrandon basically left out the entire route from Burgundy to Jerusalem because it was by then already so well known, as he remarks; instead he focuses on Syria and related parts where normal travelers, i.e., pilgrims, would not get to. Despite his secret mission, the author did not neglect to visit, as all other pilgrims were doing, the standard holy sites, whether in Jaffa or in Jerusalem. Subsequently he also went to Mount Sinai, which required extensive preparations because they had to traverse the desert and needed Arab guides (11).

Many times the travelers faced difficult negotiations with the local people over what animals they were supposed to hire for transportation, whether asses or camels, and in order to solve the conflicts, they asked the lord of the city of Gaza, who, after having heard their case, did them "justice and did not force us to take any unless we wanted to" (13). But Bertrandon got sick while on the way through the desert, so one of the Arabs took him back to Gaza. Full of admiration, the

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111 Ch. Schefer, ed., *Le Voyage d'Outremer* (see note 109), xxxiv–xlv. Of course, we have to keep in mind that in 1438 the Sultan Melik el-Achraf, Seīf Eddín Aboul Nasr Barsbay was in his death throes, which temporarily weakened the political situation, but he had arranged everything in time for the succession by his son, Melík el-Aziz Youssouf. Moreover, Syria, which Bertrandon was visiting, was then divided into five territories (xlv), which altogether left a rather curious impression on the European traveler. See also G. Maspero, *History of Egypt, Chaldea, Syria, Babylonia, and Assyria*, ed. A. H. Sayce, trans. M. L. McClure. History of Egypt, 9 vols. (London: Grolier Society, 1903); Ahmad Darrāj, *L'Égypte sous le règne de Barsbay, 825–841/1422–1438* (Damascus: Institut français de Damas, 1961); J.-C. Garcin, "The Regime of the Circassian Mamluks," *The Cambridge History of Egypt*, Vol. I: *Islamic Egypt, 640-1517*, ed. Carl F. Petry (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 290-317.

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author emphasizes: "The Arab took very good care of me, which they do not normally do for Christians . . . . I stayed there for about six hours. When they saw how sick I was, four or five friends of the Arab who was responsible for me, came. They made me get down from my donkey and lie down on a mattress which I was carrying. They treated the illness after their own fashion, kneading and pinching me with their hands so that finally, thanks to all their work, I fell asleep. They took nothing, nor did me any harm" (15).

Not surprisingly, while Bertrandon profiles these particular Arabs as friendly and humanitarians, if not as 'Samaritans' in their selflessness helping him in his desperate situation, he still underscores that this treatment had been highly unusual. Nevertheless, he explicitly conveyed to his European readers how much he as a Christian traveler could count on basic help and support even in the Muslim world, specifically undermining thereby the standard stereotypes of the dangerous foreigners in the religiously so different world in the East.

In Jerusalem he talked with a representative of the Sultan, named Nanchardin, asking for a guide to take a trip to Nazareth and Mount Tabor, which then, however, did not work out, but we get a good sense of the many possibilities to gain close contacts with the local authorities. He subsequently took a boat to cover the distance up to Beirut along the coastline, from where he made his way to Damascus, obviously, as he relates, an international city with merchants from far and wide: "we found several French, Venetian, Genoese, Florentine and Catalan merchants" (20).

At the gate of Damascus, however, he almost got into a fight with a man in the mob, which his driver quickly prevented knowing only too well of the danger for the traveler: "I believe that if I had hit him, we would have been dead. I say this to warn people not to get into any quarrel with them, for they seem to be mean people and not very bright" (20). As we will observe later, this and many other travelers simply had to cope with the ordinary crowds of people on the streets who displayed rowdy and crude behavior and cared little about the protection of human life, since they happily provoked the pilgrims and other non-Arabic travelers. Bertrandon illustrates how he perceived that situation: "In my experience, you must not be too mean with them nor weak nor show that you are afraid. Nor should you show that you are rich, for they are greedy and can be satisfied with little" (20).

Insofar as the author does not attribute those characteristics to Muslims at large, but pinpoints simply the masses as commonly responsible for difficulties on the roads or in cities, we gain a good impression of the degree to which fifteenth-century writers could and did exert some objectivity and open-mindedness. The locals often displayed hostility, but Bertrandon could always smooth the relationship if he bribed them, such as in Damascus, where he convinced a man

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to teach him how to operate a Greek fire (23). His contemptuous conclusion consists of a curt comment: "there is nothing a Moor won't do for money" (23).

However, Bertrandon also proves to be as gullible with respect to myths and legends of religious kinds as many other, if not all, Christian pilgrims, as when he hears the account of Jews who had allegedly stoned an image of Jesus Christ which then began to bleed (24), the old blood-libel charge so popular in Europe.[112] This comes as a surprise because otherwise, when he encounters Arabs who might be armed he offers an in-depth description of their weapons and clothing (29). At the same time Bertrandon traveled in disguise, which protected him from being attacked, robbed, or killed a number of times. Yet, he was constantly afraid of being detected, as when he entered a mosque together with his Arab driver (30), or when he entered Damascus: "Since I was dressed like them, I entered the city on horseback, like them" (32). He was fully aware of the risk that he accepted, but the advantages outweighed the dangers he could run into otherwise.

Bertrandon notices that many times the groups of Muslims whom he encountered consisted of many different races: "To explain what this caravan was, there were Moors, Turks, Berbers, Tartars and Persians, all belonging to the sect and law of Muhammed" (33). Being ignorant of the Islamic faith, the author approached a priest who served the Venetian consul in Damascus conversant in that holy book (the Koran), to explain to him their religion, which the man actually did, copying it down on a piece of paper, which Bertrandon later took with him to the Duke Philip, but he does not give us any details in his account of what he actually understood from that explanation (34).

His curiosity, however, to explore as many parts of Syria as possible never stopped, and he did not even hesitate to dress up like a Muslim in order to join a caravan going to Bursa (35–36). Considering how lavishly the author equipped himself on the market, we can easily figure how much money the duke had provided him with for that journey. But he was by far not the only one capable of traveling to the foreign world in the vein of a pilgrim but richly equipped, since pilgrimage sites were frequented by representatives of all social classes and both genders, by young and old since the desire to partake in the sanctity of a space, a shrine, a church, or a relic was extraordinarily strong, both resulting, possibly,

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[112] This topic has already been discussed quite intensively; for a good collection of relevant documents, see Rainer Erb, *Die Legende vom Ritualmord: zur Geschichte der Blutbeschuldigung gegen Juden*. Reihe Dokumente, Texte, Materialien, 6 (Berlin: Metropol, 1993); see also the contributions to *The Blood Libel Legend: A Casebook in Anti-Semitic Folklore*, ed. Alan Dundes (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 1991); *Ritualmord: Legenden in der europäischen Geschichte*, ed. Susanna Buttaroni (Vienna: Böhlau, 2003); cf. now Birgit Wiedl, "The Host on the Doorstep: Perpetrators, Victims, and Bystanders in an Alleged Host Desecration in Fourteenth-Century Austria," *Crime and Punishment in the Middle Ages and Early Modern Age*, ed. Albrecht Classen and Connie Scarborough. Fundamentals of Medieval and Early Modern Culture, 11 (Berlin and New York: De Gruyter, 2012), 299–345.

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from deep religious devotion and from simple curiosity, if not, which might well have been the norm, a combination of both.

His relationship with individual guides, such as a man called Hoyarbarach, proved to be excellent: "I found him very frank and honest, more so, it seems, than many Christians" (38). He also made serious efforts to learn some Turkish from a Jew of Haifa "who spoke good Tartar and Italian" (38). But this then led to a most fascinating situation which reveals how little the representatives of the contrastive cultures could communicate with each other but still could laugh in a friendly manner about and with each other:

> The very first day, when I was with the company outside of Baalbek, I looked in my notes to see how to say barley and chopped hay for my horse ten or twelve Turks gathered around me and burst out laughing when they saw my notes. They were as astonished by our writing as we are by theirs. Since then, they have taken so much effort to teach me to speak, saying a thing so many times and in so many ways, that I finally had to get it. When I left them I knew how to ask for most of the things that I needed for myself and my horse. (38–39)

While traveling from Damascus to Baalbek, he found some good company, although he had no linguistic ability to reach out to the other person: "With the leader was a Circassian Mamluk of the Sultan. He was going to get a brother of his who was in Karamania. When this Mamluk saw that I was alone and didn't speak the language, he accompanied for charity and took me along" (43). The others, however, at one point planned to kill and rob him because he appeared rich to them and since he was a Christian, it would have been easy. That Mamluke, however, saved him, emphasizing, as he later told Bertrandon, that he had warned them of their sinful act: "it would be bad and a sin against their law because I had eaten bread and salt with them. God had made Christians as well as Saracens" (44).

Could it be possible that that Mamluk was more tolerant than Bertrandon, or any other Christian pilgrim? Though we cannot tell from the author's report, there was no need for him to portray the other in such positive light; hence this little episode illustrates nicely that the stereotypical polarity and hostility between both religions and cultures were not necessarily a constant and all-pervasive feature in the contacts between both worlds. As so often, the individual situation and specific interpersonal relationships certainly have to be taken into account, and so here as well. We cannot fully evaluate the way that both Christians and Muslims, or more generally, Europeans and Arabs, viewed each other in the late Middle Ages by viewing those conditions only from the point of view of Christian pilgrims to the Holy Land.

As an important corrective, this author was not a cleric, only a regular traveler who collected information for his lord, and he was also a writer who paid greatest attention to all cultural differences that he could observe, including the extensive

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ritual of breaking camp ("Ten of us would make more noise than a thousand of them," 45), their prayers, washing, and even their habits of relieving themselves: "They relieve themselves like women, but never wipe themselves. If it is only liquid, they wipe their 'thing' on a stone or against a wall or something else" (45).

Then we also learn of a secret drinking party involving a group of Turks, some of whom just had returned from Mecca, and yet still did not care about their own severe transgression of the Islamic law. Obviously, they were well used to alcohol and could consume considerably more than Bertrandon who started to vomit at one point and needed help from one of them "who called me *kardays*, that is, brother, said that he would drink for me so that the others would be satisfied" (49). In addition, his Mamluk taught him how to shoot arrows from the saddle, apparently treating him like a friend who deserved all that extraordinary attention (50).

In the town of Payas on the gulf (southeast of Turkey in the Hatay Province near the border to Lebanon) Bertrandon encountered an Amenian who knew enough of Italian to tell him much about the history of Turkey (53–54). Later the author relates how the women in that country make bread, as he had observed it himself (55), and thus he clearly conveys to us how much he was allowed to traverse all that vast land as a tourist without ever really experiencing serious trouble. Bertrandon never leaves doubt as to the foreignness of his report, but the man from the West could apparently visit virtually every place and town, could go wherever he wanted, even if it sometimes required a disguise. Linguistic problems are fairly easily overcome by means of translators, and by him learning basic vocabulary.

Especially in Turkey (he calls it Turkmenia) Bertrandon was openly welcomed and treated in a friendly fashion, since people invited him into their own private spaces, including the baths: "One day, they took me into the city to the pools and steam baths. I did not dare to undress in order to bathe as they did, for I was afraid that they would see my money" (58). And: "There are no beds, but there are stone seats all around the outside, on which there are mats of very fine wicker on which they dry themselves and comb their beards. I then knew them better than I had ever before" (58).

He delighted in characterizing them as happy and friendly people, but still marveled at the strangeness of some of their customs: "They never wash their hands except when they wash their derrière, or when they say their prayers, or in the baths or when they wash their beards in any handy stream or fountain. They keep their beards very clean" (59).[113] Moreover, we regularly hear Bertrandon voice his fascination with the beautiful countryside, the friendly people, and the

[113] Kline, trans. (see note 109), already recognized many of these fascinating comments by Bertrandon about the Turkish culture (see her numerous remarks in the footnotes).

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Turkish language: "It is a very beautiful language and quick and rather easy to learn" (61). Not surprisingly, when he meets a Cypriot merchant, Antoine who had lived there already for a long time, we are told that he "spoke the language very well" (61), a clear indication of how it was possible for many of the pilgrims and other travelers to communicate with the Arabs or the Turks, among others, apart from using gestures. There are always enough people who have acquired the local languages and then assist the newcomers with their linguistic skills.

At the same time, Bertrandon encountered, even in the most distant corners, Europeans, such as two Cypriots in Karaman "who spoke French rather well" (66). They were ambassadors of sorts and had to reaffirm and renew political alliances with the Great Karman (66). In their company, the author was able to come along to the court of the "king," or "Grand Karaman" and observe the many different rituals and ceremonies involving the ambassador, the translator, and the king, without himself getting involved (68–71).

At one point the traveler continues his journey beyond a certain point at which he had to say good-bye to his guide, whom he praises most positively: "He had been so good to me. And he had done it for charity's sake. If he hadn't been there, I would have made my way only with great difficulty" (75–76). Amazingly, Bertrandon then goes even further and explains the reasons for his emphasis on that man's wonderful character: "I am writing this so that people will not forget that a man, not of our faith, for the honor of God, did many good things for me. Moreover, for the love of God, he willingly gave alms to those who asked" (76).

That Mamluk not only expressed his great respect and perhaps even friendship for Bertrandon, but he also warned him of the Saracens, i.e., the Arabs, "for they can be as bad as the Europeans"(76) or are simply identified as thieves (77). Bertrandon constantly reports of further encounters with extraordinarily friendly people, such as a slave of the Grand Turk, who could communicate with him in Italian and claimed to have some familiarity even with Paris (80–81). Once again the author felt urged to comment: "he was very kind and told me what I had to do" (81).

Nevertheless, he also came across slave markets where Christians were sold, which created great pity in him, although he was completely helpless (84). At one point he assumed the responsibility of taking a Spaniard with him to Constantinople, as a group of Florentine merchants had asked him to do (85), which underscores, here as well, the true extent to which Western merchants traversed the entire Near East and obviously coped quite well, although Bertrandon regularly has to buy various disguises to ensure the safety of his journeys: "I had to buy a high, red hat and a military insignia of brass wire, which I wore all the way to Constantinople" (86). But then he also realized that in some areas there "were more Greeks than Turks" who "hate the Christians more than the Turks do" (87), which sheds intriguing light on the real conflicts in terms of

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religion in that context. Probing the same issue somewhat later, he reached the same conclusion:

> I found more friendship among the Turks, and would sooner trust myself to them than to the Greeks. It seems to me that they don't like Christians who are loyal to the Church of Rome. The pledges that they have since made, I think were made more from poverty and hunger than from love for the Church of Rome. (95)

Already earlier pilgrims, such as Burchard of Monte Sion, had revealed the curious sentiment that they felt more welcome among the Muslims in the Holy Land than among the local Eastern Christians (Greek Orthodox). Similarly positive comments can be heard from the traveler Ricoldo da Monte Croce (1242/1243–1320).[114] After all, the fact that people in the Holy Land and in the neighboring regions shared, by chance, the same religion, did not necessarily make them sympathetic, neither then nor today. We know, however, that those Oriental Christians played a rather significant role in the establishment of intercultural relations, in preparing the ground for future contacts between Europeans and Arabs or other Eastern people, and could well be identified as one of the key components in the bridge building process between East and West from the late antiquity through the Middle Ages and until today.[115]

As much as Bertrandon was constantly driven by his curiosity to explore further lands, he maintained a critical stance and underlined, when necessary, that some of his accounts were only based on hearsay, such as the one about the land of Prester John: "I don't know if he was telling the truth or not. I simply report and do not guarantee the facts" (89).[116]

Similarly, when in Constantinople, Bertrandon makes the greatest efforts to observe and study everything he can get close to, such as the royal ceremonies and festivities, which intrigued him deeply (96–106), so his account proves to be a first-

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114 Burchard of Mount Sion, *A Description of the Holy Land*, trans. Aubrey Stewart. Library of the Palestine Pilgrims' Text society, 12 (London: Pilgrims' Text Society, 1896), 102–03; Norman Daniel, *Islam and the West: The Making of an Image* (1960; Edinburgh: University Press, 1979), 218–20. See also his study *The Arabs and Mediaeval Europe*. Arab Background Series (1975; London and New York: Longman, 1979). As to Ricoldo, see his *Itinerario ai paesi orientali di Fra Riccoldo di Monte di Croce . . .: scirrto del XIII. secolo*, ed. Fra Vincenzio Fineschi (Florence: Francesco Moucke, 1793).

115 See now the contributions to *Orientalische Christen und Europa: Kulturbegegnung zwischen Interferenz, Partizipation und Antizipation*, ed. Martin Tamcke. Göttinger Orientforschungen: Syriaca, 41 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2012). The authors deal with reception processes, introspection among the Oriental Christians, the history of missions, the interaction between the Oriental Christians and Europeans, and the coexistence of Muslims and Christians in the East.

116 This myth, often copied especially in medieval and early modern travel literature (Marco Polo, John Mandeville, etc.) has been studied already from many different perspectives; see, for instance, L. N. Gumilev, *Searches for an Imaginary Kingdom: The Legend of the Kingdom of Prester John*, trans. R. E. F. Smith. Past and Present Publications (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987).

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rate record of how late-medieval Europeans could, and sometimes did, perceive the Holy Land, the Ottoman Empire, and the lands on the Balkans. As much as the author certainly tried to present himself in the best light, he was also deeply concerned with staying close to the truth and to provide accurate information, as he confirms at the end: "I beg my readers not to impute to me pride, or conceit, or boastfulness. I have done this for two reasons: one, should any nobleman want to go that way he can ask for this road and will find that I have told the truth; two, because my much respected lord the Duke commanded that I have this written down, based on a few notes which I had made in a little book when I had the leisure to write" (169–70).

10. The Helpful Saracen in Margery Kempe's *Book* A Mystical Woman's Perception of the Foreign World

The most unusual mystical account of Margery Kempe also provides some intriguing glimpses into the way that some European pilgrim travelers could experience the foreign world in the Holy Land in concrete, personal terms. Overall, admittedly, Kempe does not offer many comments about the Muslim and Arab world there; instead she focuses, as most pilgrims naturally do, on the various sites where she went to pray and to partake in the spiritual quality of a chapel or a church. But she regularly experienced, just as she had back in England, much criticism and open hostility by her fellow pilgrims who disliked her heavily for her often rather outrageous behavior, especially her excessive crying in public, which always served her as an expression of her mystical experience or longing for the Godhead.[117]

When the company of pilgrims reached the mountain "Qwarentyne" where Christ was said to have fasted for forty days, Kempe also wanted to climb up the elevation, but she faced great physical challenges. Her Christian fellows simply denied her any help, once again hoping to leave her behind so that they could avoid further embarrassment: "And thei seyd 'nay', for thei cowd not wel helpyn hemself. Than had sche mekyl sorwe, for sche myth not comyn on the hille."[118] In

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[117] Recent research has recognized in Kempe a significant female voice from the late Middle Ages; see, for instance, *A Companion to the Book of Margery Kempe*, ed. John H. Arnold (Cambridge: Brewer, 2004); Marea Mitchell, *The Book of Margery Kempe: Scholarship, Community, and Criticism* (New York, Bern, et al.: Peter Lang, 2005); David Wallace, *Strong Women: Life, Text, and Territory, 1347 - 1645*. Clarendon Lectures in English 2007 (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2011); Valentina Castagna, *Re-Reading Margery Kempe in the 21st Century* (Bern, Berlin, et al.: Peter Lang, 2011).

[118] *The Book of Margery Kempe*, ed. Barry Windeatt. Longman Annotated Texts (Harlow: Pearson Educational Limited, 2000), 172–73. See also *The Book of Margery Kempe: A New Translation,*

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that moment, however, an Arab man came to her rescue: "an anon happyd a Sarazyn, a welfaryng man, to comyn by hir, and sche put a grote in hys hand, makyng to hym a token for to bryng hir on to the Mownt. And as-swythe the Sarazyn toke hir undyr hys arme and led hir up on to the hey Mownt wher owyr Lord fastyd fowrty days" (173).

For whatever reason, Margery succeeded in reaching out to the Muslims everywhere who treated her with great respect, at least as she perceived it, especially since she met them particularly when she had run into difficulties: "Also the Sarazines mad mych of hir and conveyd hir and leddyn hir abowtyn in the cuntre where ache wold gon. And sche fond alle pepyl good onto hir and gentyl, saf only hir owyn cuntremen" (174).

The sarcasm here could not be more biting, since she directly criticizes the other Christian pilgrims from England for their failure to help and support her according to Christian values, while the Muslims demonstrate the very opposite behavior, although they adhere to the very opposite religion. Of course, this does not mean at all that she rejects the Europeans altogether; on the contrary (see, e.g., 180), but she has her axe to grind with those who had been supposed to help and assist her on the long journey, as one would expect from pilgrims.

11. Locations of Contacts Between East and West

Especially the Mediterranean offered itself as the ideal staging ground for contacts between Arabs Muslims, Jews, and Christians, and it is here where we encounter the most examples of merchants, travelers, artists, architects, medical doctors, philosophers, and diplomats traversing through the entire space, crossing many borders all the time, coping with a host of different languages and religions.[119]

As Ragnhild Johnsrud Zorgati emphasizes, particularly the Iberian Peninsula proved to be, at least until 1492, a unique space where different cultures, religions, and languages met and meshed to some extent, as a large corpus of legal documents from both sides of the cultural divide indicates. According to Ryan Szpiech, who published a review of Zorgati's *Pluralism in the Middle Ages: Hybrid Identities, Conversion, and Mixed Marriages in Medieval Iberia*,

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Contexts, Criticism, trans. and ed. Lynn Staley. Norton Critical Edition (New York and London: W. W. Norton, 2011).

119 See now the contributions to *Lateinisch-griechisch-arabische Begegnungen: Kulturelle Diversität im Mittelmeerraum des Spätmittelalters*, ed. Margit Mersch and Ulrike Ritzerfeld. Europa im Mittelalter, 15 (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2009); Michael Borgolte, *Christen, Juden, Muselmanen: Die Erben der Antike und der Aufstieg des Abendlandes 300 bis 1400 n. Chr.* Siedler Geschichte Europas (Munich: Siedler, 2006).

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> The work is essentially a comparative legal study that weighs the similarities and differences between Christian and Muslim legal discourses about the interaction of different minority groups. As Zorgati explains, the goal of the work is to investigate "the perspectives that Muslim and Christian elites took on the pluricultural character of their societies by analyzing how their texts erected boundaries between religious communities. This book therefore constitutes an investigation into legal texts understood as boundary-maintaining mechanisms" (20). As she clarifies in the conclusion, her intention is not merely to "investigate" this understanding, but to call it into question (171). Zorgati elaborates this comparison of legal texts by looking at how they dealt with two issues of inter-religious contact: conversion (treated in chapters 1-3) and mixed marriages and sexual unions (chapters 4-6). The documentation and analysis of these two issues take up the bulk of the work.[120]

As Zorgati underscores, approaching her task from different perspectives in the various chapters, conversion efforts were of great significance and caused numerous legal problems, but they happened and indicate the plurality of cultural, personal, artistic, economic, legal, and intellectual connections and contacts between the Muslim and the Christian population on the Iberian Peninsula, at least as far as up to the fourteenth century.

It might as well be possible, if not even very likely, that Andalusian Arabic literature and music somehow influenced the world to the north, irrespective of the enormous linguistic barrier between Arabic and Catalan and Occitan. Maria Rosa Menocal has suggested, for instance, that the first *troubadour*, William IX of Aquitaine, might have been deeply determined by the art of love poetry as it was practiced in Muslim Spain during the eleventh century, or in the Holy Land, where he spent several years from 1100 onwards after the first Crusade had successfully besieged and conquered Jerusalem. Emphasizing the need to distinguish between Islam proper and the material Arabic culture on the southern part of the Iberian Peninsula and of Italy, he claims,

> The salient features of the world with which William of Acquitaine or the readers of the *Disciplina clericalis* of Petrus Alfonsi came into contact, and which we can legitimately claim they might have known in any degree, were secular. Thus, the ultimate sources of many of the cultural phenomena that became a part of the European mainstream because of the impact and prestige of Andalusian culture may be irrelevant, by and large.[121]

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120 Ryan Szpiech's review of Ragnhild Johnsrud Zorgati*'s Pluralism in the Middle Ages: Hybrid Identities, Conversion, and Mixed Marriages in Medieval Iberia* (New York: Routledge, 2012) in *The Medieval Review* 12.06.35 (online, June 2012). See also the contributions to *Hybride Kulturen im mittelalterlichen Europa: Vorträge und Workshops einer internationalen Frühlingsschule,* ed. Michael Borgolte and Bernd Schneidmüller. Europa im Mittelalter, 16 (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 2010).

121 Maria Rosa Menocal, *The Arabic Role in Medieval Literary History: A Forgotten Heritage*. Middle Ages Series (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1987), 35.

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By disentangling the Islamic world from the Arabic and Andalusian one, she hopes to have established a bridge to the early courtly culture to the north, where the poets and artists full of curiosity looked to their southern neighbors and picked up their inspirations (37). Quite correctly she points out the many direct contacts between Arabic and Christian scholars—an opposition that actually fails to address the critical issues of cultural contacts and exchanges since both groups lived in southern Europe, and only the latter term is based on a religious connotation—in Toledo, Andalusia, Southern Italy, and Siclity: "Contacts with the seats of learning and translation in southern Europe were anything but rare, indeed they were virtually incestuous at times" (49). For her, the term 'reaction' would have been the operative one, as she tries to illustrate with the case of Dante: "his work may have been a considered reaction against its [the Arabic] encroaching presence in his intellectual milieu" (52).

Unfortunately, as convincing Menocal seem to be in her argument, and as much as she also refers to the loud chorus of scholarly voices from the nineteenth century supporting her claim (Sismonde de Sismondi, Claude Fauriel, Stendhal. E. J. Delecluze, Eugène Baret, Madame de Staë, or Dante Gabriel Rossetti, 80–81), final proof really escapes her, even though Arabic love poetry, *muwashshaḥa*, with its famous *kharjas*,[122] could somehow be conceived as a potential reservoir of images, concepts, values, and ideals which later might have had an impact on courtly love poetry in the Provence:

> Provençal and other courtly love poems that are not explicitly dialogic often involve the same kind of denial of the validity of such love. This poetry is filled with variegated but analogous devices, such as structurally pairing emotions that cancel each other out and create voids and that in other ways indicate in a fashion quite similar to that of the *muwashshaḥa āt* the essential unproductiveness of such love. (109)

Of course, on the scholarly level, the contacts were certainly present through an intensive translation process, especially at the university of Salerno in southern Italy and the university of Toledo in Spain, which in many ways radically transformed Western sciences, medicine, and philosophy.[123] The Iberian Peninsula

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122 Richard Hitchcok, *The Kharjas: A Critical Bibliography*. Research Bibliographies & Checklists, 20 (London: Grant and Culter, 1977); Richard Hitchcock and Consuelo López-Morillas, *The Kharjas: A Critical Bibliography*. *Supplement, 1*. Research Bibliographies & Checklists, 20.1 (London: Grant & Cutler, 1996); Henk Heijkoop and Otto Zwartjes, *Muwaššaḥ, zajal, kharja: Bibliography of Strophic Poetry and Music from al-Andalus and Their Influence in East and West*. The Medieval and Early Modern Iberian World, 21 (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2004). Margit Frenk Alatorre, *Las jarchas mozárabes y los comienzos de la lírica románica*. Serie Estudios de lingüística y literatura, 1 (México: Colegio de México, 1975); Otto Zwartjes, *Love Songs from al-Andalus: History, Structure, and Meaning of the Kharja*. Medieval Iberian Peninsula: Texts and Studies, 11 (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 1997).

123 Derrick Melville Dunlop, *Arabic Science in the West*. Pakistan Historical Society Publications, 35

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at large and its southern portion in particular can clearly be identified as a territory where three cultures met, interacted with each other, exchanged, and found, despite much hostility and violence over the centuries, some form of *convivencia*. For instance, as we read in *The Arts of Intimacy*: "The courts of Peter I and Muhammad V were alive, and constantly transforming, each in the mirror to the other—so that even statements of separateness and domination bear the unmistakable marks of complicity, and of desire . . . . That opposition is remote, and constructed; the artistic language of domination and sovereignty found its most immediate reflections not in struggles between 'faithful' and 'infidel' but in internal struggles for power among those of the same religious and political group."[124]

Spanish literature, such as the *Poema de Mío Cid*,[125] is filled with examples of surprising interactions between Muslims and Christians, not to forget the Jews,

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(Karachi: Pakistan Historical Society, [1958]); Ziauddin Ahmad, *Influence of Islam on Western Civilization* (Karachi, Islamabad, et al.: National Book Foundation, 1978), mentions Arabic science, medicine, chemistry, geography, mechanical inventions, philosophy, music, agricultural, the arts as important areas that influenced the West, but no direct influence of Arabic literature on medieval or early modern literature. His comments on the deep impact of the collection of stories in *The Arabian Nights* on all of Western literature (19–21) seems too generic to help us in our investigation. Stephen O'Shea, *Sea of Faith* (see note 32); cf. also *A Shared Legacy: Islamic Science East and West: Homage to Professor J. M. Millàs Vallicrosa*, ed. Emilia Calvo (Barcelona: Universitat de Barcelona, 2008); see now the contributions to *Wissen über Grenzen: Arabisches Wissen und lateinisches Mittelalter*, ed. Andreas Speer and Lydia Wegener. Miscellanea mediaevalia, 33 (Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2006). For the situation in Spain, see Julio Samsó, "La ciencia española en la época de Alfonso el Sabio," *Alfonso X, Toledo 1984* (Madrid: Ministerio de Cultura, Dirección General de Bellas Artes y Archivos, 1984), 89–101. Perhaps, however, we would have to widen our perspective considerably, following Christopher I. Beckwith's suggestion that much of the innovations in medieval sciences really originated in Central Asia, with the Arabic world serving primarily as a medium, not as the origin. See his *Warriors of the Cloisters: The Central Asian Origins of Science in the Medieval World* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2012). As far as medieval Europe was concerned, however, the contact with Muslim scholars proved to be highly instrumental; see John Freely, *Light from the East: How the Science of Medieval Islam Helped to Shape the Western World* (London: Taurus, 2011). See now also the contributions to *Beyond Religious Borders: Interaction and Intellectual Exchange in the Medieval Islamic World*, ed. David M. Freidenreich and Miriam Goldstein. Jewish Cultures and Contexts (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2011). For a review, see Sharon L. Albert, in *The Medieval Review* 12.11.15 (online, Nov. 2012). As Allison P. Coudert in her contribution to this volume argues, however, East Asia, especially China and Japan, were certainly far ahead of Europe in terms of sciences, political structure, economics, and probably also literature and the arts during the early modern age, which made it very difficult for Jesuit and other missionaries and (Dutch) traders to gain a foothold in those countries.

124 Jerrylynn D. Dodds, María Rosa Menocal, and Abigail Krasner Balbale, *The Arts of Intimacy: Christians, Jews, and Muslims in the Making of Castilian Culture* (New Haven, CT, and London: Yale University Press, 2008), 261.

125 *Poema de mio Cid*, ed. Colin Smith. 20th rev. ed. Letras hispánicas, 35 (Madrid: Cátedra, 1996).

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and this well into the fifteenth century.[126] But we have always to be careful not to confuse examples of fairly close cooperation between Christians and Muslims, such as in the *Poema de Mío Cid*, for pragmatic or personal reasons, with a false impression of tolerance in religious terms. El Cid always fights, when an opportunity arises, against the Moors, but he also counts Moorish rulers among his friends, all depending on the circumstances and particular conditions.

In the same vein, as much as Western scholars were deeply influenced by their Arab colleagues via various stages of translations, this does not mean at all that they thereby overcame their religious stereotypes and might have lowered their negative attitudes toward people from the East at large or from the Muslim faith. They certainly established considerable respect for the accomplishments of the Arabs, especially because the latter had preserved already since the ninth century the ancient Greek knowledge and philosophy more and better than anyone else in the West by way of Arabic translations. But the European scholars remained Christians and clearly defended their own cultural and religious supremacy. Similarly, there were no indications of any Arabic scholars at that time to convert to Christianity. Both sides remained well separated from each other, though there were numerous contact zones and individual exchanges throughout time.

One fascinating example of direct contacts and significant influence on Latin scholars that deserves to be mentioned in passing was the Sicilian Muslim scholar al-Idrísí, who completed his geographical treatise *Kitāb Nushat al-mushtāb fi 'khtirāb al-āfāk*, also called *Kitāb Rudjār* (The Book of Roger), in 1154 on behalf of the Norman King Roger II of Sicily. We only know that he died around 1165, or possibly 1175–1176,[127] but otherwise most details about him remain obscure or

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126 *Convivencia: Jews, Muslims, and Christians in Medieval Spain*, ed. Vivian B. Mann, Thomas F. Glick, and Jerrilynn D. Dodds (New York: G. Braziller in association with the Jewish Museum, 1992); *Tolerancia y convivencia étnico-religiosa en la Península Ibérica durante la Edad Media: III Jornadas de Cultura Islámica*, ed. Alejandro García Sanjuán. Collectanea, 73 ([Huelva]: Universidad de Huelva: Ilmo. ayuntamiento de almonaster la Real, 2003); H. Salvador Martínez, *La convivencia en la España del siglo XIII: perspectivas alfonsíes* (Madrid: Plifemo, 2006); María Jesús Fuente, *Identidad y convivencia: musulmanas y judías en la España medieval* (Madrid: Polifemo, 2010). See now also Paola Tartakoff, *Between Christian and Jew: Conversion and Inquisition in the Medieval Crown of Aragon, 1250–1391*. The Middle Ages Series (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2012). For more critical perspectives, see David Nirenberg, *Communities of Violence: Persecution of Minorities in the Middle Ages* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1996).

127 David Abulafia, "Local Trade Networks in Medieval Sicily: The Evidence of Idrisi," *Shipping, Trade* (see note 17), 157–66. He recognizes, above all, "This encomium led Idrisi to describe how Roger the Great Count had seized the island from quarrelling and tyrannical petty governors. Rather than presenting him as someone who was ever ready to arrange a surrender treaty, he portrayed Roger I as a ruthless figure who never set down his sword, conquering Sicily systematically zone by zone. But once the island was under his command, he set in place a system of justice and guaranteed the practices of the different religions, as well as the right to be governed by the law-code of the group to which one belonged. He ensured that his subjects lived in peace

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contested (birth in Ceuta or in al-Andalus?) probably because his Muslim contemporaries regarded him as a renegade for having lived at the court of a Christian king and for having expressed his praise of him in his book.[128]

But that is precisely the reason why al-Idrísí attracts our attention, being one of those scholars who had crossed the strict boundary between both religions for pragmatic reasons, probably without even abandoning his own faith.[129] His treatise, in Latin translation called *Opus geographicum sive: Liber ad eorum delectationem, qui terras peragrare studeant*,[130] was not only based on the two ancient authors Ptolemaeus and Orosius, but also on numerous eye-witness accounts provided by people whom the author had sent to many different parts of the then known world. It also contains a famous world map, the *Idrísí-Map*, which has survived in seventy large pages containing 2064 names of cities (365 in Africa, 740 in Europe, and 959 in Asia; fig. 2). The enormous significance of that map consists of its high degree of accuracy, with most cities located according to correct latitudes, while the longitudes were left out deliberately because they were regarded as unreliable and contradictory. Altogether, this *Idrísí-Map* counts as the oldest large-size world map, apart from the *Peutinger Map* from ca. 365 C.E., which focuses mostly on the roads (fig. 1).[131]

Idrísí also wrote a detailed description of Sicily, but, if we can trust the Italian translation by Francesco Tardia, there are no references to the people, the culture, the religion, or anything reminiscent of the actual conditions among the local population in his tract. We would not even know that here we deal with a book by an Arabic author because he never identifies himself and never refers to specific

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and safety and were able to pass on their possessions to their children. Such praise might indeed have been attached to a Muslim ruler; Idrisi, however, side-stepped the embarrassing fact that this Roger was a Christian conquering Muslim" (159).

128 But see now Annliese Nef, "Al-Idrísí: un complément d'enquête biographique," *Géographes et voyageurs au Moyen Âge*, ed. Henri Bresc and Emmanuelle Tixier du Mesnil (Paris: Presses Universitaires de Paris Ouest, 2010), 53–66. Most scholars lean in the direction to identify his birthplace as Ceuta; hence he originated from Northern Africa. See Idrîsî, *La première géographie de l'Occident*, ed. Henri Bresc and Annliese Nef, trad. du chevalier Jaubert [1836–1840], rev. par Annliese Nef (Paris: Flammarion, 1999).

129 G. Oman, "al-Idrísí," *The Encyclopedia of Islam*. New Edition, ed. B. Lewis, V. L. Ménage, Ch. Pellat, and J. Schacht. Vol. 2 (Leiden: E. J. Brill; London: Luzac & Co, 1971), 1032–35.

130 Ed. A. Bombaci, U. Rizzitano, et al. Istituto Universitario Orientale di Napoli. 9 vols. (Napels and Leiden: Brill, 1970–1984); this is the Arabic text edition; for a French translation, see *Géographie d'Edrisi*, trans. de l'arabe en français d'après deux manuscrits de la Bibliothèque du roi et accompagnée de notes, par P. amédée Jaubert. Recueil de voyages et de mémoires publé par la Société de géographie, 5–6 (Paris: Impr. royale, 1836–1840).

131 Konrad Müller, *Weltkarte des Arabers Idrisi vom Jahre 1154* (1928; Stuttgart: Brockhaus/ Antiquarium, 1981), 20–22. As he emphasizes, most of the geographic names are still recognizable today. The map was originally a wall map, but has survived only fragmentarily in books (5–6).

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cultural aspects.[132] We read, for instance: "Da Legab alla Città di Catania (26) sei miglia, situata vicino al mare, ed ha un porto delizioso, e dalla parte Occidentale di Catania ví è un grandissimo fiume Moise (27), che si meschia col mare di Catania" (61). Without any hesitation, the author includes references to Christian churches: "Da quì alla Chiesa di San Marco (194) sette miglia tra Occidente e Tramontana" (131–32). In the introduction we are briefly informed that Sicily used to belong to the Muslims: "in mezzo a questi sta la Città antica chiamata Chalesa (4), nella quale anticamente in tempo di Moselmane (5) era la sedia regia" (47; in the middle is located the ancient city called Chalesa which used to be, during the Muslim rule, the royal residence).

However, beyond that the author completely refrains from commenting on the Muslim culture there. It might be, of course, that the seventeenth-century Christian translator occluded all those passages where mention might have been made about the Arabs in Sicily, but I could not verify that at all. We can only be certain that the text had originally been written in Arabic, so obviously for an Arab-speaking audience. But the description itself does not provide any information relevant for Muslims, or Arabs for that matter.

Parallel to Idrísí, Adelard of Bath (ca. 1070–after 1146) undertook a lengthy journey to Sicily and from there to Antioch and Syria, during which he translated Arabic texts and thus became one of the earliest European scholars to serve as a conveyer of Arabic knowledge to the West, focusing, above all, on mathematics and astronomy, then on the abacus and the astrolabe.[133] He wrote the first complete translation of Euclid's *Elements* based on an Arabic source, which then became in turn the source for all other European versions of this famous mathematician's teachings in the Middle Ages. He also wrote an instructional text on cosmology and the use of the astrolabe.[134] To what extent individual Arabic

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132 *Descrizione della Sicilia cavata da un libro arabico di Scherif Elidris*, trans. P. d. Magri, corredata di prefazione, e di copiose annotazioni da Francesco Tardia (Palermo: n.p., [1764]). This is item no. 7 in vol. Mm.58.41 in the Cambridge University Library; otherwise very difficult to trace, even in the major catalogues. See now Edrisi, *La Sicilia nel Libro di Ruggiero*, ed. Carlo Ruta. Piccola biblioteca, 6 (Palermo: Edi. bi. si., 2004).

133 *Adelard of Bath: An English Scientist and Arabist of the Early Twelfth Century*, ed. Charles Burnett. Warburg Institute Surveys and Texts, 14 (London: Warburg Institute, University of London, 1987); Louise Cochrane, *Adelard of Bath: The First English Scientist* (London: British Museum Press, 1994); see also *Die astronomischen Tafeln des Muḥammed ibn Mūsā al-Khwārizmī in der Bearbeitung des Maslama ibn Aḥmed al-Madjrītī und der lateinischen Uebersetzung des Athelhard von Bath auf Grund der Vorarbeiten von A. Bjørnbo und R. Besthorn in Kopenhagen*, ed. and commentary by H. Suter. D. Kgl. danske vidensk. sels. Skrifter, 7. Raekke, historisk og filosofisk, af. II.1 (Copenhagen: A. F. Høost & Son, 1914).

134 *Adelard of Bath: An English Scientist and Arabist of the Early Twelfth Century*, ed. Charles Burnett. Warburg Institute Surveys and Texts, 14 (London: Warburg Institute, University of London, 1987); Richard C. Dales, *The Scientific Achievement of the Middle Ages*. Sources of Medieval History. Pennsylvania Paperback, 57 (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1973); Elspeth

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scholars such as Idrísí and others influenced their European counterparts continues to be a matter of debate, although it seems most likely by now that their understanding of the world deeply impacted the way Western cartographers created their work, whether we think of the dominant position of Africa on the maps or the depiction of the moon mountains, the Western Nile, the geography of northern Africa, and of the Indian Ocean.[135]

As most research now indicates, Idrísí found extensive reception first in southern Italy during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, while in the fifteenth century the influence of the Ptolemaic maps became dominant.[136] He is, in other words, another brilliant example of the results of intellectual exchanges between East and West, which laid the foundation for the extensive scientific evolution since the twelfth century in Europe which would not have been possible without those contacts with Muslim scientists both in southern Italy/Sicily and Toledo, Spain.

12. Travel as a Medium of Cultural Contacts

One of the central mediums for the encounters between representatives of foreign worlds has always been travel, but the number of reasons for travel has been almost legion. Most travelers indeed come into contact with new cultures, people, languages, customs, religions, and the like, but not everyone who leaves home to go on a journey demonstrates a real interest in the foreign or understands how to communicate with the people of other cultures/languages. In fact, considering modern mass tourism, the vast majority of travelers today simply hope for a change of pace, tastes, weather, smells, and environments, but they do not learn the foreign language and the foreign culture, so simply transfer their own social conditions to the foreign context without the latter really having an impact on them. If they could simply have the southern beach in their own neighborhood back home, for instance, and could also find the time to relax and to enjoy the

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Whitney, *Medieval Science and Technology* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2004). For a very useful survey of the history of research on this topic, see Alain Touwaide, "Transfer of Knowledge," *Handbook of Medieval Studies: Terms – Methods – Trends*, ed. Albrecht Classen. Vol. 2 (Berlin and New York: De Gruyter, 2010), 1368–99.

135 Carsten Drecoll, *Idrísí aus Sizilien: Der Einfluß eines arabischen Wissenschaftlers auf die Entwicklung der europäischen Geographie*. Deutsche Hochschulschriften (Egelsbach, Frankfurt a. M., Munich, and New York: Dr. Hänsel-Hohenhausen, 2000), 14–19, et passim. For a summary of his findings, see 149–50. He emphasizes in particular the great impact which Idrísí's map had on the development of the portolan maps. See, for instance, *A Portolan Atlas of the Mediterranean Sea and Western European Waters (with a World Map)*, attributed to Juan Oliva. Facsimile ed. with an intro. by John A. Wolter (Washington, DC: Library of Congress, 1987).

136 Drecoll, *Idrísí aus Sizilien* (see note 135), 58–60.

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foreign environment without transgressing their own cultural framework too much, most would then simply be content because the foreign could be just too frightening for most, or too complicated and alienating—certainly a universal experience both in past and present.[137]

13. Curiosity Among Muslim Travelers?

Many medieval travelers, especially Christian ones, did not—at least not officially—pursue the goal of satisfying their curiosity; instead their intention was to reach important sites with relics and altars, to gain absolution from their sins, and to touch holy ground at least once, that is, to go on a pilgrimage and to carry out the relevant rituals and ceremonies required to gain them the deeply desired absolution of their sins.[138] Even if they then were to take some water from the river Jordan, or some soil from holy ground with them in order to help others back home suffering from sickness that could not be healed by ordinary means, they had met their own objectives. But all this did not lead to actual cultural encounters and/or an intercultural exchange, especially when they traveled in groups, as was the norm, and were led by professional guides, mostly Venetians, hence were well taken care of and did not face any serious problems in the foreign and with the foreign.

Interestingly, a very similar observation can be made with regard to Muslim travelers in the Middle Ages who were commonly aiming for acquiring spiritual and worldly knowledge, the so-called *riḥla*. As Houri Touati emphasizes, "In Islam, travel and the discourse that travel produced did not draw their meaning from a historical and anthropological relationship with the other."[139] Although Muslim travelers normally did not aim for any kind of self-isolation and closure separating them from all other religions and non-Arabic cultures, their overarching intent appears to have been the establishment of a cultural identity within and among themselves, especially in the Middle ages. Following Touati, "What was at stake in the construction was to make sure that this georeligious and

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137 The number of relevant studies on tourism and its cultural significance is just legion; but see, for instance, Greg Richards *The Impact of Culture on Tourism* (Paris: OECD, 2009); or the contributions to *Tourism, Power and Culture: Anthropological Insights*, ed. Donald V. L. Macleod (Bristol: Channel View Publication, 2010).

138 See the useful bibliographical research tool, *Pilgrimage in the Middle Ages: A Research Guide*, ed. Linda Kay Davidson and Maryjane Dunn-Wood. Garland Medieval Bibliographies (New York and London: Garland Publishing, 1993).

139 Houari Touati, *Islam & Travel in the Middle Ages*, trans. by Lydia G. Cochrane (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 2010), 3.

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geopolitical unity become a space that dogmatically guaranteed the truth of a 'living together' willed by God" (3).

Traveling outside of the Muslim world normally was initiated by rulers who sent out their ambassadors, or it was the result of commercial interests, not of curiosity and desire to learn from the foreign. Often when we read Arabic travelogues, we notice that the "reader is invited on a voyage to an India of books and culture, a 'fundamental India' rather than a real one."[140] Self-confirmation was the primary goal, especially regarding the spiritual and the intellectual: "Muslim men of letters from Andalusia to Iraq dreamed of conquering the wisdom of that distant yet congenial part of the world."[141]

From this perspective it becomes understandable why so few Arab and/or Muslim travelers ever ventured out to explore the exotic west because there they could not acquire the kind of desired knowledge which was determined by authorial figures. "Hence the Muslim men of letters of the Middle Ages decided that authorized knowledge was the only legitimate knowledge, and that the only authorized knowledge was genealogical."[142] There was, as Touati confirms, a kind of fear among Muslims at large and Muslim literates in particular that the essential knowledge produced by the prophet could get lost in the course of time, hence the perpetual need to retrace, re-invigorate, and preserve that knowledge. That, however, was only possible through traveling to the centers of learning, to visit the learned, and to acquire parcels of their wisdom.

Logically, then, Muslim travel primarily aimed at Muslim territory, so the individuals mostly stayed within their own cultural framework and did not embark on any kind of major intercultural experiences. Preservation of the religious and intellectual tradition was of highest priority, yet this also closed off the West as a possible goal for travelers. By contrast, Muslim travelers from as far west as Andalusia made it all the way to Iraq, for instance, to seek out great scholars, such as the lexicographer Ibn-al-A'rabī (d. 231/ 845).

Numerous other famous travelers from the Muslim world could be cited, whether they went as far as to India or the Caspian See, to Zanzibar or Andalusia, yet most of them stayed within the *oikoumene* of Muslim religion and culture.[143] One of the reasons might thus well have been the realization that Western Europe did not have that much to offer to them in terms of intellectual learning, philosophy, medicine, architecture, and the arts, whereas the Europeans were deeply in awe of the Arabic world, at least in those terms and only during the high and late Middle Ages.[144]

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140 Touati, *Islam & Travel in the Middle Ages* (see note 139), 5.
141 Touati, *Islam & Travel in the Middle Ages* (see note 139), 5.
142 Touati, *Islam & Travel in the Middle Ages* (see note 139), 6.
143 Touati, *Islam & Travel in the Middle Ages* (see note139), 119.
144 See the contribution to this volume by Jens T. Wollesen who points out numerous cases of

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Of course, this does not mean that Muslims never traveled to the Western frontiers; on the contrary. There, however, they were mostly concerned with defending their own territory and culture. "That dual function of consecration and conjuration gave the sojourn at the frontier its ritual prestige. By giving it a normative content, jurists and traditionists lent it enormous powers of sanctification."[145] Dying in a frontier town or city meant that the dead Muslim had turned into a martyr for his faith. It seems difficult to imagine how then contacts could be made with representatives of the Christian world, and yet that is also a phenomenon that we need to pursue further in our investigations. After all, travel has always constituted a unique operation bringing the self in contact with another culture, certainly something of a mystical and fascinating kind, attracting and deterring at the same time, here disregarding the mundane, but certainly influential experience by countless merchants, warriors, and diplomats.[146]

14. Jewish Travelers in the Middle Ages

In a way, the very opposite of the Muslim traveler was the Jewish traveler, since we always find more Jews living in the Diaspora than in Palestine, both before the destruction of the First Temple and after the Babylonian captivity. Jews worked both as merchants and as ambassadors, and they constantly traversed many countries and continents throughout the Middle Ages and the early modern Age, constantly making them truly into multilinguists, cosmopolitans, and translators of many different cultures.[147] One of the most famous Jewish travelers, also a poet and philosopher, was Judah Halevi (1085–114) who spent his life in Granada, Spain, but then, late in life, left home and moved to Jerusalem where he appears to have died as the victim of a crusader.[148] Another major traveler was Saadya

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European art work influenced by Arabic or Muslim models.

145 Touati, *Islam & Travel in the Middle Ages* (see note 139), 220.

146 Francine-Dominique Liechtenhan, "Le voyagiste ou *peregrinationum scriptor*: Un homme de métier à la fin du Grand Siècle," *Ėcrire le voyage*, ed. György Tverdota (Paris: Presses de la Sorbonne Nouvelle, 1994), 143–52; here 147; Michel Bideaux, "Le voyage littéraire: Genèse d'un genre," *Les Modèles du récit de voyage*. Littérales, 7 (Nanterre: Centre de recherches du Département de français de Paris X-Nanterre, 1990), 179–98. See now the excellent contributions to *Cosmopolitanism and the Middle Ages*, ed. John M. Ganim and Sheyne Aaron Legassie. The New Middle Ages (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2013).

147 Albrecht Classen, "Multilingualism in the Middle Ages and Early Modern Time," *Neophilologus*. 97.1 (2013): 131–45 While I focus here mostly on literary examples from the Middle Ages far into the seventeenth century, the Jewish examples open new perspectives, incorporating the rich world of the Eastern Mediterranean where many different cultures coexisted. See now Schneider, *Vom Dolmetschen im Mittelalter* (see note 13), 82–84.

148 Cyril Aslanov, "Jewish Pilgrimage," *Encyclopedia of Medieval Pilgrimage*, ed. Larissa J. Taylor, Leigh

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Gaon (882–942) who also visited the Holy Land and described his extensive tour via Baghdad to Aleppo. Rabbi Jacob ben Nathaniel ha Cohen traveled through Egypt and Palestine also during the time of the Crusades. Abraham Ibn Ezra (1088–1165) originated from Toledo, Spain, and went to see Egypt, Palestine, Mesopotamia, Rhodes, Italy, France, and England, where he spent some time in 1157.

Equally famous is the traveler and writer Benjamin of Tudela who visited Rome, Constantinople, Alexandria, Jerusalem, and Baghdad between 1166 and 1171. Apart from many different neighboring regions and towns, Benjamin also refers to India and China, whether he extended his tour to those Eastern regions or not. But he was probably one of the first to mention China within the medieval context. Before examining some of these Jewish accounts, suffices it here to underscore how much those medieval travelers made significant contacts with people, cultures, and countries and thus were major contact points between East and West.[149] In fact, the entire history of travel undergirds the central issue to be discussed here because travelers are those that make contacts and reach out to other cultures in order to cope with the foreign world.

As unstable as travel itself proves to be all the time throughout history until the present, as much it constitutes the fundamental human operation employed to move out of the traditional intellectual and cultural framework and to reach new insights and to gain new experiences. This does not make all travelers automatically into the harbingers of new perspectives, but their very own move constitutes always the potential for critical changes, for building bridges, for sharing knowledge and ideas. Some travelers might return home with their stereotypes and prejudices even reconfirmed, especially those travelers who are filled with fear and insecurity, and who do not have the intellectual curiosity and capability to reach out to the other, learning a new language, and accepting the otherness of the foreign world. But the exception confirms the rule.

One of the earliest examples from Jewish culture was the Jew Isaac who served as Emperor Charlemagne's ambassador to Persia. As the chronicler Eginhard reports in his *Annales Francorum* for 801, first ambassadors arrived from Persia and met the emperor, informing him that Isaac was following them after a four-year stint at the court of the King of the Persians, bringing with him many presents, including an elephant, named Abdul Abbas (1). The question of linguistic competence is not raised here, but it is clear that some translators must have been

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Ann Craig, John B. Friedman, Kathy Gower, Thomas Izbicki, and Rita Tekippe (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2010), 315–16. As is clear both from this really brief entry and the dearth of much other research on this topic, Jewish travelogues still require extensive analysis and further interpretations.

149 *Jewish Travellers in the Middle Ages: 19 Firsthand Accounts*, ed. and with an intro. by Elkan Nathan Adler (1930; New York: Dover, 1987).

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available since the two ambassadors arrived ahead of Isaac and managed to communicate with the ruler. Charlemagne himself seems to have sent a group of diplomats along with the Jew Isaac to the East to request an elephant from Hārūn al-Rāshid, who might have received it from India, but possibly also from Africa. Whether Abulabaz was Hārūn's only elephant, as Eginhard claims, cannot be confirmed and does not matter in our context. There are many reasons for this odd diplomatic exchange between the Carolingian and the Arabic court, unlikely at first sight, but certainly a clear indication of how much already at that time contacts between East and West existed irrespective of the enormous distances. As Paul Edward Dutton speculates,

> The gift itself and the mission of the emissaries to and from the east may have been related to Charlemagne's harassment of the Umayyad rulers of Spain, against whom Hārūn was happy to have some support. But . . . this gift exchange meant different things to the two sides: for Hārūn the extension of his vast empire with Charlemagne as his western supporter or even subordinate, while for Charlemagne and his biographer Hārūn's act signaled his recognition of the Frank's singular power over the Roman west.[150]

While physical distances that had to be covered in the past without the availability of modern technology today appear rather daunting to us, and hence also the cultural and linguistic distances, a sensitive analysis of the sources from the early Middle Ages already signal how easily completely different cultures and religions could communicate with each other.[151]

If we ever might have thought that in the early Middle Ages the international contacts might have been radically reduced to a myopic focus on Europe, then *The Book of Ways and Kingdoms* (ca. 817) by Abu'l Kasim Obaidallah ibn Khordâdheb will teach us the very opposite, especially with respect to Jews who, as he points out, "speak Arabic, Persian, Roman, the Frank, Spanish, and Slav languages. They journey from West to East, from East to West, partly on land, partly by sea" (2). Here we come across the first references to China, which seems almost naturally connected with Western Europe through trade maintained by Jews: "Sometimes these Jew merchants, when embarking in the land of the Franks, on the Western

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150 Paul Edward Dutton, *Charlemagne's Mustache and Other Cultural Clusters of a Dark Age*. The New Middle Ages (New York and Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), 60–61. See also F. W. Buckler, *Hārūnu'l-Rachid and Charles the Great*. Monographs of the Mediaeval Academy of America, 2 (Cambridge, MA: Mediaeval Academy of America, 1931), 30–31.

151 Richard Hodges, "Charlemagne's Elephant and the Beginning of the Commodisation of Europe," *Acta archaeologica* 59 (1988): 155–68; Michael McCormick, *Origins of the European Economy: Communications and Commerce, A.D. 300–900* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 273, 513, 710. For the political relationship between the Caliph and the Frankish ruler, see Giosuè Musca, *Carlo Magno ed Harun al Rashid*. Università degli studi di Bari. Istituto di storia medievale e moderna. Saggi, 1 (Bari: Dedalo litostampa, 1963).

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Sea, make for Antioch (at the mouth of the Orontes); thence by land to al-Jâbia, where they arrive after three days' march. There they embark on the Euphrates and reach Baghdad, whence they sail down the Tigris, to al-Obolla. From al-Obolla they sail for Oman, Sind, Hind, and China" (2–3).

In his extensive diary, the Jew Eldad the Danite (ca. 880) gives a detailed account of his international travels that take him to destinations as far apart as Yemen and Andalusia, then Ethiopia and Persia. At one point he and another Jew were taken prisoner by the Ethiopians who turned out to be cannibals. Because his friend "was fat and healthy and pleasing, [they] slaughtered and ate him, . . . but me they took, for I was sick on board ship, and they put me in chains until I should get fat and well" (6).

In 960 the German Emperor Otto I sent as ambassador to the Caliph Abdurrahmane Al-Haji III the Jew Chisdai Abu-Yusuf, who successfully concluded a treaty between both sides.[152] Originating from Cordoba, Spain, Chisdai heard of an alleged Jewish kingdom in Asia (the Khazars?) and made numerous efforts to send an official letter there by way of the Jew Isaac ben Nathan. As imaginary as that Oriental kingdom really was, the letter itself impressively reveals the global concept possible at that time, as when Chisdai tries to explain to his addressee where the kingdom of Cordoba might be situated: "It is situated at the left of the sea which flows between your country and the great sea, and compasses the whole of your land. Between this city and the great sea beyond which there is no farther habitable territory, are nine astronomical degrees" (24).

One of the most famous Jewish travelers was Benjamin of Tudela who left us an extensive account of his experiences, taking him from Navarra to Rome and then on to Egypt and Persia (1165–1173). Sandra Benjamin comments on his travel experiences as follows: "Benjamin was by no means the first person to travel extensively in this region, nor even the first to write about it, but he was the first (whose journal has survived) who wrote in a straightforward manner, more fact than fable."[153] His letters clearly record the extensive itinerary: Barcelona, Narbonne, Lunel, Marseille, Pisa, Lucca, Rome, Salerno, Taranto, Oría, Otranto, Thebes, Saloniki, Constantinople, Cyprus, Antioch, Beirut, Tyre, Haifa, Nablus, Jerusalem, Askalon, Tiberias, Damascus, Aleppo, Baghdad, Sura, Pumbeditha, the frontier of Khuzestan, El-Cathif, Cairo, Gizeh, Alexandria, Messina, Palermo, and then to Tudela again.

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152 We have heard already of the court of Otto I above; then, however, it was a diplomatic visit from the court in Córdoba.

153 Sandra Benjamin, *The World of Benjamin of Tudela: A Medieval Mediterranean Travelogue* (Cranbury, NJ, London, and Miiissauga, Ontario: Associated Presses, 1995), 9.

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Throughout the entire, and especially the late, Middle Ages Christian pilgrims also embarked on huge, very extended travels, crossing many lands, traversing the Mediterranean, visiting countless religious sites both in the Holy Land and in Egypt, Syria, and elsewhere, so they had constantly to cope with foreign cultures, languages, and religions. In this regard neither the Muslim nor the Jewish pilgrim represented a major exception, although the religious orientation was slightly different, that is, in content, but not really in form. Critically examined, we always observe, on the surface, a strong motivation to search for spiritual salvation already here on earth by way of reaching a holy site or a holy land. But we can also be certain that most pilgrims, of whatever religion, were also driven toward the foreign world out of a certain sense of curiosity and general interest in the exotic otherness beyond the familiar territory back at home.[154]

Benjamin's account, however attracts our attention perhaps more than most of the Christian pilgrimage reports because he traveled considerably earlier, focused on the international communities wherever he encountered them, and represented a Jewish perspective which was, by default, beyond all national and cultural boundaries. Already his comments about Montpellier, early on in his journey, indicate how much he pursued both a scholar's and a religious person's concerns, without ignoring financial and economic aspects:

> Thence it is four parasangs [one parasang is about 3.25 English miles] to the city of Beziers, where there is a congregation of learned men. At their head is R. Solomon Chalafta, R. Joseph, and R. Nethanel. Thence it is two days to Har Gaash which is called Montpellier. This is a place well situated for commerce. It is about a parasang from the sea, and men come for business there from all quarters, from Edom, Ishmael, the land of Algarve, Lombardy, the dominion of Rome the Great, from all the land of Egypt, Palestine, Greece, France, Asia and England. People of all nations are found

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154 Mary B. *The Witness and the Other World: Exotic European Travel Writing, 400 - 1600* (Ithaca, NY, and London: Cornell University Press, 1988); see also the contributions to *Á la recherche de légitimités chrétiennes: représentations de l'espace et du temps dans l'Espagne médiévale, IXe–XIIIe siècle. Actes du colloque tenu à la Casa de Velázquez, Madrid, 26–27 avril 2001*, ed. Patrick Henriet. Annexes des cahiers de linguistique et de civilisation hispaniques médiévales, 15 (Lyon: ENS éditions; [Madrid:] Caa de Velázquez, 2003); Dawn Marie Hayes, *Body and Sacred Place in Medieval Europe, 1100–1389*. Studies in Medieval History and Culture, 18 (New York and London: Routledge, 2003); *Voyage, quête, pélerinage dans la littérature et la civilisation médiévales: Actes du colloque organisé par le C.U.E.R.M.A. les 5, 6, 7 mars 1976*, ed. G. Andrieu et al. Senefiance, 2 (Aix-en-Provence: Edition CUER MA, 1976), to *Dieseits- und Jenseitsreisen im Mittelalter*, ed. Wolf-Dieter Lange. Studium universale, 14 (Bonn: Bouvier, 1992); to *Reisen und Reiseliteratur im Mittelalter und in der frühen Neuzeit*, ed. Xenja von Ertzdorff and Dieter Neukirch with Rudolf Schulz. Chloe, 13 (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1992); to *Raumerfahrung, Raumerfidnung: erzählte Welten des Mittelalters zwischen Orient und Okzident*, ed. Laetitia Rimpau and Peter Ihring (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2005); and to *The "Book" of Travels: Genre, Ethnology, and Pilgrimage, 1250–1700*, ed. Palmira Brumett. Studies in Medieval and Reformation Traditions, 140 (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2009); *Encyclopedia of Medieval Pilgrimage*, ed. Larissa J. Taylor, Leigh Ann Craig, et al. (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2010).

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> there doing business through the medium of the Genoese and Pisans. In the city there are scholars of great eminence . . . They have among them houses of learning devoted to the study of the Talmud. Among the community are men both rich and charitable, who lend a helping hand to all that come to them.[155]

While Christian authors tended to ignore other population groups wherever they went and focused, instead, on their own religious sites, especially within that world still relevant for Christianity—Cairo, for instance, being a remarkable exception, as reflected by the fifteenth-century German pilgrimage author Arnold von Harff, who demonstrated great interest in the intrinsic culture of that metropolitan city[156]—Benjamin notes not only the presence of merchants from all over the known world, but also realizes how much the Genoese and Pisans control all business. The market, in other words, is not determined by religious or national criteria; instead the central issue here proves to be money, which was the key catalyst in all global business already then.

Nevertheless, Benjamin regularly alerts his audience about the presence of great Jewish scholars and gives precise data about the number of people of Jewish identity living in one community: "From there it is two parasangs to Posquières, which is a large place containing about forty Jews, with an Academy under the auspieces of the great Rabbi, R. Abraham . . ." (4). In Genoa, however, as we learn, live only two Jews (5), while in Lucca forty (5). He demonstrates his surprise that in Rome, the "head of the kingdom of Christendom" (5), the Jewish community comprised three hundred "who occupy an honourable position and pay no tribute, and amongst them are officials of the Pope Alexander, the spiritual head of all Christendom" (5).

Although a Jew, Benjamin makes a great effort to discuss all major features in that city, whether pertaining to ancient Rome or the Christian history, without ignoring the Jewish population of three hundred people (7). This quickly emerges as a remarkable criterion to differentiate Jewish from Christian pilgrimage accounts, even if only to some degree, because the latter regularly prove to be much more focused on the Christian holy sites with relics wherever they could be found, especially in the Holy Land. As we will see, many of the Jewish authors also pursued such a religious focus, but we can regularly notice how much they also paid attention to the representatives of other religions without voicing any kind of specific opposition, anger, or hostility.

As to Salerno, the author underscores first that the local university is maintained by the Christians, but then also adds, once again, a reference to the exact number

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155 *The Itinerary of Benjamin of Tudela*. Critical Text, Translation and Commentary by Marcus Nathan Adler (London: Oxford University Press, 1907), 3.

156 Albrecht Classen, "Travel Space as Constructed Space: Arnold von Harff Observes the Arabic Space," *German Studies Review* 33.2 (2010): 375–88.

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of Jews living there, six hundred (8). As to Colo di Bari, "Neither Jews nor Gentiles live there at the present day in consequence of its destruction" (9). In Thebes he observes with amazement the great skill of the silk weavers, most of whom appear to have been Jews, who are led by their spiritual leaders, great men of learning, whom he mentions by their names.

Not surprisingly, Constantinople fascinated Benjamin, like all previous and later travelers, and just as in the case of Montpellier, here the international character strikes him the most:

> All sorts of merchants come here from the land of Babylon, from the land of Shinar, from Persia, Media, and all the sovereignty of the land of Egypt, from the land of Canaan, and the empire of Russia, from Hungaria, Pazinakia, Khazaria, and the land of Lombardy and Sepharad. It is a busy city, and merchants come to it from every country by sea or land, and there is none like it in the world except Baghdad, the great city of Islam. (12)

Despite his own Jewishness, Benjamin reports as accurately as possible for him the customs of the Christian emperors and the wealth of Christian churches, only then to switch to the topic of public entertainment which attracted both artists and spectators from all over the world:

> And in that place men from all the races of the world come before the king and queen with jugglery and without jugglery, and they introduce lions, leopards, bears, and wild asses, and they engage them in combat with one another; and the same thing is done with birds. No entertainment like this is to be found in any other land. (12–13)

The seeming boundlessness of wealth in Constantinople, both by the Emperor and the individual inhabitants, impresses Benjamin more than anything else, who expresses in most astonished terms the amount of tribute being raised every year, amounting to 20,000 gold pieces (13). Nevertheless, the incredible wealth has also effeminized the Greeks who need to hire mercenaries from many parts of the world, which adds yet another layer of internationality to that city empire: "They hire from amongst all nations warriors called Loazim (Barbarians) to fight with the Sultan Masud, King of the Togarmim (Seljuks), who are called Turks; for the natives are not warlike, but are as women who have no strength to fight" (13).

The large Jewish population, by contrast, is not allowed to live within the city and is confined to its ghetto, where they face constant conflicts with the tanners and other professions, thus being exposed to regular outbursts of aggression and hatred. However, as Benjamin emphasizes, "Yet the Jews are rich and good, kindly and charitable, and bear their lot with cheerfulness" (14).

Despite these political suppressions and limitations, the Jewish population prospered well and succeeded in utilizing their specific conditions to their advantage insofar as they were the only ones who could "travel freely between Greek, Roman, and Moslem lands. The Byzantines discourage their own Christian

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merchants from going abroad, preferring that foreign merchants come to the Greek lands to trade."[157] In this regard we encounter in Benjamin a first-rate reporter of a unique and deeply fascinating situation already in the twelfth century, at least at certain locations such as Montpellier and Constantinople, where a true exchange between East and West took place, where religious differences did not matter to some degree, and where trade and commerce dominated most relationships among the various peoples assembled in those cities.

Only Damascus evoked the same enthusiasm in Benjamin, as reflected by his detailed descriptions of the lavish gardens and parks, the excellent channeling of the water of two rivers, and the enormous architectural splendor. The merchant's heart in Benjamin is warmed by the observation that this city "is a place carrying on trade with all countries" (30). At the same time he does not hesitate to mention the extraordinary Muslim mosque which finds no match in the entire world considering its unparalleled beauty and wealth (30). At the same time a rich Jewish community had established a famous academy there, while the Jewish population is peacefully divided between the Karaïtes and the Cuthim, who appear to tolerate each other, although they do not intermarry.

As much as the city of Baghdad is identified as a major center of Islam, with a mighty ruler and a large community of learned Muslim scholars, Benjamin still knows of ca. 40,000 Jews who live there, enjoying "security, prosperity and honour under the great Caliph, and amongst them are great sages, the heads of Academies engaged in the study of the law" (39). Twenty-eight synagogues in the city documented the significant presence of this Jewish community and the level of 'tolerance' to practice their religion (42). But the subsequent account is deliberately structured by his search for Jewish people, who appear on a regular basis, indicating how much the Diaspora has spread the entire people even far into the East, where they seem to have found relative stability and a strong degree of acceptance, here disregarding certain places where they suffer suppression and persecutions, such as in Rudbar (53).

Linguistic problems, as Marco Polo was later to report about, were settled by means of translators: "Then the king inquired of him by means of an interpreter who knew his language, and he related all that the horseman had done to him" (62). This is one of the few remarks in medieval sources that clearly reveal how much even then, perhaps even more than today, cultural contacts between East and West were only possible by means of translators, especially when the differences between the languages had grown extensively.[158] Curiously, the one

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157 Sandra Benjamin, *The World of Benjamin of Tudela* (see note 153), 131.

158 This is a topic of great interest in intercultural terms; see, for instance, the contributions to *Medieval Translators and Their Craft*, ed. Jeanette Beer. Studies in Medieval Culture, 25 (Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications, Western Michigan University, 1989); *The Medieval Translator: Cardiff Conference on the Theory and Practice of Translation in the Middle Ages*, ed. Roger Ellis and

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traveler who must have experienced the largest number of foreign, i.e., truly exotic languages, Marco Polo, tells us virtually nothing about his practical approaches to this issue, perhaps because he was linguistically so advanced that he could fairly easily acquire sufficient languages to cope even in the Eastern world, including China.[159] But traders and merchants obviously coped well even in the Middle Ages, wherever they went, as Benjamin's report of the business in major markets relays, regarding islands in the Indian Ocean:

> The merchants who come from India and the islands encamp there with their wares. Moreover, men from Shinar, el-Yemen and Persia bring thither all sorts of silk, purple and flax, cotton, hemp, worked wool, wheat, barley, millet, rye, and all sorts of food, and lentils of every description, and they trade with one another, whilst the men from India bring great quantities of spices thither. The islanders act as middlemen, and earn their livelihood thereby. (62–63)

But, as we have already seen above, commercial centers could not only be found in the East, but also in Europe (Montpellier) and in Northern Africa, such as Alexandria, a true crucible of intercultural and multilingual exchanges on a daily basis:

> Alexandria is a commercial market for all nations. Merchants come thither from all the Christian kingdoms: on the one side, from the land of Venetia and Lombardy, Tucscany, Apulia, Amalfi, Sicilia, Calabria, Romagna, Khazaria, Patzinakia Hungaria, Bulgaria . . . Frisia, Scotia, Anjou, Burgundy, Maurienne, Provence, . . . and towards the west under the sway of the Mohammedans, Andalusia, Algarve, Africa and the land of the Arabs: and on the other side India, Zawilah, Abyssinia, Lybia, El Yemen, Shinar, Esh-Sham; also Javan, whose people are called the Greeks, and the Turks. And the merchants of India bring thither all kinds of spices, and the merchants of Edom buy of them. And the city is a busy one and full of traffic. Each nation has an inn of its own. (76)

In essence Benjamin outlines a world map in economic terms, but both here and elsewhere he presents a full gamut of geographic names, demonstrating his

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Ruth Evans. Medieval & Renaissance Texts & Studies, 123 (Binghampton, NY: Medieval & Renaissance Texts & Studies, 1994); *The Medieval Translator*, ed. Jacqueline Jenkins and Olivier Bertrand. Medieval Translator, 10 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2007). There are many other similar volumes with related conference proceedings. Most recently, Schneider, *Vom Dolmetschen im Mittelalter* (see note 17), investigated this issue more extensively.

159 Albrecht Classen, "Translating and Translators in the Middle Ages: Linguistic Challenges Perceived Through Literary Eyes," *Aspects of Literary Translation: Building Linguistic and Cultural Bridge in Past and Present*, ed. Eva Parra-Membrives, Miguel Ángel García Peinado, Albrecht Classen. Translation, Text and Interferences, 1 (Tübingen: Narr, 2012), 17–41. For the linguistically most diverse situation in the Mongolian empire, to which Polo apparently adjusted very well, see Sharon Kinoshita, "Reorientations: The Worlding of Marco Polo," *Cosmopolitanism and the Middle Ages* (see note 146), 39–57.

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extensive learning. Nevertheless, behind this display of his knowledge and wisdom, we still recognize an amazing phenomenon that seems to contradict everything we have traditionally assumed about the Middle Ages, since these markets proved to be major meeting points for people from all over the world, from countless languages, and also religions, in the name of economic exchange. Particularly Alexandria emerges as a kind of melting pot, or at least a sort of location where the world of merchants truly met with no concern for religious or linguistic differences, focusing instead on the exchange of goods and products of a wide variety.

15. A Parallel Christian Travel Account and Literary Narrative: *Fortunatus*

A late-medieval German prose novel, the anonymous *Fortunatus*, first printed in Augsburg in 1509, but certainly composed several decades earlier, offers a useful confirmation for Benjamin's much earlier observations insofar as the eponymous protagonist encounters a large host of merchants from many different countries in that harbor city of Alexandria.[160] Before Fortunatus embarks on his journey, however, he makes sure to find an appropriate gift for the Sultan there, in accordance with the common practice by all merchants who travel there: "wann er wißt wol das alle die nacion so gen alexandriam kommen all / vnd yeder in sonderhait gar groß schanckung bringen besonder die Vendiger vnd florentiner bringen jm vast guldine stuck samat vnd von aller hand sort seiden gwand" (K VI r; since he knew that the people of all the nations who get to Alexandria bring him carefully chosen gifts, and especially those from Venice and Florence bring him a gold ornamented piece of velvet and all sorts of silken clothing).

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160 The text is reproduced, for instance, in *Fortunatus: Von Fortunato und seynem Seckel auch Wünschütlein*. With a Foreword by Renate Noll-Wiemann. Deutsche Volksbücher in Faksimiledrucken, Reihe A, 4 (Hildesheim and New York: Georg Olms Verlag, 1974); see also the edition (in modern transcription) in *Romane des 15. und 16. Jahrhunderts*, nach den Erstdrucken mit sämtlichen Holzschnitten, ed. Jan-Dirk Müller. Bibliothek deutscher Klassiker, 54 (Frankfurt a. M.: Deutscher Klassiker Verlag, 1990), with an extensive commentary. For an in-depth introduction to the genre of these so-called "Volksbücher" or, as is more common today, "Prosaromane," see Albrecht Classen, *The German Volksbuch. A Critical History of a Late-Medieval Genre* (Lewiston, N.Y.: Edwin Mellen Press, 1995, reissued 1999); see also id., "Die Welt eines spätmittelalterlichen Kaufmannsreisenden: Ein mentalitätsgeschichtliches Dokument der Frühneuzeit: *Fortunatus*," *Monatshefte* 86.1 (1994): 22–44; id., "The Crusader as Lover and Tourist: Utopian Elements in Late Medieval German Literature: From *Herzog Ernst* to *Reinfried von Braunschweig* and *Fortunatus*," *Current Topics in Medieval German Literature: Texts and Analyses (Kalamazoo Papers 2000-2006)*, ed. Sibylle Jefferis. Göppinger Arbeiten zur Germanistik, 748 (Göppingen: Kümmerle, 2008), 83–102.

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Fortunatus's inexhaustible generosity quickly arouses the other merchants' jealousy, but since the protagonist can draw from an infinite source of wealth in his magical purse, bribing all the relevant authority figures, he triumphs over all of them and can establish the best relationship with the ruler. But in order to ease the tensions in Alexandria, Fortunatus sends his galley away to other major trading center to avoid further conflicts. Those aim for: "Cathelonia / Portugall / Hyspania / in Flandern / vnd da kaufften vnnd verkaufften / vnd von ainem land fueren zu dem andern vnd ire gewinn merten / als er in hofnunge war" L II, r;; Cataluñya, Portugal, Spain, and Flanders to buy and purchase there and went from country to country and increased their profit as he had hoped) (see fig. 1).

All these comments are certainly based on historical experiences and provide late-medieval confirmation for the internationality of the global markets at such cities as Alexandria. But subsequently Fortunatus continues his journey and then enters into the exotic Orient: "begert zu sehen / als des kaisers lande von Persia des grossen Chams von Cathay vnd priester johanns vnnd andre land / so an die / vnd vmb die laender stossen" (L ii r; he desired to see all the other countries in the emperor's possession, from Persia to the land of the great Khan, Cathay and the country of Prester John, and those that neighbor these countries).

Fictionality, as based on accounts by Marco Polo and John Mandeville, certainly enters here the picture, as he admits himself (L iii, r), but the narrator clearly conveys to his readers what the international trade entailed at his time, in direct continuation of the conditions as described by Benjamin of Tudela.

In contrast to Benjamin, however, the anonymous author of *Fortunatus* also knows of London in England which he describes as one of the greatest trading places in the Western world. Having escaped from great danger to his life, the protagonist arrives in London: "kam allso in die haubtstat in engeland genant Lunden. da nun von allen orten der welt kauffleüt ligend vnd da iren gewerb tribent" (B iii, r; he got to the capital of England called London, where merchants from all places in the world live and do their trade). The largest group of merchants in London are, however, the Italians, especially from Florence and Lombardy, as we later learn after Fortunatus's rescue in the last minute before he would have been hanged (D i, v).

Money always determines both the public relationships and the business functions as we observe both in Benjamin's travelogue and in the German prose novel, especially because linguistic problems never surface wherever we look. Moreover, neither writer comments on religious, cultural, political, or customary differences, irrespective of where those merchants originate. East and West easily meet and merge at the market place, and every merchant is easily entitled to purchase goods and to sell his wares wherever he goes.

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16. Jewish Communities in the Diaspora

Returning to Benjamin's account, we note, by contrast, his remarkable openness, if not indifference, to the mingling of religions at various locals. Turning his attention to Palermo, for instance, he notes not only the large number of Jews living there, but also the strong presence of Muslims, not to mention the Christians: "Palermo contains about 1,500 Jews and a large number of Christians and Mohammedans" (78). But he does not even consider that there might have been any problems or conflicts between those religious groups; instead he immediately switches the focus and examines the beautiful parks with their fountains, among other things.

From here Benjamin also considers and discusses the countries of Germany, Bohemia, and Russia, and concludes with some remarks on France. He constantly emphasizes the Jewish communities, but also mentions other cities to complete his geographic survey, such as in the case of Germany, which underscores his open world-view and interest in being as comprehensive as possible: "In addition to the several cities which we have mentioned there are besides Strassburg, Würzburg, Mantern [Mainz?], Bamberg, Freising, and Regensburg at the extremity of the Empire" (80). After all, he originated from Spain, was of Jewish descent, had traversed many countries around the Mediterranean and further east, and now sweeps with his inner eyes over the Cisalpine regions as well, giving credit to all the different cities and lists as many as he can, irrespective of the cultural difference. With respect to France, he notes, for instance, "They are charitable and hospitable to all travellers, and are as brothers and friends unto all their brethren the Jews" (81).

In many respects, the literary figure of Fortunatus might have been an avatar of Benjamin, since both the travelogue author and the fictional person roam the same way across the world, noting the differences in religion, but abstain from evaluating them because they are all part of the same kaleidoscope.[161] Certainly, here we deal with exceptions, at least at first sight, insofar as research has

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[161] For critical discussions of religious tolerance during that period, see Jacob Katz, *Exclusiveness and Tolerance: Studies in Jewish-Gentile Relations in Medieval and Modern Times*. Scripta Judaica, 3 (London: Oxford University Press, 1961); cf. also the contributions to *Philosemitism, Antisemitism and 'the Jews': Perspectives from the Middle Ages to the Twentieth Century*, ed. Tony Kushner and Nadia Valman. Studies in European Cultural Transition, 24 (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2044); Cyrille Bustros, *La Liberté religieuse au Moyen-Orient*, ed. Mouchir Aouon. Religionswissenschaftliche Studien, 38 (Würzburg: Altenberg; Echter: Oros, 1996); Benjamin J. Kaplan, *Divided by Faith: Religious Conflict and the Practice of Toleration in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge, MA, and London: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2007). Of course, we do not need extra reminder of the many forms of intolerance and hatred, of pogroms and massive persecutions; see Karen Armstrong, *The Battle for God: Fundamentalism in Judaism, Christianity and Islam* (London: HarperCollins, 2000).

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uncovered many more examples of outright violence of the Christian communities against their Jewish neighbors during the Middle Ages than the opposite. But the quiet voices, especially those by authors who had traversed many lands by themselves, deserve also to be considered because they witnessed more of the ordinary situation than the exceptions. This is not to say that tolerance truly existed already in the Middle Ages—does it exist today?—but by the same token it would be inaccurate to deny any types of toleration and tolerance already in that age, as numerous statements by such an authoritative figure as Thomas Aquinas (1225–1274) amply confirm, especially in his *Summa contra Gentiles*.[162]

17. Historical Contacts Between East and West

We would be well advised to discuss also in more theoretical terms what the contact between East and West really meant or how we want to approach that concept more specifically in this context. So far I have considered it mostly with respect to the tensions or contacts between representatives of Christianity to the West and of Islam to the East. But such a binary opposition really simplifies the entire matter too much, since we would have to consider at least also the old opposition between Byzantium and the Western European kingdoms. Moreover, the entire world of the Balkans, and also the territories further east, including Asia Minor and even the Caucasus deserve to be considered in the larger context. The Magyars, a dangerous nomadic force in the tenth century, were settled in the Carpatian Basin after their defeat in the battle of the Lechfeld near Augsburg in 955, and they were subsequently Christianized in 975. The Byzantians occupied what we call Bulgaria today in 1018, and both factors opened the fairly cheap land route from Western Europe to the Near East and further on, particularly for pilgrims, but then also for crusaders, merchants, ambassadors, and artists. Nevertheless, the Orthodox Church in the East never submitted to the Catholic Church in the West, and vice versa, although both sides acknowledged in 1054 that a schism existed separating both sides from each other. The chronicler William of Tyre, however, reflected a great interest on his side in the other world to the East,

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[162] James Waltz, "Muhammad and the Muslims in St. Thomas Aquinas," *Travellers, Intellectuals, and the World Beyond Medieval Europe* (see note 16; orig. 1976), 95–109; cf. also Cary Nederman, *Difference and Dissent: Theories of Toleration in Medieval and Early Modern Europe* (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 1996); id., *Worlds of Difference: European Discourses of Toleration, c. 1100 - c. 1550* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2000); *Religiöse Toleranz im Spiegel der Literatur: eine Idee und ihre ästhetische Gestaltung*, ed. Bernd F. W. Springer and Alexander Fidora. Literatur, 18 (Münster, New York, et al.: LIT- Verlag, 2009); *Religiöser Pluralismus und Toleranz in Europa*, ed. Christian Augustin, Johannes Wienand, and Christiane Winkler (Wiesbaden: VS, Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften, 2006).

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having studied both Greek and Arabic to a considerable extent, probably attaining him a certain degree of fluency.[163]

Similarly open-minded proved to be the Byzantine emperor Manuel I Komnenos, who married off his daughter Mary to Rainier of Montferrat and his son Alexios to Agnes, daughter of King Louis VII of France. Unfortunately, the political movement against both was so strong that Komnenos's effort can be called virtually a failure, earning him the sobriquet of 'Latinophile,' especially because of his close friendship with Western princes, such as the German King Conrad III whom he nursed back to health in Constantinople in 1147. Unfortunately, as the Fourth Crusade illustrated, during which the Western knights attacked, plundered, and destroyed that city to a large extent in 1204, these two worlds were not going to enjoy friendly relationships.[164]

Foreignness and estrangement were not a preserve of the conflict between Christians and Muslims, or representatives of other religions. Tensions and hostilities erupted, by contrast, also and regularly within the European heartlands where hierarchy and hegemony were constantly fought over, pitting many different peoples and individuals against each other. That is virtually a normal condition of human life; but when religious and ethnic differences enter the picture, the situation gets much worse, often erupting into violence and hatred because of fundamental misunderstandings.

18. Rabbi Petachia of Ratisbona

Another major Jewish traveler, Rabbi Petachia of Ratisbona (Regensburg) explored Eastern Europe and the Near and Middle East only a few years after Benjamin had completed his extensive journeys. Petachia departed from Prague, where he had settled for a couple of years, and explored Poland, Kiev, the Crimean, the so-called Tartar lands, Armenia, Media (?), Persia, Iraq, Syria, Palestine, and Greece. Petachia must have reached Damascus only shortly after Saladin had captured that

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163 Peter W. Edbury and John Gordon Rowe, *William of Tyre: Historian of the Latin East*. Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and Thought, 4th series, 8 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988). Guillaume de Tyr, *Chronique*, éd. critique par R. B. C. Huygens; identification des sources historiques et détermination des dates par H. E. Mayer et G. Rösch. Corpus Christianorum. Continuatio Mediaevalis, 63 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1986). For an English translation of his chronicle, taken from the Middle English version, see *Historia rerum in partibus transmarinis gestarum. Book 1-9. English & English (Middle English). A Middle English Chronicle of the First Crusade: The Caxton Eracles*, ed. and with an intro. by Dana Cushing. Texts and Studies in Religion, 88 (Lewiston, NY: Mellen Press, 2001).

164 Donald M. Nicol, "Introduction," *Relations Between East and West in the Middle Ages*, ed. Derek Baker (Edinburgh: At the University Press, 1973), 1–10. See especially Karl Leyser, "The Tenth Century in Byzantine-Western Relationships," ibid., 29–63.

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city in 1174. His account was put together by one of his companions, Rabbi Judah the Pious bar Samuel, and represents another astonishing example of the global awareness of these Jewish travelers.[165] The process by which this work was written down reminds us a lot of Marco Polo's *Travels*, ca. hundred years later,[166] but Petachia primarily pursued religious goals, quite parallel to those that motivated countless Christian pilgrims to explore the world to the East. As A. Benisch commented in his introduction from 1861, "According to the spirit of the age, descriptions of the graves of saints, and the miracles performed by them, occupy a prominent position" (v). Although it is not quite manifest what interest inspired Petachia to go on that journey, we can surmise "that he was impelled thereto by a strong desire to visit his distant brethren, and to become acquainted with their fate" (Benisch, vi).

At first sight we are dealing with a fairly ordinary travelogue, taking the author far into the Eastern world, though he did not get close to India or China. Nevertheless, he knows to report of many different cultures, peoples, languages, and religions, without commenting on any of them in a negative or deprecating manner. When he is at New Nineveh, for instance, Petachia reports:

> At New Nineveh is a large congregation numbering more than six thousand souls. It has two princes . . . . Everyone pays there annually a gold florin; of that coming from the Jews half belongs to the king or sultan (whom they do not call king, but sultan),

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165 Rabbi Petachia of Ratisbona, in *Jewish Travellers in the Middle Ages* (see note 149), 64–91. The travelogue was also published in a French translation facing the original Hebrew, *Tour du monde, ou Voyages du Rabbin Péthachia de Ratisbonne dans le douzième siècle*, ed. and trans. M. E. (Eliakim) Carmoly (Paris: Imprimerie Royale, 1831), and in an earlier English trans., *Travels of Rabbi Petachia of Ratisbon, who in the latter end of the twelfth century, visited Poland . . . .*, trans. A. Benisch, ed. with the original. Sec. ed. (London: Longman & Co., 1861); see now the online copy at http://www.teachittome.com/seforim2/seforim/travels_of_rabbi_pesachia_of_regensburg.pdf (last accessed on Nov. 5, 2012). For the original Hebrew texts, see *Sefer ha-yashar: le . . . . Ya'akov . . . Tam / . . . 'im Sibuv R' Petaḥyah . . . 'al yede 'Avraham Śaśon* (Livorno: 'Eliyahu ben 'Amozeg va-haverav, 616, 1856). The text does not seem to have survived into the age of early-modern book printing, as the *Verzeichnis der im deutschen Sprachbereich erschienenen Drucke des XVI. Jahrhunderts* (*VD 16*) does not list any items. However, A. Benisch lists the following printed versions of the original Hebrew text: 1595 in Prague, with a German translation; 1687 in Altdorf, and again in 1691 (according to Carmoly, 6, in 1696), with a Latin translation by Wagenseil (reprinted in Altona after 1766); 1831 in Paris (see above), and 1844 in Fürth, with a German translation by David Ottensosser (Benisch, vi–vii). Carmoly based his French translation on a copy from Colmar, printed in 1650 (6; allegedly much more precise than the one by Wagenseil). As to Saladin, see, for instance, H. A. R. Gibb, *The Life of Saladin*, based on the works of Bahga' ad-Din ibn Shaddad and 'Imad ad-Din al-Isfahani. Saqi Essentials (1973; London: Saqi, 2006). see also Bernard Hamilton, "Knowing the Enemy: Western Understanding of Islam at the Time of the Crusades," *Travellers, Intellectuals, and the World Beyond Medieval Europe* (see note 16; orig. 1997), 79–93.

166 Albrecht Classen, "Marco Polos *Il Milione*/*Le Divisement du Monde*: der Mythos vom Osten," *Herrscher, Helden, Heilige*, ed. Ulrich Müller and Werner Wunderlich. Mittelalter Mythen, 1 (St. Gallen: UVK, 1996), 423–36.

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> who is subject to the King of Babel (Caliph of Baghdad). The other half belongs to the princes; they have fields and vineyards. (67)

Most important always prove to be the sages and wise people on whom he constantly comments throughout his text. For the author there was no need, as we quickly notice, to evaluate or even condemn the other countries, despite the differences in religion:

> Baghdad is a metropolis. It is the seat of the Caliph or sultan. This is the great king who rules and governs nations. Baghdad is very large, more than a day's journey from end to end. To go round it is more than three days' journey. In the city of Baghdad there are a thousand Jews. Nobody there looks upon any woman, nor does anybody go into the house of his friend lest he should see the wife of that neighbour, who would immediately say unto him: insolent man, wherefor art thou come? (69)

Although there seems to be a religious motivation in this account, the author really focuses on cultural differences and common practices among the people. Nevertheless, and how could it be different, the attention rests on the Jewish scholars and wise men in the various academies. When he learns of the suppression of Jews, he laments that fact, but does not go into further details. In Persia, for instance, where that was the case, the traveler observed precaution and "visited only one city" (71). No further political explanations are given.

While Petachia places, quite naturally, greatest emphasis on the Jews, he does not ignore the Islamic religion, as when he reports of the Muslims going on pilgrimage to Mecca: "Every Ishmaelite that goes in pilgrimage to the tomb of Mahomet takes his way past the tomb of Ezekiel and makes some present or free-will offering to Ezekiel" (75).

For Petachia the world that he traverses is determined by the Jewish people, their cults, settlements, religious grave sites, and academies. Nevertheless, from time to time we learn of other aspects as well, especially when geographical information enters the picture: "He related that ever since he set out from Bohemia he had travelled always eastward; Bohemia being to the east of Ratisbon, Russia to the east of Poland" (78). Nevertheless, even then, the grave of the lord Ezra, the scribe, constitutes, after all, the relevant reference point (79).

When discussing Baghdad, Petachia pays attention both to the Jews and the Muslims, after having outlined in some more details architectural details of the city, particularly pertaining to baths (81). Next he makes the extraordinary remark: "The Jews are devoted to the study of the law and the fear of God. The Ishmaelites also are trustworthy. When a merchant arrives there he deposits his goods in a house and goes away" (82). The author also mentions, almost in an unrelated manner, that he witnessed "ambassadors from the kings of Meshech (Khozaria)" (83), and then provides more geographical information about the Eastern world: "Magog is about ten days' journey thence. The land extends as far as the

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Mountains of Darkness. Beyond the Mountains of Darkness are the sons of Jonadab, son of Rechab" (83).

Occasionally, Petachia also voices criticism of the Muslim faith, based on a historical account. The Rabbi Solomon was said to have gone to "the city of Mecca, to the tomb of Mahomet; and behold there was a decaying and putrefied corpse, from whose grave such a disagreeable smell arose that nobody could bear it. He then said to his people that there was no good either in Mahomet or his religion, for they knew that the body of Baruch, son of Neriah, was preserved, that his praying scarf protruded from his tomb" (84). But instead of engaging at greater length with the differences of the religions, the author simply drops that topic and moves on in his account, because there were many more Jewish sites and rabbis he wanted to comment on.

But the author does not hesitate to wander with his eyes over the cities and the surrounding lands, as in the case of Damascus that obviously delighted him considerably: Damascus had goodly lands; it lies in the midst of gardens and pleasure grounds. There are also high fountains from which the water pours, and many large pools. The Ishmaelites say, if Paradise be on earth, then Damascus is the Paradise, and if it be in heaven, then Damascus lies opposite it on the earth" (85–86).

Nevertheless, as it turns out, this Jewish account resembles in many ways ordinary Christian pilgrimage narratives because Petachia's mental map is mostly determined by Jewish settlements, Jewish graves, Jewish schools headed by famous rabbis, and the like. When he finds an occasion to allow other information to enter the picture, this appears only fleetingly, so as with respect to Babylon: "The graves in the land of Israel are in hollows, but not those of Babylon. For in Babylon water appears and, therefore, they cannot dig deep caves" (86).

On his return to Europe, crossing Greece, Petachia remarks, once again, how much the Jews are oppressed and forced to do menial labor, but he also notes "There are so many congregations in Greece, that the land of Israel could not contain them were they settled therein" (91). Even though we observe here a remarkable attempt to perceive the foreign world through a variety of lenses, the Jewish perspective dominates after all. But the author occasionally also incorporates references to Muslims and to the Christians (89), and he traverses many different lands to the East of Poland and Russia, covering mostly the Middle East, moving in a considerably wider circle than most Christian pilgrims, and introduces thereby a world deeply determined by Jewish culture and religion.

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19. Additional Jewish Perspectives

Considering the large collection of Jewish travel reports in the Middle Ages, we can draw the preliminary conclusion that the geographical, political, and religious barriers between East and West, that is, above all, between Western Europe and the Middle East were much lower than we might have assumed heretofore. Rabbi Jacob Ben R. Nathaniel Ha Cohen, for instance, discussed his experiences during his journey to the Holy Land in the middle of the thirteenth century.[167] Normally we might have assumed that primarily Christians went there, but from one small comment we can clearly perceive the degree of competition between the three religions already at that time to gain the most access to specific sites of equal importance. In Hebron, for instance, he "entered in the guise of a Gentile into the cave which is the cave of Machpelah. The monks have built a structure upon it and falsely deceived the world. They have erected there a Church for their country folk" (98). Jacob even voices great irritation at the deception, if not lies, spread by the Christians: "There are six graves there, three on each side, and they tell the Gentiles that these are the tombs of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, and those of Sarah, Rebecca, and Leah, but it is a falsehood" (98).

Rabbi Samuel Ben Samson, who also dropped negative comments about the Muslims, made his way to the Holy Land in 1210 (103–10): "The head of the Captivity had in his hand the sealed permit of the King, who by the mistaken law of Muhammed is the Caliph" (105). Rabbi Jacob, the messenger of Rabbi Jechiel of Paris, toured the Holy Land from 1238 to 1244 (115–19). Isaac Ben Joseph Ibn Chelo (130–50) left a detailed account of Jerusalem in his travelogue from 1334 which could convey the impression that the entire region was completely occupied by Jews, but reading between the lines we easily recognize how much his attempt is focused, similarly as in the case of the other contemporary Jewish travelers, on tracing Jewish culture, hence his own, wherever he can discover it: "From Ramleh we journey on to Sarafand: this is Sariphin mentioned in the Talmut. There is only one Jew living in this city; he is a dyer, and has fine works" (138–39).

Elijah of Ferrara provided a travelogue in the form of letters that he wrote in 1434 (151–55), where we learn, quite surprisingly, how well Jews and Muslims live together in Damascus: "The Jews ply their trades side by side with the Ishmaelites, and no jealousy between them results such as I have remarked in other places" (153). But he also does not hold back with criticism of foolish people, probably Jews as well, when he remarks: "They have no adept knowledge of the art of preparing drugs and other matters pertaining to pharmacy, they simply buy them and sell them again. I need hardly say that they know nothing of medicine, but are for the most part asses" (153).

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[167] *Jewish Travellers in the Middle Ages* (see note 149), 92–99.

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When we turn to the late Middle Ages, the number of Jewish travelogues increases, and so their length, such as in the case of Rabbi Meshullam Ben R. Menahem of Volterra (1481), who offers a wealth of information about his travel experiences from Italy to Rhodes, from there to Alexandria (after a severe thunderstorm causing huge problems for the ship), then on to Egypt, with a focus, of course, on Cairo, very similar to the account by Arnold von Harff (1496–1498).[168] From there Meshullam continued his way through the desert, moving into Turkish area, reaching Gaza, Hebron, Jerusalem, Beirut, and Damascus, before he returned home to Italy via Corfu. While he continued to concentrate on Jewish settlements and Jewish institutions wherever he went and found them, this travelogue demonstrates a remarkable change in the world view because the author reveals a strong interest in the entire environment wherever he went, demonstrating an unparalleled openness and mind-set.

In Jerusalem he pays great attention not only to his own religious sites, but also to those frequented by the Muslims: "The Moslems only go inside after bathing five times, and they do not approach a woman three days previously. Many Moslem servants in a state of purification are there and they light seven lamps inside" (190). He goes so far as to describe a miracle in which the Muslims all believe: "every year when the Jews go to [the] Synagogue on the eve of he 9th of Ab all the lamps in the Temple Court go out of their own accord, and cannot be kindled again, and the Moslems know when it is the 9th of ab, which they observe somewhat like the Jews because of this" (190).

Traveling from Jerusalem to Beirut, Meshullam remarks: "At midnight we reached a city called Ramleh, once called Gath. Ramleh is like Gaza, it has no walls. We stayed a little there until after morning in an inn, or fondak, where foreigners and the caravans that go to Damascus stop, because it is on the road from Misr to Damascus; and on the day we arrived there I saw the brother of the Turkish King" (197).

The overall realism characterizing Meshullam's account seems extraordinary, whether he discusses difficult harbor settings or the harshness of traveling over mountains. He also reveals some of the dangers he faced when he ran into a group of Christian pilgrims from whom he had to hide his true identity:

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168 *Rom, Jerusalem, Santiago: das Pilgertagebuch des Ritters Arnold von Harff (1496–1498), nach dem Text der Ausgabe von Eberhard von Groote*, übersetzt, kommentiert und eingeleitet von Helmut Brall-Tuchel und Folker Reichert. 2nd rev. ed. (Cologne: Böhlau, 2008); for an English translation, see *The Pilgrimage of Arnold von Harff, Knight: From Cologne Through Italy, Syria, Egypt, Arabia, Ethiopia, Nubia, Palestine, Turkey, France, and Spain, which he accomplished in the years 1496 to 1499*, trans. from the German and ed. with notes and an intro. by Malcolm Letts. Works issued by the Hakluyt Society, Second series, 94 (London: Hakluyt Society, 1946). See now Classen, "Travel Space as Constructed Space" (see note 156).

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> On the same day we entered a fishing smack of the pilgrims, and the owner of the smack was called Augustini Comantarino. He concealed from the pilgrims that I and my companions were Jews, and they all believed that we were Gentile merchants, God forbid! I knew that they were all wicked Germans and Frenchmen, but strong nobles and lords, and I showed them many favours so that they might not presume to injure me, even if they did know afterwards that I was a Jew. As I thought so it was, for after they heard that I was a Jew, they were much astounded, but still because of their former love for me they could not change their attitude. (197–98)

Both religious and mercantile interests merged for many of these travelers, whether Christians or Jews, and as worried as Meshullam really was about being detected as a Jew, he then realized that the entire group had to accept him because the religious difference could no longer influence their previous personal attachment to him.

The most important aspect of Meshullam's account might well be how much he could traverse the various parts of the Eastern Mediterranean, the Holy Land, and the countries further east, without ever being really bothered or hassled by anyone on account of his Jewish identity. However, he was obviously not the only one, as his travel experiences tell. He regularly encountered Christians and Muslims, he met Greeks and Turks, and sought out the smaller Jewish communities wherever he went. His report about the island of Candia might serve as a good example of how much multicultural existence was a real possibility, if not a mode of life in those areas:

> Candia is an island seven hundred miles in circumference and has many cities and villages upon it, and it is fine and rich and full of good things. It has a very large and fine harbour and lies in the valley and on the hill. On the left and opposite are the Turkish cities, and it has fine sorts of fruit and bread and malvoisey wine and meat and fish, all of the best, and at the front of the city outside the gate is a very large and fine castle. Most of the inhabitants of the city are Greeks, and there are about six hundred Jewish householders, and they have four Synagogues on the main road, and all the passers-by can see them. The men of the community live in a separate quarter and most of them construct their tabernacles by the road, and they are merchants and handicraftsmen . . . . (201)

Then, however, somber reality slips in as well, since he notices a considerable degree of hostility against the Jews on the part of the Greek Orthodox people "who are very anti-Jewish because of the synagogues and tabernacles on the road" (201). This finds its expression in the fact that Jews who touch any of the goods or fruit of the vendors then must buy them immediately (201–02). But Meshullam does not linger on that aspect and instead reports of his personal experiences when he fell off a skiff and nearly drowned, yet was rescued by the captain and his sailors. We do not know what their religion might have been, but they made every effort to pull him out of the water because he was in their care. Even the Turks do not emerge as a real threat, rather they are simply described as people who occupy

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parts of the Eastern Mediterranean: "On the same day when we were near another island called Prodeno on the left with the Turkish hills on the right . . ." (204), or: "Turkey is all on the mainland and Corfu lies opposite" (204).

In the letter of Obadiah Jaré da Bertinoro (1487–1490), we discover, once again, similar observations about international meeting places of merchants and traders, this time pertaining to Palermo:

> This town is a place of trade for all nations; ships come here from all parts; for Messina lies in the middle of the Pharos, so that ships from the east and the west pass it by, and its harbour is the only one of its kind in the world; the largest vessels may here come close to the shore." (214)

The Jewish community in Messina, which consisted of four hundred families, is said to live a quiet life by themselves, most of them working as artisans. But wedding ceremonies are carried out with great pomp and noise, with everyone involved. Remarkably, as important as those festive activities were for the Jews, they were not disturbed by the Christians, on the contrary: "they made the circuit of the streets and all the Jewish courts; the Christian inhabitants looked on with pleasure and no one disturbed the festivity" (214).

In a way parallel to this situation, while the company was traveling on the ship and at one point had to wait out a storm in a natural harbor, one of the sailors insulted the Rabbi Meshullam. This was reported to the captain, who sought out and then had the sailor severely punished: "He also desired him to make a public apology to the worthy Meshullam" (215). On the one hand we can only marvel at the strict discipline which the master of the ship maintained, not allowing any disparaging comments on any one, especially not the Jews; but we also notice what Obadiah then observed: "from this time they [the sailors] began to hate us and no longer treated us as they had done before" (215).

As much as these Jewish travelers could obviously explore the world on their own, utilizing all the transportation means available, they were still identified as a separate group. Despite some comments about individual Greeks feeling hatred against their Jewish neighbors, the world was quite open to the latter who freely toured the Eastern Mediterranean and had uninhibited access to their own holy sites of worship wherever they went.

The inhabitants of Rhodes, for instance, welcomed the travelers in a very friendly manner, "for the master of our ship was a friend and relative of the Governor" (216). Concomitantly, the Jewish community greeted the Jewish travelers as well. Apparently, as Obadiah informs us, both Christians and Jews enjoyed good neighborly relations, especially dating back to the last siege by the Turks who had destroyed most houses with their cannonade. But once the Turks then had been able to penetrate the city and had started to kill everyone, a miracle happened at the front of the door to the synagogue: "God brought confusion

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among them, so that they began at once to flee and slay one another" (217). As a consequence, the Christian governor "built a church on the spot and gave the Jews another building instead of it. While I was in Rhodes, he granted them 100 ducats from the revenues of the town to build a new synagogue" (217).

In his report about Alexandria, Obadiah not only provided details about the specific Jewish cultural practices there, but he also observed many other aspects characteristic of that city, focusing on the interior of houses, the air with its negative impact on one's health, and, once again, on the cosmopolitan nature of the market there: "Merchants come from all parts, and at present there are four consuls here: for Venice, Genoa, Catalonia and Ancona, and the merchants of all nations have to treat them" (222–23). However, the Christians are locked into their neighborhood every evening by the Arabs until the next morning, which also applies to the time from Friday noon until the evening: "while the Arabs tarry in the house of prayer, the Christians have to stay in their houses, and whoever is seen in the street has himself to blame if he is ill-treated" (223).

Most remarkably, Obadiah had an opportunity to travel with a new acquaintance down the Nile to Cairo, and offered most impressive comments about the towns and villages next to the river, "beautiful, large and populous, but all unfortified" (223). The crocodiles in the Nile struck him as awesome, but he identified them as the frogs that had remained from the time of Moses (224). As to Cairo, he refrains from going into details because many other travel authors have done so before him. But he mentions the many languages spoken there and the countless commodities "from France, Germany, Italy and Turkey" (225). Although situated in the heart of the Arabic world, as Obadiah comments, Cairo proved to be even more international than Alexandria: "For trade there is no better place in the world than Cairo; it is easy to grow rich; hence one meets there with innumerable foreigners of all nations and languages" (228). As a highly noteworthy curiosity, he also knows of fifty families "of forced apostates (Marranos) from Spain, who have all done penance" (228).

Subsequently, Obadiah turned east and reached the Holy Land, which he describes quite thoroughly, however, always keeping the Jewish focus in mind and presenting us virtually only the Jewish culture there. With astonishment, he learned that the "Jews are not persecuted by the Arabs in these parts. I have travelled through the country in its length and breadth, and none of them has put an obstacle in my way. They are very kind to strangers, particularly to anyone who does not know the language; and if they see many Jews together they are not annoyed by it" (235).

Reflecting his critical perspective, the author also discovered how much the Christians in Jerusalem were split into different sects which all fought each other: "The Christians in Jerusalem are divided into five sects—Catholics, Greeks,

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Jacobites, Armenians, and Johannites (Abyssinians); each one declares the faith of the others to be false, just as the Samaritans and Karaïtes do with respect to the Rabbanites. Each sect has a separate division in the Church of the Sepulchre" (242). His criticism, then, is directed at all fundamentalist thinking, leading only to internecine strife and division. Those problems, however, obviously only emerged because of the close cohabitation of the representatives of the various religious groups in Jerusalem. As to the condition of Jews on their journey, he reports that they were once banned from traveling through Venice because of allegations that some of them had been responsible for the decision by the Arab authorities to take away the control over the graves of the Kings in the Holy Church of the Sepulchre. Yet, that problem was quickly overcome because the edict was repealed: "every year Jews come in the Venetian galleys and even in the pilgrim ships, for there is really no safer and shorter way than by these ships" (243).

As we can deduce from this remark, pilgrimage was not only a religious matter, but both a political and economic enterprise, especially for those offering the travel accommodations and means of transport. Religious differences, hence, did not matter much for the Venetians, meaning that both Christian and Jewish pilgrims could safely take the sea voyage together to reach the Holy Land, each one for his own purposes. After all, journeying over such long distances required close cooperation of all travelers, and Obadiah clearly indicates how pragmatic everyone involved operated in those matters. He himself appears to have been a very reasonable person who questioned many of the miracle accounts, as he states in his letter his brother:

> What can I tell you, my brother, about them? I have not seen them. As for the lights on the site of the temple, of which you have heard that they always cease to burn on the 9th of Ab, I have been told that this is the case, but I cannot speak with certainty respecting it; I need not say that the story about the Sephardi is all deception and falsehood; but intelligent men like you, my brother, must inquire into such stories and not trust to false reports. (245)

As to the situation of the Jewish community in Jerusalem he knows to report that their tax burden had been vastly alleviated by the Arab authorities, meaning for him, at least: "Hence many who left Jerusalem are returning. May it please God that the city and the temple be rebuilt and that the scattered of Judah and Ephraim may come together and prostrate themselves before God at the holy mountain" (248). Considering that Obadiah received letters from his lord via the Florentine ambassador (249), we can realize that in terms of the general communication between Europe and the Holy Land religious differences apparently did not matter, and consequently the Jewish travelers experienced, as we can conclude in light of the many different reports from different periods, very little to no difficulties or even persecutions, apart from the usual requirement to pay toll, or the common danger of being robbed while traversing the desert. Those aspects,

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however, had nothing to do with the Jews' identity. Journey of that kind, by contrast, signaled clearly how much the representatives of different cultures and religions could and did really cooperate.

Many other examples could be drawn from these rich travelogues introducing us to the world of Jewish travelers from the entire Middle Ages and also the early modern age—we could refer, for instance, also to David Reubeni, who wrote his travel diary from 1522 to 1525 (251–328) and Samuel Jemsel the Karaïte (1641) (329–44)—who daringly but also confidently traversed many countries and bodies of waters, driven by curiosity, mercantile interests, and religious motifs. Wherever they went they seem to have encountered Jewish communities, and received much desired and freely given support, supplies, and accommodations.

Obadiah, for instance, like many other Jewish authors, knows of no real tensions and conflicts pitting Jews against the people in their social environments. Disagreement, resentment, and at times small forms of hostility emerged, but none of those aspects ever threatened any Jewish group or any Jewish traveler. These authors document the true extent, so it seems, of a fairly open-minded, almost tolerant world wherever they went, whether to Venice or to Constantinople, whether to Cairo or to Damascus. These Jews visited as much sites of religious devotion as their Christian and Muslim contemporaries, and in this regard all these accounts are fascinating and most illuminating documents of the wide range of possible and real relationships between people from the West and the East during the Middle Ages and beyond.

This does not yet tell us much about the day-to-day living conditions, and precludes us also from reaching further insights into such fundamental questions as to linguistic competence, communication, cooperation, political and economic exchanges, erotic relationships, and the like. Nevertheless, here we encounter enormously insightful narrative documents that do not only provide deep insight into the travelers' minds, but also shed critically important light on the encounter between representatives of the various world religions and of people in the West with people in the East. The fact by itself that we know of so many contacts, business dealings, and exchanges powerfully underscores that the fundamental divide between East and West during the Middle Ages and the early modern age was by far not as deep as we have traditionally assumed.[169]

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[169] See the contributions to *From Medieval Pilgrimage to Religious Tourism: The Social and Cultural Economics of Piety*, ed. William H. Swatos, Jr. and Luigi Tomasi. Religion in the Age of Transformation (Westport, CT, and London: Praeger, 2002). The emphasis, however, here really rests on modern pilgrimage. See further John Ure, *Pilgrimage: The Great Adventure of the Middle Ages* (London: Constable, 2006). For an in-depth study of German medieval pilgrimage accounts, see Christian K. Zacher, *Curiosity and Pilgrimage: The Literature of Discovery in Fourteenth-Century England* (Baltimore, MD: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1976); for geo-religious

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20. Christian Pilgrim Narratives in the Late Middle Ages

As far as I know, only one Christian pilgrimage author ever revealed how much he was also concerned with finding prostitutes wherever he went. Arnold von Harff, whom I have mentioned already several times above, and whose travelogue certainly deserves close attention, regularly left extensive word lists for the major languages that he encountered. In his list of Arabic phrases, which begins with terms for food (bread, water, wine, meat, oily, salt, fish, etc.), then turns to animals, people, general adjectives, finally covers interhuman relations, such as "woman shall I sleep with you?" (marrat nyco), "you are very welcome," "good morning, "good evening," "God thank you," "what do you want?," "I want to buy that," "how much does it cost?," or "God give us good wind."[170]

By the same token, Arnold can also be credited with giving a highly detailed account of the culture as he observed it in Arabic countries, telling us much about the Muslims' eating habits, laws, personal preferences and liking of cats, for instance (118–20), then their political structure and administrative rules (121–22), people's general credulity (122–23), and the gender relationships, especially with a focus on women (123–24), the treatment of criminals (124), and religious differences among them. The latter aspect deserves more attention, especially as some of the Jewish travel authors had also mentioned how much neither the Christians nor the Jews were simply each of one faith, but instead all pursued special rituals and adhered to varying sects and groups. Arnold learns from his translator, a German Mamluk,[171]

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perspectives, see the contributions to *Routes of Faith in the Medieval Mediterranean: History, Monuments, People, Pilgrimage Perspectives. International Symposium, Thessalonike 7–10/2007: Proceedings*, ed. Evangelia Hadjitryphonos (Thessaloniki: European Centre of Byzantine and Post-Byzantine Monuments, 2008).

170 *The Pilgrimage of Arnold von Harff* (see note 168), 131.

171 For the history of Mamluks, a unique slave military force in Turkish service that represented a fascinating result of intercultural contacts, see Sir John Bagot Glubb, *Soldiers of Fortune: The Story of the Mamlukes* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1973); David Ayalon, *The Mamlūk Military Society: Collected Studies*. Collected Studies, CS 104 (London: Variorum, 1979); id., *Islam and the Abode of War: Military Slaves and Islamic adversaries*. Collected Studies, CS 456 (Aldershot: Variorum, 1994); see also Robert Irwin, *The Middle East in the Middle Ages: The Early Mamluk Sultanate, 125–1382* (Carbondale: Southern Illinous University Press, 1986); *The Mamluks in Egyptian Politics and Society*, ed. Thomas Philipp and Ulrich Haarmann. Cambridge Studies in Islamic Civilization (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998). Bernhard von Breydenbach, whom I will discuss further down, has much to say about the Mamluks, some of whom, as he recognized, were actually secret Christians at the court of the Turkish Sultan. See now also Christian Mauder, *Gelehrte Krieger: Die Mamluken als Träger arabischsprachiger Bildung nach al-Safadi, al-Maqrizi und weiteren Quellen*. Arabistische und islamwissenschaftliche Texte und Studien, 18 (Hildesheim, Zürich, and New York: Georg Olms Verlag, 2012).

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> The Christians are ten sects, not one believing as another—Latin, Greeks, Indians, Jacobites, Nestorians, Moramites, Armenians, Georgians, Syrians and Masorabites. These Christians all believe in Christ who was martyred and hung on the gallows of the holy Cross at Jerusalem. Otherwise they differ greatly in other matters of belief. . . . Further there were three kinds of Mahometans in the world, not one agreeing with the other in belief. These are Turkish, Egyptians and those of Barbary, all believing in Mahomet. These Mahometans have to come from all countries to fall on their knees, paying great tribute to their lord, the Sultan, if they wish to seek Mahomet, whom they accept as their Saviour, in a town called Mecca, which town our Lord the Sultan has in his power and rules. Further the Jews are of three kinds, each differing from the other in belief. (128)

Indeed, as we might conclude, travelers from the outside can easily perceive shortcomings, silliness, foolishness, and the absurdity of religious strife over small, perhaps even insignificant differences which, however, easily lead to internecine strife. These Jewish pilgrims were of course, throughout, devout and pious individuals, but they perceived the exotic world to the East through the lens of the foreigner and easily recognized that the cultural differences were only in kind, but not in essence. They realized that they had the freedom to travel far and wide, even if they had to pay tolls and taxes.

Moreover, they consistently confirm how much they could rely on the presence of Jewish communities wherever they went, whether large or small ones. None of these travelers experienced any kind of significant hostility, threat, challenge, or open opposition. Instead, they traversed whatever country they desired to see and visited any of the religious sites that interested them. On that occasion they also had the great opportunity to observe the foreign cultures, mostly of the Arabs, sometimes of the Turks and Greeks, and they fared relatively well in coping with Christians living in the Holy Land or with Christian pilgrims on the way to their destination.

21. The Most Astute Observer and Reporter: Felix Fabri

To put these observations into the right context, especially vis-à-vis the confrontation with the exotic Other, that is, the meeting with foreigners, especially Muslims, here I want to return to one of the most important Christian pilgrimage accounts from the late Middle Ages, Felix Fabri's *Evagatorium*, or "Wanderings." We know quite a lot about Fabri, who must have been a rather well-learned, and highly esteemed personality. He was born in 1437/1438 (some claim in 1441 or 1442) in Zürich, joined the Dominican Order in Basel on November 25, 1452 (not in 1472, as older scholarship sometimes opined), and was appointed as Lector and main preacher in the Dominican monastery of Ulm in 1477/1478 (or perhaps as early as 1468).

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He went on his first pilgrimage, which was probably also an official business trip for his convent, in 1468 to Aachen (west of Cologne), and then visited Rome in 1476, Colmar in 1482, and Nuremberg in 1485 or 1486, also in an official function. In 1486 and 1487 he represented his Order at the *Comitia Generalia* in Venice. He undertook his first pilgrimage to the Holy Land in 1480, where he briefly and almost hastily, as he later commented himself, visited Jerusalem. Fabri returned on a second pilgrimage in 1483, which then included Jerusalem, the Sinai, and Egypt.[172] Fabri died in Ulm on March 14, 1502.[173]

The degree to which Fabri's account, *Evagatorium* (1484–1488), at least in its abbreviated German version for popular consumption, *Eigentliche beschreibung der hin und widerfarth zu dem Hl. Landt* from 1484–1488, was popular is confirmed by the fact that it was printed in Ulm as late as in 1556, then again in Frankfurt in 1584 and in 1659.[174] The Latin version did not appear in print until the nineteenth

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172 H. F. M. Prescott, *Jerusalem Journey: Pilgrimage to the Holy Land in the Fifteenth Century* (London: Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1934), offers a larger picture of late-medieval Christian pilgrimage, including the one by Fabri, but mostly summarizes his accounts. Kurt Hannemann, "Fabri, Felix," *Die deutsche Literatur des Mittelalters: Verfasserlexikon*, ed. Kurt Ruh et al. Vol. 2 (Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1980), 682–89, offers a concise biography, although not all dates are correct. For pragmatic reasons, here I rely on the English translation, Felix Fabri, *The Book of the Wanderings of Brother Felix Fabri*, trans. Aubrey Stewart. Vol. 1 Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society, VII–X (London: Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society, 1892–1893). See also Christiane Hippler, *Die Reise nach Jerusalem: Untersuchungen zu den Quellen, zum Inhalt und zur literarischen Struktur der Pilgerberichte des Spätmittelalters*. Europäische Hochschulschriften. Reihe I: Deutsche Sprache und Literatur, 968 (Frankfurt a. M., Bern, and New York: Peter Lang, 1987), 167–70. The most comprehensive and probably only correct biographical outline is provided by Wieland Carls in Felix Fabri, *Die Sionpilger*, ed. Wieland Carls. Texte des späten Mittelalters und der frühen Neuzeit, 39 (Berlin: Erich Schmidt, 1999), 53–56. For a critical survey of how the Christian pilgrims observed the Sinai and the St. Catharine's monastery, see Folker Reichert, "Wallfahrt zu Gott: Der Sinai als Pilgerziel," *Wallfahrt und Kulturbegegnung* (see note 105), 172–87.

173 N.a., "Felix Fabri," *Biographisch-Bibliographisches Kirchenlexikon*, ed. Friedrich Wilhelm Bautz, vol. 1 (Hamm: Verlag Traugott Bautz, 1975), 1586–87. Hannemann, "Fabri, Felix" (see note 172), 682–83, provides these alternative dates. The detailed analysis of the itinerary and the bibliography of research on Fabri contained in Christian Halm, *Deutsche Reiseberichte* (see note 105), no. 88, 210–20, proves to be very helpful.

174 Felix Fabri, *Evagatorium in Terrae Sanctae, Arabiae et Egypti peregrinationem*, ed. Conrad Dietrich Hassler. 3 Vols. Bibliothek des Literarischen Vereins in Stuttgart, 2, 3, 18 (Stuttgart: Literarische Verein, 1843–1849); this edition is now also available online at google.books at: http://books.google.co.uk/books?id=ztUWAAAAQAAJ&printsec=frontcover&source=gbs_ge_summary_r&cad=0#v=onepage&q&f=false (last accessed on July 23, 2012); Fabri's German version was originally titled *Nu hebpt sich das bilger buoch von den heiligen stetten ze jerusalem vnd jm heilgen land vnd haißt vagathor* (Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Ms.Germ.Fol. 1266), then titled *Reyßbuch deß heyligen Landes*, which the famous Frankfurt book printer and publisher Siegmund Feyerabend reprinted it in 1584. One copy of the 1557 edition is in the Herzog August Bibliothek Wolfenbüttel, T 71 Helmst. 4°. Some print versions use the title *Die Pilgerfahrt des Bruders Felix Faber ins Heilige Land*. To simplify matters, here I have written out all superscripta. For a modern German translation, see Gerhard E. Sollbach, *In Gottes Namen fahren wir: Die Pilgerfahrt des Felix Fabri ins*

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century. The 1584 edition was included in Sigmund Feyrabend's highly successful anthology of pilgrimage accounts to the Holy Land, the *Reyszbuch dess Heyligen Lands*, which contained seventeen reports by German travel writers from the time between 1095 and 1573, and an excerpt from John Mandeville's *Travels*. The *Reyszbuch* was reprinted eleven times until 1704. By comparison, the most popular pilgrimage account by a German author, however, was the one by Bernard von Breydenbach, whose *Peregrinatio in Terram Sanctam* was initially printed in Latin by Peter Schöffer in Mainz in 1486, which was reprinted twelve times between 1486 and 1522, and which was quickly translated into German, Dutch, French, and Spanish.[175] I will return to Breydenbach at greater length below.

Insofar as Fabri's first pilgrimage seems to have been fairly rushed and too compressed to give him a full sense of the religious experience in the Holy Land, Fabri prepared himself thoroughly for the second voyage and read everything available to him, such as the itineraries of Jerome, Burchard, Arculf, Ludolph of Suchem, and others. The extensive account resulting from that pilgrimage documents the extent of his pre-departure planning and studying and the post-travel study and critical analysis of his notes and documents.[176] Two members of this pilgrimage tour, Bernard von Breydenbach, Canon of Mainz, and the Franciscan Paul Walther of Guglingen, also wrote travelogues, but the degree to which Fabri added personal comments, included anecdotes about his travel experience, and interesting information about many different aspects pertaining to the daily life in the exotic countries makes his account considerably stand out high and above the one by Breydenbach.[177]

Heilige Land und zum St. Katharina-Grab auf dem Sinai A. d. 1483 (Kettwig: Phaidon Verlag, 1990). For a French translation, see *Les errances de frère Félix, pèlerin en Terre sainte, en Arabie et en Egypte, 1480–1483*, texte latin, traduction, introduction et notes sous la direction de Jean Meyers et de Nicole Chareyron (Montpellier: Université Paul-Valéry, 2000). See also the French trans. (without the text edition) by Jacques Masson, *Voyage en Egypte de Félix Fabri, 1483*. Collection des voyageurs occidentaux en Egypte, 14 ([Cairo]: Institut français *d'archéologie* orientale du Caire, 1975). For further details, see Hannemann, "Fabri, Felix" (see note 172), 686–87. See now the most comprehensive biographical and analytic survey article by Jacob Klingner, "Fabri, Felix," *Deutsches Literatur-Lexikon: Das Mittelalter*, ed. Wolfgang Achnitz. Vol. 3: *Reiseberichte und Geschichtsdichtung* (Berlin and Boston: De Gruyter, 2012), 922–35. Here one also finds the most comprehensive bibliography. I like to express my thanks to Klingner for pointing out this article to me.

175 Gerhard Weiss, "The Pilgrim as Tourist: Travels to the Holy Land as Reflected in the Published Accounts of German Pilgrims Between 1450 and 1550," *The Medieval Mediterranean* (see note 41), 119–31; here 119–20. For a comprehensive bibliography with much background information, see *Europäische Reiseberichte des späten Mittelalters* (see note 105).

176 Felix Fabri, *Galeere und Karawane: Pilgerreise ins Heilige Land, zum Sinai und nach Ägypten 1483*. Bearbeitet und mit einem Nachwort. versehen von Herbert Wiegandt. Alte abenteuerliche Reiseberichte (Stuttgart, Vienna, and Bern: Ed. Erdmann, 1996).

177 Wieland, Felix Fabri, *Die Sionpilger* (see note 172), 20–21, convincingly posits that despite Bernhard's claim to have kept a travel diary, he ignores virtually all extraordinary events that

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While Fabri often records remarkably open and functional relationships between Turks, Christians, and Jews, all "living together peacefully in the trading cities along the coast of the Adriatic Sea,"[178] he noted with growing irritation and frustration the restrictions imposed on all Christian pilgrims by the Muslim authorities in the Holy Land. "Pilgrims had to show proof that they had obtained papal permission for their pilgrimage before they were allowed to disembark."[179] He hated the new fact that the Latins had lost control over their own religious relics and had to obey traffic rules imposed by the Mamluk rulers, who cared very little for the Christians, although they still allowed them into the Holy Land because they brought considerable amounts of money with them.[180]

However, if we compare Fabri's account with that by his Muslim predecessor more than two hundred years earlier, Ibn Jubayr, who discussed, while filled with irritation the way the Egyptian authorities treated the pilgrims from al-Andalus and elsewhere, we recognize that the issue was not the difference in faith, but the tension between pilgrims and port, or customs, authorities and others, or insiders and outsiders, between those who arrived with sufficient travel money and those who were the locals and hoped to make money of them:

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must have happened on a daily basis. "Er will Wissen vermitteln und strukturiert dieses Wissen diarisch. Die Angaben zur Chronologie der Zeit und des zurückgelegten Weges seiner Reise haben vor allem die Funktion einer Klammer, mit der Bernhard Toposwissen in seinen Text einbindet. Selbst in Passagen, die den Schein subjektiven Erlebens haben, wird das Beschriebene lediglich sprachlich an die Pilgergruppe gebunden, ohne inhaltlich die Qualität von Augenzeugenschaft zu erlangen" (21; He wants to convey knowledge and structures that knowledge in the form of a diary. The references to the chronology of time and to the distance covered on his journey have mainly the function of a framework, with which Bernhard includes topical knowledge into his text. Even in passages that leave the impression of subjective experience, the matter described here is attached to the pilgrimage group only linguistically, without gaining the content quality of an eye-witness account).

178 Dorothea R. French, "Felix Fabri," *Encyclopedia of Medieval Pilgrimage* (see note 154), 213–17; here 216.

179 French, "Felix Fabri" (see note 178), 216.

180 Herbert Feilke, *Felix Fabris Evagatorium über seine Reise in das Heilige Land: eine Untersuchung über die Pilgerliteratur des ausgehenden Mittelalters*. Europäische Hochschulschriften. Reihe I: Deutsche Literatur und Germanistik, 155 (Frankfurt a. M. and Bern: Peter Lang and Herbert Lang, 1976). Fabri also created a pilgrimage account for nuns, who could not travel themselves (*stabilitas loci*), hence needed such a written itinerary that replaced the actual visit with a virtual one, which the women could carry out through an intensive reading process in their monastery. See Felix Fabri, *Die Sionpilger*, ed. Wieland Carls, 1999 (see note 172); cf. now Albrecht Classen, "Imaginary Experience of the Divine: Felix Fabri's *Sionpilger*— Late-Medieval Pilgrimage Literature as a Window into Religious Mentality," *Studies in Spirituality* 15 (2005): 109–28; and Jacob Klingner, "Reisen zum Heil: Zwei Ulmer 'Pilgerfahrten im Geiste' vom Ende des 15. Jahrhunderts," *Literarische Rääume: Architekturen – Ordnungen – Medien*, ed. Martin Huber, Christine Lubkoll, Steffen Martus, and Yvonne Wübben (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2012), 59–73.

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> The customs was packed to choking. all their goods, great and small, were searched and confusedly thrown together, while hands were thrust into their waistbands in search of what might be within. The owners were then put to oath whether they had aught else not discovered. During all this, because of the confusion of hands and the excessive throng, many possessions disappeared. After this scene of abasement and shame, for which we pray God to recompense us amply, they [the pilgrims] were allowed to go. (31–32)

If we did not know that Ibn Jubayr and his fellow pilgrims were Muslims, we could easily misread the entire scene as typical of the regular harassment of all Christians arriving at an Arabic port, especially rich pilgrims intending to visit their own religious sites in the Holy Land. However, once the customs had been passed, the subsequent journey of the Muslim pilgrims continued without any serious problem: "In the lands of this man [Saladin], we found nothing bad that merits mention save this affair, which was provoked by the officials of the Customs" (32). For the Christians, however, the problems did not end after they had passed through the controls in the harbor, and throughout their pilgrimage they were constantly at risk of being robbed or attacked in any other way because they represented the religious Other and did not even know the local languages/s. Nevertheless, when we read more carefully in Ibn Jubayr's report, we also recognize that even the Muslim pilgrims were regularly forced to pay hefty taxes, irrespective of their own fortunes. If they could not afford it, they were sometimes even subjected to torture (48). If we compare Ibn Jubayr's and Felix Fabri's account from the late Middle Ages, we can clearly recognize that many of the complaints voiced by the latter and many other Christian pilgrims about abuse and mishandling by the local people and the authorities were officially related to the difference in religion, but were really mostly nothing but the result of bureaucrats exacting their due on those who passed through their region.

From the start, Fabri underscores how much pilgrimage brings together people from many different nations, though at first all of them Christians: "There were also in the other inns many pilgrims, both priests, monks, and laymen, gentle and simple, from Germany, from Gaul, and France, and especially two bishops, my Lord of Orleans and my Lord of Le Mans" (I, 10–11). In Venice, however, the first problem they ran into was the intense threat by the Turks for anyone daring to travel by ship, which made the voyage at first virtually impossible, since the latter could easily attack and take over their ship and make them all prisoners or slaves (I, 12).

Fabri truly attracts our attention even today describing the journey all the way down the Adriatic Sea, giving us most detailed impressions about the sailing conditions, the weather, the winds, the coast, the harbors, and the people. In that process he integrated a wide range of material culled from previous travelogues,

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combined with scientific and scholarly writings, and framing all that with his personal eye-witness accounts.[181]

Although he constantly includes words of warning about the Turks with their war galleys, when they stay on the island of Corcyra (today Corfu), he also notices with astonishment the peaceful mingling of Turks with Christians on the local level: "[we] found it full of people, and many Turks were walking about among the Christians" (I, 17). Interestingly, however, while on ship, the pilgrims start to fight against each other, with the French pitted against the Germans: "For the French are proud and passionate men; and, therefore, I believe that it was by an act of divine providence that they were separated from us, and our galley cleared of them; for we should scarcely have reached Jerusalem in their company without bloodshed and the murder of some of us" (I, 20). At the same time we learn that even at the southern part of the Adriatic coast there were German communities in various cities, probably merchants who stayed there for a while serving large trading companies (I, 21), which indicates how much trade and commerce brought people together from many different nations and languages.

Significantly, in the same location Fabri and his companions encountered numerous Turkish merchants from Constantinople who engaged with them in a friendly manner, even warning them about the threat by Turkish war galleys that could easily capture them and so make them all slaves: "Some of these Turks even came into our house, and advised us not to put to sea for the present, because we should certainly be taken" (I, 22). Nevertheless, when reflecting on the Turks at large, Fabri still identifies them as "enemies of the cross of Christ" (I, 23), replicating the standard formula utilized by virtually all late-medieval European writers in their dread and hatred of the Ottoman Empire at large.[182]

Once having reached the Holy Land safely, the group of pilgrims made its way toward Jerusalem, now "escorted by Saracens" (I, 23), obviously because Fabri and the other people were identified as welcome pilgrim tourists whose religious difference did not matter in that regard. At the same time, the tour group consisted not only of Germans, but also of Englishmen, for instance, who decided to continue their journey on their own to reach Mount Sinai. Fabri would have liked to accompany them, but refrained from that decision because the two men knew neither German nor Latin: "I would willingly have stayed had they known either

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181 Hippler, *Die Reise nach Jerusalem* (see note 172), 168–69. Unfortunately, she does not go into details and passes over Fabri's extraordinary notes very quickly.

182 See, for instance, at least as far as the later Ottoman history is concerned, Virginia H. Aksan, *Ottomans and Europeans: Contacts and Conflicts*. Analecta Isisiana, 75 (Istanbul: Isis Press, 2004); cf. also the contributions to *Ottomans into Europeans: State and Institution Building in South-Eastern Europe*, ed. Alina Mungiu-Pippidi and Wim van Meurs (London: Hurst, 2010); Mustafa Soykut, *Italian Perceptions of the Ottomans: Conflict and Politics Through Pontifical and Venetian Sources*. Italien in Geschichte und Gegenwart, 33 (Frankfurt a. M.: Peter Lang, 2011).

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the German or Latin tongue, but as I could not talk with them their company would have been valueless to me" (I, 24).

On their way home the pilgrims also reached Rhodes, which just then had been relieved of the Turkish siege, the remnants of which were still visible everywhere, including scores of Turkish corpses floating in the water, thousands of cannon balls, destroyed houses and walls, and a dearth of food everywhere. One comment among others here deserves to be highlighted insofar as it sheds light on the relationship between Jews and Christians in that military situation: "We also carried with us some Jews who had fought bravely during the siege" (I, 32).[183] We also learn in that context of several Knights of St. John and others who had been prisoners of the Turks for a long time but had finally managed to escape when they had been sent to serve in the army during the siege. As Fabri's many comments illustrate, despite the military aggression determining the larger relationship between the Turks and the Christians, the entire trade world in the Eastern Mediterranean experienced an amazing openness among the various people who regularly helped each other out of emergencies and dangers, even though, on a kind of 'national' level, the larger forces waged war against each other to extend their realm of interest and political control—truly not very different from the conditions today as they rule.

Ironically, Fabri regularly remarks on the strong conflicts between Italians and Germans, as in the section on Venice where all Germans live in the Fondaco dei Tedeschi and connected inns, and so do not hear or learn a word of Italian, and this to the writer's great sarcastic delight. The guard dog parallels all of their anti-foreigner sentiments: "The Germans say that this dog is a proof that as he is the implacable foe of the Italians, so German men can never agree with Italians from the bottom of their hearts, nor Italians with us, because each nation has hatred of the other rooted in its very nature" (I, 80–81).[184] While our interest here is primarily

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183 For a contemporary account of those wars between the Turks and Christians, see Will Caoursin and Rhodgia Afendy, *The History of the Turkish War with the Rhodesians, Venetians, Egyptians, Persians, and Other Nations: Being a Compact Series of the Memorable Battels, Sieges, and Progress of the Ottoman Armies in Europe, Asia, and Africa. . .* (London: Printed for Will. Whitwood, 1683). Caoursin died in 1501; see Dominique Bouhours, *The Life of the Renowned Peter D'Aubusson, Grand Master of Rhodes: Containing those Two Remarkable Sieges of Rhodes by Mahomet the Great and Solyman the Magnificent. . .* (London: Printed for Geo. Wells and Sam. Carr. . ., 1679). I consulted both copies in the Cambridge University Library. The siege of Rhodes also gained literary status; see Guillaume Caoursin, *The Siege of Rhodes (1482) and The Book of Subtyl Histories and Fables of Esope (1484)*, trans. by John Kaye, with an introd. by Douglas Gray (Delmar, NY: Scholars' Facsimiles & Reprints, 1975). For a new critical edition, see *The Siege of Rhodes: A Critical Edition*, by Ann-Mari Hedbäck. Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis. Studia Anglistica Upsaliensia, 14 (Uppsala: [University of Uppsala], 1973). See also the anthology *Les sièges de Rhodes de l'antiquité à la période moderne*, textes réunis par Nicolas Faucherre et Isabelle Pimouguet-Pédarros. Enquêtes & Documents, 40 (Rennes: Presses universitaires de Rennes, 2010).

184 Nevertheless, already at that time German-Italian dictionaries existed; see Oskar Pausch, *Das*

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focused on the question to what extent people of different races, religions, and cultures meet and communicate with each other during the Middle Ages and the early modern age, we still recognize the problematic nature of this question because Fabri reveals the extent to which tensions, if not even hatred, could exist between representatives of different Christian (!) nations in Europe.

Fabri commonly reflects on linguistic barriers the further the pilgrims went eastwards, revealing the extent to which many of the conflicts between people were not of any fundamental matter, but really pragmatic and simply the result of lack of communication, such as in a little episode where the author and a small group of companions visit a special site on a mountain. Entering the house of the sacristan, they hoped to find some food and drink, but were completely disappointed, because nothing could be found. Moreover, the one man present was not conversant in any other language but his own mother tongue: ". . . nor could the man speak to us, because he was a pure Greek, and Latin was to him a barbarous tongue, Italian was Arabic, and German was Tartar" (I, 198).

älteste italienisch-deutsche Sprachbuch: Eine Überlieferung aus dem Jahre 1424 nach Georg von Nürnberg. Denkschriften, 111. Veröffentlichungen der Historischen Kommission, 1 (Vienna: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften; Vienna, Cologne, and Graz: Böhlau, 1972). Only a few decades after the publication of Fabri's *Evagatorium*, the Colmar city writer Georg Wickram produced a soon famous collection of jest narratives, *Das Rollwagenbuechlin: Text nach der Ausgabe von Johannes Bolte*, with an epilogue by Elisabeth Endres (Stuttgart: Philipp Reclam, 1968) in which we also read of an unfortunate young German who is sent to an Italian city to do business for his master, a Swabian merchant. But he does not understand a word of Italian and so runs into the terrible situation of ending up in a dentist's place, mistaking it for a restaurant. Since the communication fails completely, the dentist forcefully pulls out a healthy tooth (no. 65). See now Albrecht Classen, "Multilingualism in the Middle Ages and Early Modern Time," to appear in *Neophilologus*. Insofar as the knowledge of foreign languages was certainly a big problem for people in the Middle Ages and the early modern age, all travelers faced very concrete linguistic challenges. Not surprisingly, reflecting a deep desire to return to the time prior to the Tower of Babel, in mystical literature we occasionally encounter examples of visionaries suddenly being able to understand foreign languages; see Christine F. Cooper-Rompato, *The Gift of Tongues: Women's Xenoglossia in the Later Middle Ages* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2010). For twelfth- and thirteenth-centuries intellectuals it became rather important to learn also Greek, as illustrated by Roger Bacon; see Amanda Power, "The Importance of Greeks in Latin Thought: The Evidence of Roger Bacon," *Shipping, Trade and Crusade* (see note 17), 351–78. For many people one of the reasons why the Eastern and the Western Church could not unify and join in a new 'Catholic' Church was the lack of linguistic abilities on both sides of the divide (Power, 371–72). There is no doubt, however, that people have always learned foreign languages for pragmatic, academic, or personal reasons; see P. L. M. Loonen, *For to learne to buy and sell: Learning English in the Low Dutch Area Between 1500 and 1800: A Critical Survey*. New ed. with additions and corrections. Studies van het Instituut Pierre Bayle voor Intellectuele Betrekkingen tussen de Westeuropese Landen in de Nieuwe Tijd, 22 (Amsterdam: APA-Holland University Press, 1991). It would go much too far here to examine the entire history of dictionaries in the Middle Ages, but see Albrecht Classen, "Dictionaries/Glossaries," *Handbook of Medieval Studies: Terms –Methods – Trends*, ed. id.. Vol. 2 (Berlin and New York: De Gruyter, 2010), 1742–49.

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Interestingly, then they encounter a cleric who served as a parson of two churches at the same time, the Greek and the Latin (Catholic): "in all respects he conformed himself to the rite of each; for on Sundays he first celebrated Mass in the Latin church, and consummated it in the Western fashion with unleavened bread; and when this office was finished he crossed over to the Greek church, and consummated in the Eastern fashion with leavened bread" (I, 199). But Fabri strongly disagreed with this man, severely condemning the priest for betraying both religions at the same time, thus revealing as well how much tensions among people, especially if they come from the East and the West, could hate each other for religious reasons.[185] After all, that cleric obviously tried his best to meet the needs of a variety of pilgrims and devout Christians, but Fabri, as a Dominican friar, felt revulsion at the thought that a Catholic could bridge the gap to a Greek Orthodox. A strong dogmatic belief system held absolute sway in that world, despite the numerous contacts and meetings, especially in the Holy Land.

On the ship, however, that brought them all to the Holy Land, the sight of long desired goal brought about a universal jubilation unifying everyone in their company, which consisted, as we learn only then, of people from all over Europe, joined in their happiness and deep delight to have reached the ardently aspired country where Christ had lived, died, and risen from death:

> There were many Latin priests, Sclavonians, Italians, Lombards, Gauls, Franks, Germans, Englishmen, Irishmen, Hungarians, Scots, Dacians, Bohemians, and Spaniards, and many there were who spoke the same tongue, but came from different dioceses, and belonged to different religious orders. (I, 209)

Of course, these pilgrims were all good Catholics, so Fabri has no problems with 'foreigners' from the European continent. By contrast, the Arabs ruling over the harbor of Joppa (Japha, today Jaffa, now incorporated into Tel Aviv, Israel), where they finally anchored, treated the ship rather rudely, and showed them who was the master there, although the Christian captain made every possible effort to secure their favors: "like timid, humble tributaries of the Lord Soldan, needing his safe-conduct, like captives and slaves of the Moors and Saracens, we lay off the towers of Joppa awaiting their good pleasure" (212). In order to communicate with the local authorities, the captain of another ship with pilgrims sent a "galley-slave,

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[185] For the history of the conflicts between the Greek Orthodox and the Catholic Church, see, for instance, Steven Runciman, *The Great Church in Captivity: A Study of the Patriachate of Constantinople from the Eve of the Turkish Conquest to the Greek War of Independence* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1968); Philip Sherrad, *The Greek East and the Latin West: A Study in the Christian Tradition*. Romiosyni Series, 12 (1959; Limni: Denise Harvey, 2002); Andrew Louth, *Greek East and Latin West: The Church, AD 681–1071*. The Church in History, 3 (Crestwood, NY: St. Vladimirs Seminary Press, 2007); see also the contributions to *Greeks, Latins, and Intellectual History, 1204–1500*, ed. Martin Hinterberger and Chris Schabel. Recherches de théologie et philosophie médiévales. Bibliotheca, 11 (Leuven: Peeters, 2011).

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a native of Jerusalem, a baptized Saracen" (213), to the governor and then on to Jerusalem to secure a safe-conduct. He obviously served both as messenger and translator, a critical combination of talents which these travelers from Europe desperately needed to cope in the foreign world.

Fabri relates in amazing detail how the relationship between the pilgrims and the Arabic population developed, mostly determined by mercantile interests on the part of the latter, but quite often we are also told of kind gestures and efforts to help: "Now, while we were in this place of abomination there came to us certain Saracens, poor men, who had collected together rushes and branches of trees, which they sold to us, and we covered the wet earth with them and made beds of them. Moreover, merchants who came from Rama and from Jerusalem entered our abode with sweet-scented merchandise, and made a market there" (226).[186] Or: "Meanwhile there came some Saracens who cooked eggs in a frying-pan with oil, and some of them brought loaves of bread, some cool water, some fruit, some salads, and some hot cakes made of eggs, and sold them to us. Of these we bought and ate, and prepared ourselves for rest" (227). At the same time, a heavily armed Arab suddenly appeared and exacted from them all a payment for the miserable lodging, abusing the pilgrims' helpless situation. In order to avoid that problem, they hired two Saracens the next day to keep guard from then on (227).

While many Arabs from the street made fun of the pilgrims and laughed about Fabri and his effort to read his Hours and other religious books (such as his breviary), a sub-governor comes and helps them, who could speak both Italian and some German (228). Nevertheless, the crowd of Arab men irritated and vexed the pilgrims constantly, stealing objects and threatening them: "They go round about the pilgrims, and whatever they find, they steal or snatch openly and run away with it" (229). Perhaps not atypical of the behavior often displayed by groups of young men assembled in public and facing a group of helpless foreigners, Fabri reports of much harassment which the Christian pilgrims had to suffer from: "Those young Saracens devise a thousand means whereby they may subtly provoke the pilgrims to anger, in order that if they forget themselves and strike a blow, they may be muleted [sic] of a money-fine" (230).

But we would have to keep the general context in mind, with the crowd feeling superior to the small tourist group who acted and looked differently, and were clearly in a kind of weak position, allowing the hooligans, as we would call them today, to exert their power. Fabri and his companions did not seem to know a word of Arabic, they clearly felt uncomfortable in that new context, and they apparently did not understand how to operate effectively, thereby inviting the

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[186] Fabri later mentions a number of other spellings of the name: Ramatha, Ramathaiim, Ramasse, Ramoth, Ramula, and Aramathya (I, 265). Today that town is located south of Lydda, and north of Nablus.

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public teasing and low form of violence. Yet, considering how many times Fabri had already reported of similar incidents during their journey through the Alps and across Italy, when they were bothered and robbed by their own travel companions or other people on the side of the road, it would be important to see these comments on the difficult situation in the Holy Land within the appropriate light, since all travelers throughout time tended to be subject to provocations, threats, theft, and harassment by the mob, especially if they ventured into unknown and unfamiliar territories without the appropriate protection and support system.

Nevertheless, one case deserves particular attention since it sheds significant light on the Arabic culture as perceived by the pilgrim author. One young Frenchman from the Picardie was constantly teased by the local youths because he was without beard and was hence showered with "filthy jests" (I, 229), obviously because they regarded him as a homosexual, as Fabri indicates indirectly: "For this youth was very fair to look upon, and therefore the Saracens set upon him, more perhaps in order to vex him than because they meant any harm" (I, 230).[187] In another context, but still appropriate for our purposes here, Nizar F. Hermes now informs us that "to a medieval Muslim (Arab), the fact that a man shaved his beard not only would have been shocking on the face of it but might have been regarded as a source of homosexual *fitna* (sexual temptation)."[188] Much Muslim writing confirms the strict ban on shaving one's beard, while trimming the moustache was strongly urged.[189]

As we easily can perceive from this entire early episode of the pilgrims having freshly arrived in the Holy Land, they were simply confronted by a rowdy group of youth who were fully aware of their own superior position and happily mocked, teased, bothered, and harassed the Christians as often happens when foreigners arrive in a hostile land. After all, as we quickly learn in the subsequent

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187 For the cultural significance of hair, especially with regard to religious practices, see Bromberger, "Hair: From the West to the Middle East" (see note 61). Cf. also *Islamic Homosexualities: Culture, History, and Literature*, ed. Stephen O. Murray and Will Roscoe (New York and London: New York University Press, 1997); see also Khaled El-Rouayheb, *Before Homosexuality in the Arab-Islamic World, 1500–1800* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009); Robin Bryer, *The History of Hair: Fashion and Fantasy Down the Ages*. Bridgeman Art Library (London: Philip Wilson, 2000). See also Martin Goldsmith, *Beyond Beards & Burqas: Connecting with Muslims* (Nottingham: Inter-Varsity Press, 2009).

188 Hermes, *The [European] Other* (see note 47), 76 and especially note 13 on p. 196; see also the contributions to *Homoeroticism in Classical Arabic Literature*, ed. J. W. Wright and Everett K. Rowson (New York and Chichester: Columbia University Press, 1997).

189 Reginald Reynolds, *Beards: Their Social Standing, Religious Involvements, Decorative Possibilities, and Value in Offence and Defence Through the Ages* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1949); http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Beard#Islam (last accessed on July 29, 2012); Christina Wietig, "Der Bart: zur Kulturgeschichte des Bartes von der Antike bis zur Gegenwart," Ph.D. diss. Hamburg 2005.

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passage, the next day it was easy to make friends with the locals and to purchase necessary products in preparation for their journey to Mount Sinai (I, 232).

More significantly, when one of the knight pilgrims is cheated by an Arab merchant who sold him fake gems made out of glass, his protests, though at first completely disregarded by that merchant, make a strong impression on the governor of Rama who immediately ensured that the knight received his money back and that the merchant received a heavy beating (I, 233).

In other words, as soon as the pilgrims could make contact with the authorities, the relationship returned to normal since the latter ensured the maintenance of law and order, and this also for non-Muslims from abroad. Moreover, when the Arab lords and the governor observed how much the two captains of the pilgrimage ships quarreled over the next procedures, they enforced a rapid peace agreement and ordered them all to prepare for their journey. However, something happened that made the Arabs extremely furious about the pilgrims, whom they then violently drove back into the cave where they had awaited their time for the departure. Yet, as Fabri admits himself: "I never was able to discover for what reason we were thus sent back" (I, 235). In other words, many of the cultural conflicts which the travelers experienced had much to do with the lack of communication.

When the pilgrims were finally allowed to leave, a large number of Arab farmers who had come with a great number of asses huge hustled and jostled among themselves over who would be allowed to transport the pilgrims, simply because they all wanted to earn money (I, 240–41). And Fabri himself then relates how friendly his driver had been on his first pilgrimage, despite the first negative impression: "For albeit his face had a very cruel look, so that in the beginning I was much afraid of him, yet he was all kindness, and ministered to my wants like the best of servants, even before he knew my disposition" (I, 241).

As the author regularly reveals to us, the relationship between the pilgrims and the local Arabs was very much characterized by superficial cultural conflicts, leading to a number of silly ruckuses, typical of all first confrontations between new arrivals and the local people (especially youth), both in the Middle Ages and today. As soon, however, as the authorities and the merchants, not to forget the providers of transportation, got involved, most problems disappeared that caused conflicts between these representatives of two cultures and religions.

This finds a brilliant illustration in the next passage where Fabri describes how he searched for the kind ass-driver from his first pilgrimage, although it was difficult because of the language barrier. But as soon as that slave, Cassa, arrived, we observe a remarkable expression of friendliness and joy connecting both men irrespective of their inability to communicate easily:

> As soon as he saw me he recognised me, and I him, and he ran to kiss me after the fashion of the Saracens, and greeted me with a most joyous countenance, rejoicing and

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> marvelling much at my return; and he laughed and said much to me which I did not understand. Now, I had brought with me from Ulm two iron stirrups, which I presented to him, and which he received with many thanks. He led me to where his own asses stood amongst the herd, and gave me his best beast. My lords and the other pilgrims wondered to see the Saracen treat me with such friendship, for pilgrims often suffer great annoyance from their ass-drivers, in being struck by them and thrown from their asses and having their property stolen, from all of which troubles I was free, for as in my former pilgrimage, so now this man served me most faithfully and obeyed all my orders as though I had been a prince. (I, 242)

Although Fabri does not, as we have already seen, deny or ignore the many problems which most pilgrims had to suffer, which is probably the same even today because the religious tourists are wealthy in comparison with the locals and represent an unwelcome intrusion into their culture and religious practice, he does not reflect truly fundamental conflicts between the cultures/religions. Indeed, as Fabri finally emphasizes, summarizing his personal experiences on both his pilgrimages:

> Indeed, during both my pilgrimages I was so fortunate as never to be ill-treated in any way by any Saracen, Arab, Midianite or Mameluke with whom I had to do, nor can I tell you of any blows or insults which I received, albeit I often saw the other pilgrims insulted and beaten. I always had good beasts in both my pilgrimages . . . . (I, 243)

Conflicts erupted mostly, as we can learn, not because of religious disagreements, but because of the pilgrims' stubbornness or ignorance. For instance, some of them insisted on walking instead of using asses out of religious devotion, but then they could not keep up with the pace of the asses and so were forced to ride one of the animals. Fabri, however, dismisses the European myth that the Saracens do not want the pilgrims to touch the ground with their feet. Instead, the explanation proves to be thoroughly mundane and pragmatic:

> They care not whether the pilgrim walks on his feet or rides on an ass, provided that the contract made with them by the captains is kept, and that he who walks on foot does not lag behind and force them to wait for him. The reason why they make us take asses is that we may always keep together, and may arrive at Jerusalem without falling sick; for if the pilgrims had to walk on their feet all the way from the sea to Jerusalem, and pass through the Holy Land in such hot weather, and over a road which is sandy on the plains and rough in the mountains, few of them would remain alive by reason of the heat, and thirst, and labour in a strange climate. (I, 244)

To put it in more abstract terms, already in the late fifteenth century, if not much earlier, as we have noticed a number of times above, Westerners enjoyed much freedom to travel through the Holy Land, traverse Arab lands on their quest to visit churches and monasteries important to them, without being really pestered, hindered, bothered, or attacked, as long as they paid their dues and kept together,

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allowing the Arabic authorities to supervise them and to prevent violence and crime to erupt, either from within that group or coming from the outside.[190]

Nevertheless, Fabri is also aware of the constant threats which the pilgrims might face from the ordinary people in the villages who would not care about any orders by the distant lords to leave those travelers in peace (I, 244). But everything worked well for Fabri and his companions because both the Christians and their Arab drivers cooperated effectively and successfully in the sense that for the latter it was a most welcome business operations. However, without that protection, the situation would have been very different: "The Arabs, who at that time were spread abroad throughout many parts of the Holy Land, thrice came to meet us; but seeing that we were well protected by armed defenders, they offered us no violence with either stones or cold steel, but secretly joined our host by the side of the pilgrims, and tried to steal scrips, clothes, and the like; for they knew that we were unarmed, and therefore they ran round about us, and snatched up whatever the pilgrims let fall, or did not guard carefully" (I, 245–46).

It remains a difficult question, as we have seen, whether Fabri intended to criticize the locals at large or the Arabic culture in general, or both. Most likely, we would have to keep in mind the enormous difference in wealth between the European travelers and the Arab peasants, and it might not be too far fetched to suggest that very similar problems would and actually do occur today for rich pilgrims or tourists who dare to visit or traverse, without sufficient protection, certain parts of this world where different sets of cultural norms and rules dominate.

Fabri regularly pays close attention to such details and allows us to gain a good impression of the specific differences separating the Christian Westerners from the people in the East (especially Muslim Arabs). When arriving at the city of Rama, for instance, the pilgrims were forced to dismount and to carry their own baggage

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190 For earlier examples confirming that observation, see, for instance, *Western Pilgrims: The Itineraries of Fr. Simon Fitzsimons (1322–23), a Certain Englishman (1344–45), Thomas Brygg (1392), and Notes of Other Authors and Pilgrims*. Publications of the Studium Biblicum Franciscanum, 18 (1952; Jerusalem: Franciscan Print Press, 1970); For a broader study, see Diana Webb, *Medieval European Pilgrimage, c. 700–c. 1500*. European Culture and Society (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2002); for a comparative perspective focusing on Jews and Muslims, see Josef W. Meri, *The Cult of Saints Among Muslims and Jews in Medieval Syria*. Oxford Oriental Monographs (Oxford University Press, 2002); see also the contributions to *From Medieval Pilgrimage to Religious Tourism* (see note 169); and those to *Wallfahrt und Alltag in Mittelalter und früher Neuzeit: Internationales Round-Table-Gespräch, Krems an der Donau, 8. Oktober 1990*, ed. Gerhard Jaritz and Barbara Schuh. Sitzungsberichte der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-Historische Klasse, 592. Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für Realienkunde des Mittelalters und der Frühen Neuzeit, 14 (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1992); cf. also Elka Weber, *Traveling Through Text: Message and Method in Late Medieval Pilgrimage Accounts*. Studies in Medieval History and Culture (New York and Abingdon: Routledge, 2005).

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because of the holiness of that place, where the Muslim *Thadi* resided, whom Fabri compares to a Christian bishop. In other words, the author clearly demonstrates a considerable degree of cultural awareness and sensitivity, despite himself being a preacher in his Order of the Dominicans.

But he was not alone; instead, the Father Guardian, speaking in Italian, which Fabri translated for the entire group of travelers into German, gave the assembly of pilgrims a detailed list of behavioral norms that they had to observe to be respectful to the locals, their religious rules and regulations, and to avoid conflicts, scandals, and ultimately violence. They were, for example, admonished not to step over Muslim graves (I, 249); not to defend themselves against physical violence, instead to report any incidence to the Guardian; not to laugh about the Muslims for whatever reason since that would arouse major conflicts (*gelotophobia*);[191] not to gaze at Muslim women or to accept their deceptive invitations; not to offer wine to a Muslim; not to wear white turbans or clothing, which was regarded as a privilege solely enjoyed by the Muslims; not to wear any arms or weapons; not to trust any Arab too much; not to touch any even by jest; not to drink alcohol in front of Muslims; to avoid any monetary dealings with Arabs as much as possible; not to swear or yell at Muslims in order to avoid being called liars with regard to their own religious norms ('love they neighbor'); not to enter any mosque; not to laugh at or scorn praying Muslims (I, 248–55).

These twenty-seven rules expounded by the Guardian illustrate most powerfully what the problematic relationship between Christians and Muslims in the Holy Land was like, how sensitive the other side could react to any kind of silly or contemptuous behavior by the pilgrims, and how dangerous it could be to reveal cultural insensitivity. One of these rules deserves to be quoted at length because of its particular weight, probably both then and today, especially if we think of the global uproar over the Danish caricatures of the Prophet Muhammad published in the *Jyllands-Posten* on September 30, 2005[192]:

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191 Some scholars here talk of 'gelatophobia,' which they discover especially among Muslim cultures, even today; see, for instance, René T. Proyer and Martin Führ, "Breaking Ground in Cross-Cultural Research on the Fear of Being Laughed at (Gelotophobia): A Multi-National Study Involving 73 Countries," *Humor - International Journal of Humor Research* 22.1–2 (2009): 253–79. For an updated research overview, with an excellent bibliography, see the article in *Wikipedia*: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Gelotophobia (last accessed on July 25, 2012).

192 The entire controversy is well covered by the article in *Wikipedia*: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Jyllands-Posten_Muhammad_cartoons_controversy (last accessed on July 25, 2012).The issue at stake continues to incite people today in West and East, to the point of wrapping them so much up that the mob gets ready to kill. See now the recent report by Jim Bittermann, Pierre Meilhan and Holly Yan, CNN,about the reprint of the caricatures in a French paper, http://www.cnn.com/2012/09/19/world/europe/france-mohammed-cartoon/index.html (last accessed on Sept. 21, 2012).

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> Let the pilgrim especially beware of laughing to scorn Saracens who are praying and practising the postures required by their faith, because they cannot bear this at all. For they themselves refrain from molesting or laughing at us when we are at our prayers. (I, 254)

As much as the local youth began to molest the group of pilgrims during the instructions given by the Guardian, the latter could complete his instructions with Fabri's translation help. Again we perceive a fundamental conflict which probably continues until today separating various cultures from each other, with the locals hardly tolerating the pilgrims' self-imposed or desired seclusion, pestering them quickly out of intemperance and lack of patience, which might not be atypical even of modern conditions in Arabic countries and everywhere else where mobs assemble.[193]

But even in that city the pilgrims encountered, once they went to the market place, representatives of many different cultures and religions: "Saracens, Jews, Heretics, and Eastern Christians" (I, 255). The pilgrims were then even allowed to go to one of the hot baths where they happily dipped into the water, completely disregarding the Arabs sharing that pleasure with them (I, 256). At one point they could peek into a mosque, and Fabri comments full of marvel: "it was like Paradise for cleanliness and beauty" (I, 257). However, already the next moment the author voices the worst possible condemnation of all Arabs because the pilgrims were harassed once again and blocked from reaching their goal, Jerusalem: "the Arabs, a naked, miserable, bestial, wandering people, who alone can dwell in the desert which is uninhabitable to all others, attack, harry, and conquer all men alike, even to the King himself, the most puissant Soldan of Egypt" (I, 258).

Clearly, Fabri simply relieves himself of his long pent-up anger and frustration, at first not making any differentiation, but then revealing as well that he is really deeply irritated by the robbers and thieves, the nomads and other people threatening all travelers, including the Soldan, the ruler of Egypt, hence the Sultan. Fabri has many other examples to relate as to how the young and other people bothered them all the time and provoked them, against which the pilgrims were rather helpless, afraid of causing an immediate public uproar against them (I, 259–61). It might be necessary, however, always to keep in mind that here we are confronted with the irritating behavior of undisciplined, uncontrolled, and reckless boys: "Indeed, the naughty boys at Rama are worse than at any other place where pilgrims are lodged, and there one is not allowed to return blow for blow" (I, 265).

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193 It seems very difficult to identify and analyze such social phenomena characterizing a culture and a people, both in the past and the present, especially because they pertain to the general mentality and reflect social and ethical norms, attitudes, and behavioral standards. See, for instance, Amyn B. Sajoo, "Public Ethics," *The Islamic World*, ed. Andrew Rippin. The Routledge Worlds (London and New York: Routledge, 2008), 591–610; for an even broader approach, see Cyril Glassé, *The Concise Encyclopedia of Islam* (London: Stacey International, 1989).

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The regular prayers intrigued our writer deeply, as much as he laments the fact that for him the Muslims pray to the wrong god and thus promote their own eternal condemnation. Nevertheless, Fabri cannot help but to admire the Muslims after all for at least doing their regular prayers because "many Christians pass the whole day without any adoration of God, or any prayer to Him, which is a thing which could not happen among Saracens, Turks, Barbarians, Jews or Arabs; for all these heathens have even a fixed attitude and fashion wherein to pray, which they do not depart from in any case unless compelled by force" (I, 264–65).

But the crowds in the cities openly gaped at the pilgrims when they came out of their inns to move on, as they represented foreignness in extreme terms to them: "As we passed through the town the people ran together from all sides, and the streets were full of people of both sexes, who stood there desiring to see us" (I, 266). While Fabri so far projected the Holy Land as a territory where they could observe and discover many strange and new things and people, in this moment they realized that they were the true objects of marvel and excitement, especially as there was no communication possible. Much depended, however, on whom they encountered where and when. For instance, the entire company once ran into a gang of black robbers, also identified as Arabs, who almost would have been able to achieve their goal with them, if the pilgrims' guides had not rescued them and driven back the enemies. As Fabri hence had to realize, "When we looked at them and compared them with our Moors and Saracens, whom hitherto we had thought to be scarce human, we regarded the latter as civilized, pious men, almost the same as ourselves" (I, 208).

When he turns to Jerusalem, where the center of Christian culture and religion rests, Fabri mostly ignores any other religious group and focuses entirely on his visits of the relevant churches, chapels, and holy sites wherever he could find them, describing them always within the context of the biblical account, while the anthropological component, the meeting of local people or foreigners of other parts of the world, mostly disappears from view—very similar to what we observed above as to the accounts by the Jewish travelers who were only interested in their own religious sites. Virtually all Christian pilgrimage authors also followed that narrative pattern because Jerusalem naturally represented, to be sure, the highlight of their religious journey, as we observe, for example, in the case of Arnold von Harff or, considerably earlier, the English mystic Margery Kemp.

But with respect to the Temple of David, Fabri clearly recognized, although with great disgust, how contested that site really was, being claimed by all three religions, as is still the case today[194]: "This is a very holy place, adored by all

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[194] *The Temple of Solomon: Archaeological Fact and Medieval Tradition in Christian, Islamic and Jewish Art*, ed. Joseph Gutmann. American Academy of Religion. Society of Biblical Literature, Religion and

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Christians, Jews, and Saracens alike, for within is the burial-place of the prophets and sainted kings, such as David, Solomon, Rehoboam, Abia, Asa, Joram, and the rest" (I, 301). The history of how that site changed hands indicate also, as Fabri comments, perhaps more delving into the artificiality of those religious claims than he might have wanted in reality, that the differences between Islam, Judaism, and Christianity were not that big. Quoting the Soldan/Sultan, we learn: "'We Saracens also count David holy, even as the Christians and the Jews do, and we believe the Bible as they do, wherefore neither the Christians nor the Jews shall have that place, but we will take it for ourselves" (I, 303).[195]

Nevertheless, Fabri's Christian perspective dominates his account thoroughly, and there is no indication whatsoever of any kind of rapprochement—after all, this is a pilgrimage account, and Fabri had no interest in evoking any kind of tolerant attitudes. Instead, what has justified our extensive analysis so far is the way he reflects in astounding details how on that pilgrimage representatives of all three cultures, if not more (such as the Greek Orthodox), encountered each other and were forced to interact, which sometimes led to surprising forms of friendliness and mutual acceptance, at other times to open hostility, aggression, and rejection.

When Fabri turns to the Holy Sepulchre, he does not only discuss all the architectural details, the historical development, the art work, the altars, and the like, he also emphasizes how many different Christians sects claim a stake there, beginning with the Greek Orthodox (I/II, 433–34), the Georgians (I/II, 435), the Jacobites (I/II, 435), the Indian Christians, or Aethiopians (I/II, 436), the Syrian Christians (I/II, 436–37), and the Armenians (I/II, 437–38).[196] Moreover, as Fabri accurately reports, Jerusalem truly proved to be a city of many faiths, being a most important religious center for "Saracens, Jews, Turks, Samaritans, and Mamelukes" (I/II, 438). Significantly, Fabri then refrains entirely from commenting on them and only mentions the report by Bernhard von Breydenbach who had discussed the various religions in greater detail than he was willing to do.[197]

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the Arts (Missoula, MT: Scholars Press, 1976).

195 Yaron Z. Eliav, *God's Mountain: The Temple Mount in Time, Place, and Memory* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2005); William James Hamblin and David Rolph Seely, *Solomon's Temple: Myth and History* (New York: Thames & Hudson, 2007).

196 At least for the Armenians, see the contributions to *The Armenians in Jerusalem and the Holy Land*, ed. Michael E. Stone, Roberta R. Ervine, and Nira Stone. Hebrew University Armenian Studies, 4 (Leuven: Peeters, 2002).

197 Dietrich Huschenbett, "Bernhard von Breidenbach," *Die deutsche Literatur des Mittelalters: Verfasserlexikon*, 2nd, completely rev. ed. by Kurt Ruh et al. Vol. 1 (Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1978), 752–54. See now the extensive and thorough study by Frederike Timm, *Der Palästina-Pilgerbericht des Bernhard von Breidenbach und die Holzschnitte Erhard Reuwichs: die Peregrinatio in terram sanctam (1486) als Propagandainstrument im Mantel der gelehrten Pilgerschrift* (Stuttgart: E. Hauswedell, 2006).

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As much as the pilgrims stayed among themselves and avoided contacts with the local population, when they had any material needs that approach suddenly changed into its opposite. In the valley of Jehoshaphat they came to the so-called Golden Gate, at the east side of the Temple walls, through which Christ was supposed to have entered the city of Jerusalem on Palm Sunday.[198] For the pilgrims it was very important to gain a little piece of that gate and they paid the Arabs good money to secure some bits for them. While some tried to achieve their goal by going to the gate at night and doing the cutting themselves secretly, others "lavish their money instead, and bribe some Saracen to pluck morsels off the gate, and to give them copper or wood in return for gold or silver" (I/II, 459). But Fabri voices his doubt as to the true value of those relics: "whether it be a vain superstition or not, I cannot tell" (I/II, 459). At the same time he expresses his astonishment that the Saracens allow the pilgrims to form a procession on Palm Sunday, since in days past that would not have been possible: "It is wonder enough that they suffer them to do thus much for a hundred or even fifty years ago they would not have permitted it, and as little as twenty years ago the Christians had not as much liberty as they now have" (I/II, 461).

Indirectly, as Fabri realized, the entire pilgrimage effort was increasingly tolerated by the Arabs because it brought them good income, but the contacts between both religious groups remained elusive and were limited to concrete business dealings. Linguistic bridges hardly existed, and most communication functioned via translators or gestures. The local population viewed the Christians with great suspicion and distrust, if not with hostility, ever ready, as Fabri emphasizes, to rob them of their property. Nevertheless, organized travel functioned relatively well, since the Arab authorities tried their best to maintain law and order, although even they could not always prevent the pilgrims' mishandling and abuse at the hand of the local population.

The intensity with which the Christian pilgrims approached their own holy sites obviously aroused irritation, anger, if not hostility among the Arabs who cared little about the alleged sanctity of the Garden of Gethsemane and commonly defiled it with dirt and dung (I/II, 474). Fabri laments this situation, characterizes the Muslims as jealous, but emphasizes that this problem only serves the Christians to remain humble and also that it reflects the level to which the Muslims are provoked to act that way because the Christians' devotion and deep faith might possibly stir wonder and amazement among them. As we learn from Fabri, "this place is far from the haunts of men, and that this collected filth must be carried in a pitcher from the city, or from the lower parts of the Mount of Olives, where also there are houses, and the places which we adore carefully bedaubed, which beastly action no one would commit were he not strongly

198 http://www.biblewalks.com/sites/GoldenGate.html (last accessed on July 25, 2012).

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influenced by something more than mere human will" (I/II, 474–75). The entire pilgrimage and all their devout performance hence also contributed to a kind of religious competition because the Christians still hoped to convince the Muslims of the truth of their own faith.

When Fabri comments on a pyramid under which Absalom was supposed to be buried, he relates a little story of only local significance, but which reveals how much the representatives of all three religions shared the belief in the truth of the Old Testament: "there is a custom that all the boys who pass by this pyramid, whether they be Jewish, Saracen, or Christian boys, pick up stones from the ground, and cast them at him against the pyramid; and as they throw the stones they curse Absalom, and jeer at him for his evil death, in token of their abhorrence of his disobedience to his father" (I/II, 515). In other words, as Fabri admits himself, in terms of father-son relationships in Jerusalem, there were no basic difference between Christians, Jews, and Muslims, since they all carry out the same ritual: "This is the most efficacious corrective for boys in Jerusalem" (I/II, 515)—note the generality of this statement, lacking any religious differentiation.

When a small group of the pilgrims decided on visiting the fountain of the blessed Virgin Mary, they encountered a violent Arab who tried his hardest to deny them entrance, which ultimately turned into a big physical fight with one of the knights. Only when the pilgrims finally offered him some money did he suddenly change his behavior and peacefully, that is, being completely transformed, serve their needs (I/II, 523–25).

However, the real problems were the robbers whom the pilgrims encountered regularly, such as upon their approach to Bethlehem. Significantly, instead of just fending them off, the travelers and their guides waited out the confrontation, which lasted for a long time: "there we stood for more than an hour, because our guides and the captains were making terms with them, and they wrangled much and noisily with them, yet no man did another any manner of hurt" (I/II, 550). As is so often case, this then leads Fabri to anthropological observations as he remarks about the cultural differences which revealed themselves in that situation: "Easterns do not proceed straightway to personal violence unless they are driven to repel force by force, and these Arabs were not unfriendly to us, but were only extorting money from us, which they say is their lawful right" (I/II, 550). Interestingly, the author comments that they might have been able to force their way through the throng of robbers, but that only would have led to further trouble, especially in Bethlehem, where they could subsequently have besieged them and demanded even more money as a result of their complaints about the pilgrims' alleged violence against them (I/II, 550).

As we recognize clearly, both sides in that confrontation lived by different expectations and norms, but insofar as the pilgrims were reasonable enough to wait out the negotiations and then simply paid their dues, no harm was done and

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their travel could continue. Although the entire situation proved to be highly uncomfortable and terrifying for the pilgrims, Fabri clearly indicates how much it would have to be understood in cultural and political terms, since those Arabs were not simply robbers, but men in control of the road to Bethlehem and thus expected to receive their toll from anyone who wanted to pass through.[199]

We regularly recognize in Fabri a writer who seriously tried to be as objective as possible, judging all sides as openly as possible, without necessarily giving the Christians the absolute priority. He criticizes an "exceeding [sic] rich nobleman" (I/II, 566) in their company for his greed and foolish credulity in securing one of the bodies of the innocently slaughtered children of Bethlehem. Likewise, he exposes one of the Greek Orthodox in their company for his theft of some money that was given as an offering to the grotto of the Lord's nativity (I/II, 577–79). And he also relates a similar kind of theft by an Arab who pretended to be a Christian, bowing and praying in front of the altar, but then was discovered and thrown out of the grotto (I/II, 579–80). Apart from occasional outbursts of anger and disgust about the infidels, Fabri commonly demonstrates fairness and a sort of toleration even toward the local population, some of whom he even regarded with respect and friendship despite their religious difference.

When he addresses the Egyptian Sultan, Fabri emphasizes that the Christian fare well under him, as documented by his voluntary actions to preserve the churches irrespective of the money paid by the pilgrims to countless robbers, toll takers, and petty officers everywhere, since he would not ever see even a part of it: "we ought to give thanks to God for having turned the heart of the Soldan toward us, and we ought to pray for the life of the king and Soldan, even as we read that the Jews used to pray for the lives of the Gentile kings . . . nor do I doubt that the Soldan is inclined to our faith, nor do I doubt that were some sage, eloquent and powerful Christians to direct toward him that prayer wherewith the venerable Master Nicholaus de Cusa addresses him . . ." (I/II, 603).

In fact, in the conclusion of Nicholas of Cusa's *De pace fidei* (1453), we read: "it was discovered that all the diversity consisted in rites rather than in the worship of one God; from all the writings collected into one it was found that all from the beginning always presupposed and worshiped the one God in all practice of worship, although people in their simplicity, seduced by the adverse power of the

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[199] H. F. M. Prescott, *Jerusalem Journey, Pilgrimage to the Holy Land in the Fifteenth Century* (1950: London: Eyre & Spottiswoode, [1954]), 171–97, offers a broader survey of what Fabri and other pilgrims observed. As to Fabri, she concludes: "Friar Felix . . . by the power of his candour and humanity, was able to cross the debatable ground which lay between the two religions and races" (195). Naturally, Prescott also includes pilgrimage accounts of British, French, and Italian writers, such as Sir Richard Guylforde, Bertrandon de La Brocquière, G. de Lannoy, Pietro Casola, John Poloner, Louis de Rochechouart, Richard Torkington, Paul Walther, and William Wey.

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Prince of Darkness, often did not consider what they were doing."[200] Nicholas appealed to his readers to embrace the fundamental teachings of rationality which would help to overcome centuries of religious hatred and intolerance: "it was commanded by the King of Kings that the wise ["sapientes"] return and lead the nations to the unity of true worship ["administratorii spiritus"], that ministering spirits lead them and assist them and finally, that with the full power of all they come together in Jerusalem as to a common center and accept one faith in the name of all and thereupon establish an everlasting peace so that in peace the creator of all, blessed forever, will be praised" (61–63). Of course, for Nicholas that could only mean Christianity as the all-embracing faith, and that Islam and Judaism were simply forms of faith misled from the true path. Still, he clearly emphasized the central function of rationality in the desire to overcome religious differences. And other contemporaries made similar efforts to reach out to the Muslims, such as Pope Pius II (Enea Silvio de' Piccolomini), who addressed Mehmet II in a letter after the conquest of Constantinople in 1453, appealing to him to convert to Christianity, which would result in his global recognition as the legitimate Emperor of Eastern Rome.[201]

By contrast, to return to Fabri's account about his practical experiences, conflicts with ordinary Muslims arose almost on a daily basis, commonly because those people demanded some money before they let the pilgrims into a church or a holy site, as we have seen above and as we hear many more times from Fabri (e.g., I/II, 632). This leads us, one more time, to realize that Fabri, always being a critical and open-minded thinker, clearly recognized the basic problem they always faced, that

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200 Nicholas of Cusa, *On Interreligious Harmony: Text, Concordance, and Translation of* De pace fidei, ed. James E. Biechler and H. Lawrence Bond. Texts and Studies in Religion, 55 (Lewiston, Queenston, and Lampeter: The Edwin Mellen Press, 1990), 62. Nicholas of Cusa is too well known to require much introduction, but see now the pleasant and most useful short contributions to many different facets of his thinking and attitudes by Morimichi Watanabe, *Nicholas of Cusa – A Companion to His Life and His Times*, ed. Gerald Christianson and Thomas M. Izbicki (Farnham, Surrey, and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2011), 51–57; H. Lawrence Bond and Gerald Christianson (in one chapter Thomas M. Izbicki also served as co-author), *Reform, Representation and Theology in Nicholas of Cusa and His Age*. Collected Studies, CS 993 (Farnham, Surrey, and Burlington, VT: Ashgate Variorium, 2011). Here Cusanus's work within the Church and the Conciliar Movement, questions regarding heresy, church authority, and theology dominate. See also the detailed discussion of Nicholaus's religious perception, in which the Christian religion is especially viewed from the outside, by Kurt Flasch, *Nikolaus von Kues: Geschichte einer Entwicklung: Vorlesungen zur Einführung in seine Philosophie* (Frankfurt a. M.: Vittorio Klostermann, 1998), 330–82. Flasch alerts us, however, to Nicholaus's continued anti-Judaic sentiments, while he tried, at least in this treatise, to build cultural bridges to Islam and other religions.

201 Reinhold F. Glei, "Religious Dialogues and Trialogues in the Middle Ages," *Mediaevalia et Humanistica* NS 38 (2013): 21–36; here 26; see also his edition and translation, *Pius II. Papa, Epistola ad Mahumetem*, ed. with critical apparatus and translation (Trier: Wissenschaftlicher Verlag Trier, 2001). This basically supersedes the old edition and translation by Albert R. Baca, *Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini, Epistola ad Mahomatem II (Epistle to Mohammed II* (New York: Peter Lang, 1989).

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is, the disrespect, dishonor, and disregard by the ordinary people, the masses, the robbers, the thieves, the guards, and the like, who wanted to get their share from the wealthy pilgrims, as certainly still is the case all over the world even today. The authority figures, the governor, and even the Sultan, by contrast, are presented to us in an honorable fashion, and all this not unlike in the situation when Fabri and his companions still traversed Europe to reach the Holy Land. But even while traveling through the Holy Land, irritations and frictions emerged also among the pilgrims who in extreme situations resorted to yelling at each other, hurling insults against the other side, and this, as Fabri underscores, "to the great scandal of the Saracens who stood by listening to them" (II/1, 5).

Whenever the author has an occasion, however, to comment on the Sultan, he has only positive things to say about him, such as: "But the Soldan, when appealed to by the Christians, repaired the path in the fashion in which it now stands" (II/I, 56). In other words, we have always to keep in mind sociological aspects as well because the pilgrims, who were normally highly educated, wealthy, and devout citizens from wherever they might have come in Europe, suddenly faced a wide range of Arabs/Muslims who viewed them mostly with suspicion, distrust, or lack of understanding. Some belonged to the mob on the streets and country roads, others occupied important administrative posts, and others again were professionally involved in the travel business and tried hard to protect the pilgrims from any danger.

To repeat what we have already learned from Fabri's account and many other pilgrimage narratives to the Holy Land, robbery and theft occurred often, regularly committed by the Arabs, as the most dramatic incidence after their departure from Jerusalem illustrates, but even here Fabri, at least at first, differentiates by saying: "These guides [Arabs] were followed by some ill-conditioned youths who hated us" (II/1, 8). Despite the petty theft which then occurred, the result could have been mayhem because both sides, the Christians against the Arabs, turned to violence, ready to throw stones and to use weapons, certainly including all the pilgrims: "Hereupon we all started up again, ran to get stones, and called with loud shouts upon the dragomans and the captains to defend us from these robbers. Some of us threw stones among the Saracens, whereat they were enraged, and came down with drawn swords and forced us to drop the stones which we had picked up" (II/I, 9).

No doubt, the situation was tense, but we do not gain the impression that religious or racial conflicts emerge here; instead Fabri presents a rather normal case where rich travelers are beleaguered and pestered by the local youth who probably perceived their own acts of thievery as a proof of their manhood, bravery, and strength. Despite the heat of the exchange, there is no word about Muslims opposing Christians or the other way round. Instead, the entire account, both here and throughout, reflects nothing but ordinary conflicts typical of most

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travel experiences, whether we think of pickpockets or other types of thieves for whom the pilgrims were convenient objects of gaining money. After all, tourists have always been the prime target for the ordinary thieves at the local level, and what Fabri describes proves to be nothing out of the ordinary, both then and today.[202] We would look in vain for any indications that this or other conflicts during their pilgrimage was motivated by religious concerns.

The horrible experience in Jericho, for instance, where first the youth and women, then the entire population banded together to extort money from the pilgrims, which they did not get, illustrates further that the conflicts were of a social and economic kind: "When the men of Jericho saw that they would get nothing out of us, and that we were slipping through their hands, they betook them to stones, and drove us and our guides out of their city, to our great peril, and we all fled as though they were pursuing us with swords" (II/I, 43). After all, even the Arab guides were in danger of being hurt and had to flee with the pilgrims. Money, as ever, paved their way, and if they refused to pay, serious trouble erupted, as we constantly hear, wherever an Arab could profit from a narrow passage to a major site which he was able to guard (II/I, 54). Fabri also acknowledged the practical side as perceived by the local people who "say that they are the lords of all wildernesses and waste places, and therefore they take no heed of safe-conducts, but extort toll from all who pass through the desert" (II/I, 64).

Only when the pilgrims committed a serious blunder, transgressing against Muslim rules and values, did religious conflicts erupt, as when the company crossed, unintentionally, a Muslim cemetery, which an Arab woman noticed, who immediately came running toward them, screaming and throwing rocks (II/I, 79). Nevertheless, as Fabri makes really clear in that situation, the pilgrims had not committed that error deliberately, yet they felt the woman's wrath with full force and fled as fast as possible.

It was obviously not easy for these Christian pilgrims always to understand what errors they committed, how they hurt the feelings of the locals, how much they made themselves welcome and easy prey for robbers and thieves, and how much they irritated the Muslims simply through their presence because they did not understand Arabic, had very little knowledge of the Islamic religion with its many rituals and ceremonies, and so easily trod on holy ground or committed another serious religious faux-pas. Fabri himself observed numerous cases of pilgrims turned merchants who displayed contemptible behavior and operated in a most greedy way:

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202 See the contributions to *The Problem of Pleasure: Leisure, Tourism and Crime*, ed. Carol Jones, Elaine Barclay, and Rob Mawby (London: Routledge, 2012); *Tourism, Crime and International Security Issues*, ed. Abraham Pizam and Yoel Mansfeld (Chichester: Wiley, 1996).

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> In this traffic they took no heed either of the holy place or of the holy day and Feast of St. Mary Magdalen, now so near at hand. Nor was it only laymen who did this, but certain irreverent monks and clergy took part in these doings. How great a scandal it must be in the eyes of the infidels when they behold these traders sitting and vending their wares in church, and disputing over their profits, is clear from the purity of their own mosques, wherein they will not for anything in the world allow buying and selling to go on, or any talk about the same; but we have made the house of prayer into a house of trade and the holy church into a den of thieves, and when the infidels see this they hold our faith to be a folly and a thing of naught. (II/I 85)

Fabri also remarked with great disgust that a good number of knights applied graffiti to the walls of holy sites (II/I, 86), although, as he emphasized himself, not one of the thousands of other pilgrims ever cared about that. We have to realize then, that Fabri's account offers an extraordinary treasure of anthropological, historical, and religious insights on the pilgrims' behavior and mentality, on the culture of the local, Arabic population, on the result of the contacts of both groups, and on the weakness of characters among many of the pilgrims and also the local Arabs.

A serious problem occurred when the pilgrims had stayed in the Church of Anastasis, in which some of them had secretly broken off pieces of stone to use them as relics later at home. This, however, deeply irritated and enraged the Greek Orthodox, calling them robbers and thieves, creating a huge scandal, and this for good reason. As Fabri then comments: "Men do not break these pieces off out of devotion, but some avaricious knights, who are patrons of some churches or altars, do this to the end that by these things they may stir up crowds of people to visit their churches, and thereby get gain, and so it is greed which eggs them to try to do this in the face of the orders given to pilgrims not to do so" (II/I, 90–91). So, in simple terms, not everything was good with those Catholic pilgrims either.

Once the pilgrims had completed their basic tour, they were clearly told by the Islamic authorities that their time was up and that all had to leave the country, except for those who intended to travel to Mount Sinai (II/I, 92–93). The Muslims explicitly let them know thereby that they had been only temporary guests and could not expect to stay any longer because they as Christians were not really welcome in the Holy Land, were only tolerated and allowed to visit their own holy sites for a short time.

Fabri was one of those who intended to see the Mount Sinai, and so also shares with us the preparations for that part of the journey. Most interestingly, the group arranged that all tolls and taxes on the way should be paid by the Arab Lord Sabathytanco: "This also we wrung from him, knowing that otherwise we should be plundered beyond measure by the Saracens on that road" (II/I, 94). At the same time, the different cultural practices among Muslims and Christians continued to constitute serious problems, such as pertaining to wine, which was strictly

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forbidden for the former and essential for the latter (Eucharist). In their contract they hence stipulated that the Lord "should give us leave to buy wine in Jerusalem from the Eastern Christians, and take care that we might carry it on the backs of camels or asses without being insulted by the Saracens" (II/I, 95). Nevertheless, the danger remained high that those pilgrims who were to return to the sea shore from where they wanted to return home could be ambushed since everyone in that land was aware of the pilgrims' general movement and hoped to make some profit from them. The Muslim lords hence brought a small army of armed men to protect the pilgrims against their own countrymen (II/I, 96), meaning that the Arabs were in direct competition with each other over this travel business, one group in charge of guiding the tourists, the other group trying to extort extra money from them. Religious concerns, by contrast, did not matter in that regard, as long as all the tolls and taxes, as either stipulated in contracts or taken by means of force, were paid.

However, as Fabri also remarks, religious strife and extreme sensitivities on both sides continued to play a certain role: "It often happens that when pilgrims are about to leave the infidels, they give one another ill-names, and abuse one another—albeit, they may have been good friends while ashore" (II/I, 98). Anger boiled up on both sides, and it would be difficult for us today to judge clearly what truly happened, but we can be sure, based on Fabri's own report, that the Christian pilgrims also knew how to give tit for tat, since they "left the port with loud shouts of defiance to the Saracens" (II/I, 99). We cannot tell whether the Muslim crowd was nothing but the ordinary mob, or a representative part of the entire local population. We can only be certain that the Christian pilgrimage did not build good bridges of communication with the Arabs in the Holy Land; on the contrary, their open display of their Christian devotion and the practice of carrying out their standard religious ceremonies, including their singing of hymns, might well have been a major source of irritation.

On a practical, daily level pilgrims and Muslim locals seem to have found a constructive *modus vivendi*, especially if we think of the ass drivers, the lords, the inn-keepers, and guards, as long as they all were paid properly. By contrast, Fabri never reports on any kind of religious conversations, of critical dialogues, or any realistic attempt to come to terms with the other religion, as we know from a variety of medieval philosophers and writers projecting debates among the representatives of the three world religions, such as by the Catalan Ramon Llull (ca. 1232–ca. 1315).[203] But it seems doubtful to assume that the Muslims developed,

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[203] Classen, "Early Outreaches from Medieval Christendom to the Muslim East" (see note 29). See also *Medieval Muslims, Christians, and Jews in Dialogue: The* Apparicion Maistre Jean de Meun *of Honorat Bovet. A Critical Edition with English Translation* by Michael Hanly. Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, 283 (Tempe: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2005); see also Nederman, *Worlds of Difference* (see note 162). Glei, "Religious Dialogues"

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on the basis of their occasional contacts with the pilgrims, a sense of 'Occidentalism,' and similarly it would be inappropriate to talk of a kind of 'Orientalism' on the part of the Christian travelers.

As we can undoubtedly fathom with respect to Fabri's fascinating and amazingly detailed account, pilgrimage as such blazed a path for European Christians to travel through Muslim lands, to cooperate with those who offered transportation means and shelter in inns, and to reach out to the Muslim lords, who normally supported them to the extent of their means.

Fabri's report of an "under-Calinus of Jerusalem" (II/I, 106; see also I, 234: "the younger Calinus"), Elphahallo, an old high ranking official, provides us insight into the way that individual Muslims, learned and experienced, could change their mind and embrace the foreigners in a welcome manner, without giving up his own faith, as much as the Christians tried to achieve that goal.[204] That man was convinced that each individual could achieve his salvation as long as he maintained their own faith and did not convert. For that reason he condemned both the Mamluks and the Greek Orthodox, and also the Jews because they believed that they all had fallen away from their own true faith. Although he had a great respect for Christianity, he steadfastly refused to be converted, although he regularly discussed their religions with Fabri, utilizing Italian and some broken German (II/I, 106).

One passionate German knight once in a way basically kidnapped him to Europe—even though with 'good' intentions—and brought him to the Pope Nicholas V in Rome and the German Emperor Frederick III in Vienna, hoping that he could thus convert him.[205] However, that did not work, "so he was brought

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(see note 201), offers both Christian and Muslim examples of at least attempted dialogues in the fifteenth century. See also Moffitt Watts, "Talking to Spiritual Others" (see note 29).

204 I have not been able to identify this person in any historical records; Fabri might have misspelled the name, or it could have been an Arab whose name he rendered here the way he heard it pronounced.

205 Paul-Joachim Heinig, *Kaiser Friedrich III. (1440–1493): Hof, Regierung und Politik*. 3 vols., Forschungen zur Kaiser- und Papstgeschichte des Mittelalters, 17 (Cologne: Böhlau, 1997); Heinrich Koller, *Kaiser Friedrich III.* Gestalten des Mittelalters und der Renaissance (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2005). I could not find any reference to this extraordinary visit by a Muslim at Frederick III's court in the relevant research literature, perhaps because this cultural aspect might have been ignored; see, for instance, the contributions to *Kaiser Friedrich III. (1440–1493) in seiner Zeit: Studien anläßlich des 500. Todestags am 19. August 1943/1993*, ed. Paul-Joachim Heinig. Forschungen zur Kaiser- und Papstgeschichte des Mittelalters. Beihefte zu J. F. Böhmer, Regesta Imperii, 12 (Cologne, Weimar, and Vienna: Böhlau, 1993). See also Aeneas Silvius [Piccolomini, the later Pope Pius II], *Die Geschichte Kaiser Friedrichs III*, trans. Th. Ilgen, 2 vols. Die Geschichtsschreiber der deutschen Vorzeit. XV. Jahrhundert, 2 (Leipzig: Verlag der Dyk'schen Buchhandlung, n.y.), again yielding nothing. The index in Friedrich Battenberg, *Das Achtbuch der Könige Sigmund und Friedrich III.: Einführung, Edition und Register*. Quellen und Forschungen zur höchsten Gerichtsbarkeit im Alten Reich, 19 (Cologne and Vienna: Böhlau, 1986),

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back to Venice, and went home again by sea from thence" (II/I, 107). Although he had been forced to make this long journey, he did not begrudge that knight and henceforth turned into "an even more faithful guardian of all Christians than before, for he brought back with him rich gifts from the Emperor, the Pope, and the nobility, and is wont to tell his own countrymen of the great liberality and glory of the Christians" (II/I, 107). In other words, as this example demonstrates, individual contacts and virtual friendship could exist, but even this case confirms how little there was a chance for actual conversion; the religious barriers remained high and solid.

However, on a personal level, as Fabri illustrates quite powerfully, religious differences could matter very little and did not prevent individuals from striking a kind of friendship: "their lordships the pilgrims dwelt in this honest man's house, to which house I went down almost every day, going in and out of it as I pleased" (II/I, 107–08). In other words, it is very easy today to listen to the loud and negative voices in medieval Christendom harshly rejecting and condemning religious minority groups, heretics, so-called pagans or heathens, while on the ground, so to speak, we encounter quite different conditions, whether we think of the relationships between Christians and Jews or Christians and Muslims, though we hear much less about the latter group because Europeans generally did not understand Arabic (and vice versa) and had considerably less contacts with the representatives of Islam than with Jews on a daily basis.

22. A Brief Comparison with Giovanni Boccaccio: *Decameron*

In order to elucidate this curious situation, let us digress here for a moment and include a fascinating example from a literary text where a Christian and a Jewish merchant display great friendship for each other, almost completely disregarding the religious difference. In Boccaccio's *Decameron* (ca. 1350) we hear of two merchants in Paris who deeply enjoy each other's company and feel great friendship between them despite the religious difference: "Jeannot of Chauvigny . . . was very honest and fair in the conduct of his large business as a draper. He had a particular friendship with a very wealthy Jew called Abraham, who was also a merchant and also very honest and fair."[206]

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equally brought nothing to light about this Arabic man. As K. A. Tuley, in her contribution to this volume, points out, already since the early days of the Crusader states in the Levant, the Franks heavily relied on translators and soon developed, especially among the upper nobility, their own language skills, i.e., Arabic.

206 Giovanni Boccaccio, *Decameron*, trans. J. G. Nichols (Richmond, Surrey: OneWorld Classics, 2008), 33. See also John D. Martin, *Representations of Jews in Late Medieval and Early Modern German Literature*. Studies in German Jewish History, 5 (Oxford, Bern, et al.: Peter Lang, 2004); Albrecht

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But the Christian merchant constantly tries to convince his friend to convert to Christianity, which the Jew consistently refuses and which drives his friend almost crazy.[207] One day, however, the former is finally willing at least to consider conversion, though he still insists on visiting Rome first to see for himself how the pope and the cardinals represent their religion. His friend is very chagrined, rightly fearing that the miserable conditions there, with everyone within the Church hierarchy only striving for the highest possible position and the most influence, and all clerics completely abusing their power, would destroy all hopes in him of seeing his friend turn into a Christian.

The Jew, however, goes to Rome after all, returns some time later and declares his willingness to renounce his Jewish faith and accept baptism because, as he emphasizes, the Christian God must truly be superior because despite all the degeneration and depravity in Rome, particularly within the Vatican, the Church flourishes well: "I could find no sign of sanctity, devotion, good works, exemplary living or any virtue at all in any of the clergy. On the contrary, lust, avarice and gluttony, fraud, envy and pride, and similar sins and even worse, if there could be worse, seemed to be in such favour with everyone that I thought it a hotbed of diabolical rather than divine activity" (35). As much as the Holy Father and all the other clergy make every effort to destroy the Christian Church, "they do not succeed: your religion is growing all the time and becoming more bright and shining, so that it seems to me that it must be more true and sacred than any other religion, and must deserve to have the Holy Spirit as its foundation and support" (35).

The outcome of this story proves to be the very opposite from the account of Elphahallo's visit in Vienna and Rome, but it also confirms how much some representatives of different faiths were invited to Christian courts and were strongly encouraged to consider conversion. In contrast to Boccaccio's account, the

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Classen, "Jewish-Christian Relations in the German Middle Ages — the Exploration of Alternative Voices? The Deconstruction of a Myth or Factual History? Literary-Historical Investigations," *Amsterdamer Beiträge zur älteren Germanistik* 58 (2003): 123–49; id., "Jewish-Christian Relations in Medieval Literature," Peter Meister, ed., *German Literature Between Faiths: Jew and Christian at Odds and in Harmony*. Studies in German Jewish History, 6 (Oxford, Bern, Berlin, et al.: Peter Lang, 2004), 53–65; *Medieval Muslims, Christians, and Jews in Dialogue: The* Apparicion Maistre Jehan de Meun *of Honorat Bovet: A Critical Edition with English Translation* by Michael Hanly. Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, 283 (Tempe: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2005).

207 Giovanni Boccaccio, *Decamerone: edizione critica secondo l'autografo hamiltoniano*, ed. Vittore Branca. Scrittori italiani e testi antichi (Florence: Presso l'Accademia della Crusa, 1976). For an excellent recent commentary, see Giovanni Boccaccio, *Das Decameron: Mit den Holzschnitten der venezianischen Ausgabe von 1492*. Aus dem Italienischen übersetzt, mit Kommentar und Nachwort von Peter Brockmeier. Reclam Bibliothek (Stuttgart: Philipp Reclam jun., 2012), 866–68.

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Muslim lord was basically kidnapped, but he then seems to have resigned himself to his destiny and then appears to have enjoyed his travels that brought him in personal contact with the highest authorities in medieval Christendom. While Boccaccio's figures are simple, even though very wealthy merchants, Elphahallo belonged to the higher echelons of Muslim society in the Holy Land. In both cases, however, we clearly observe a strong degree of mutual respect, despite the Christian's efforts to convince the friend of the superiority of his own faith. Elphahallo was allowed to return home, showered with many valuable gifts, while the Jewish merchant Abraham travels freely and on his own will, at the end suddenly ready to give up his old faith in favor of the new one.

Both in the literary case and in Fabri's account we clearly observe how much representatives of different religions and cultures could travel and were actually welcomed with open arms in specific cases. It would be fascinating to find out more what Elphahallo really thought about the European world, but Fabri only notes that upon his return he constantly sang a song of great praise on the "liberality and glory of the Christians" (II/I, 107).

23. Trouble and Conflicts: Christian Pilgrims and Muslim Population

From a later section in Fabri's account we can again clearly see why the pilgrims really got into so much trouble when they traveled through the Holy Land. Whenever they had a meeting with a Muslim official, they were normally assured free passage and entrance to the various holy sites. When an Arab treated them with violence, he was subsequently punished, if the pilgrims could report him to the authorities. After having complained about the situation at the Church of the Ascension of the Lord, the pilgrims were told: "that we ought not to give anything to him who keeps the door of the Church of the Ascension, and that henceforth he never would demand anything of us. As for freedom to visit the holy places, they said, 'You may go wherever you choose at your own pleasure; but we counsel you, when you are walking abroad, always to have some Saracen with you, that rude boys, whom we cannot hold in check, may not annoy you'" (II/I, 113). In other words, most of the problems which the pilgrims encountered were the result not of systematic opposition or religious hatred, but of simple attempts by people on the street to reap some profit from the travelers however they could.

This does not mean that Fabri or any of the other pilgrims did not possibly display some air of religious arrogance or did not irritate the local population with their show of Christian devotion. Reflecting on the first day of August, which was both a Christian holiday (Peter the Apostle being freed from his bonds) and a Muslim holiday commemorating the launching of the Koran, Fabri, writing to a

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Christian audience, and being in the safe haven of Christian Europe, here unleashes his hatred against and horror of Islam once again, the religion but not its followers: "This execrable and profane law derives its authority from a tincture of both the Old and the New Testament, and hath within itself some truths, mixed with matter utterly absurd, and, as is the way of all heretics, contains poison hidden in honey" (II/I, 116).

Nevertheless, the pilgrims were smart and sensitive enough to stay away from the public and hid in their inns, recognizing the danger they would run into otherwise. But Fabri then also adds, with a rather critical voice, "For the infidels hold that whenever they keep a holiday or a fast day, or abstain from meat, or keep any day holy, whether for mourning or for joy, they will force all strangers and pilgrims to do likewise" (II/I, 117).

When the Christian company wanted to walk around the city of Jerusalem to study the ancient defense structure, they chose as the time the afternoon when the heat was the most intense because that proved to be the only good occasion to avoid any contact with the Muslims who then rested in their houses (ibid.). In essence, it was not easy at all for these Europeans to operate in the Muslim world because of the strong differences in their religious customs and rituals.

For both Christians and Muslims their religion required the total involvement of the entire population so that they could carry out both their ceremonies and rituals in public. Naturally, then, these two groups easily collided with each other, especially when the pilgrims came dangerously close to the Temple of the Rock, "taking no heed of the cries and murmurs of the Saracens; neither did we give ear to the commands of Calinus, our guide, who kept doing all that he could to keep us from looking at the temple, for the Saracens were plaguing him for suffering us to come so near to the temple" (II/I, 125). Driven by their religious zeal, the Christians obviously did not care that they irritated the Muslims nearby to no end and could easily have provoked them into some violent actions. But we also hear of a Jew taking the pilgrims to special sights because he knew of their interest and could take them there, being not ignorant of what mattered to the Christians (II/I, 126).

Fabri also indicates in what points Christians and Muslims actually agree in theological terms: "Herein the Saracens agree with us, that they believe that there will be a judgment on the last day, but as to the place of the judgment, they are all at variance, for the Saracens who dwell in Jerusalem, Judaea and Palestine say, as we do, that all nations shall be gathered together into the Valley of Jehoshaphat, and they place therein three judges, to wit, God, Christ, and Mahomet" (II/I, 131).

Undoubtedly, Fabri does not hesitate on occasion to mock both the Muslims and the Jews. As to the former, he lambasts them for their internal fight over the question where the Final Judgment will be given, in Damascus, Cairo, Mecca, or elsewhere. Equally, he laughs about the Jews who are settled on the slope of the

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hill above the valley of Jehoshaphat. Ridiculing even their own guide, he told him "that the Jews were wise in having placed their city in the place of judgment, that they might rise without the trouble of journeying thither to be eternally damned" (II/I, 132). We are not told of any response, nor can we be certain whether the author truly used those words, or whether he added this comment later. After all, once the entire group had returned to their lodging, the noble knights invited everyone to dinner: "the lord knights invited me and two of the Minorite fathers, two Jews, one Saracen and one Mamluk, to sup with them, and we supped merrily together—albeit we were of different faiths and customs" (II/I, 132). But in light of many previous examples we only recognize the characteristic dialectics in this and most other pilgrimage accounts insofar as the author formulates rather strong opinions regarding the other religions, but when he has to deal with the ordinary people, the religious differences no longer seem to matter that much any longer.

Much later in his account, when the pilgrims traverse the mountainous and desert region of the Sinai, facing many problems due to the rocky and desolate area, Fabri makes great efforts to provide as detailed remarks about the landscape as possible. Here the entire company had to rely more than ever before on each other, and it is also here where we come across a human touch hardly ever noticed before. Because his mule suddenly began to gallop and then suddenly threw him off, Fabri took a bad fall. But their guide, now even named, Ameth, immediately came to his help:

> he jumped off his own horse, picked me up from where I lay, stroked my limbs, and drew the joins together, and bade one of his servants bring back my mule, which was scampering wildly about. Indeed, this heathen Gentile Moor showed me as much kindness in my trouble as the most tender-hearted Christian could have done. After I had been greatly refreshed, he lifted me on to the mule, because I could not help myself with my arms. . . . I pray god that he may have mercy upon that Gentile Saracen, even as He had mercy upon me. (II/I, 191)

While in most other parts of his pilgrimage account Fabri usually says negative things about the Muslims, here he suddenly recognized in Ameth the fellow human being and even prayed for him because of the extraordinary kindness and helpfulness that he had shown him—and this very similar to the experience which Margery Kempe had during her pilgrimage to the Holy Land. In other words, despite his status as a Dominican monk, Fabri shows his true colors here, able and willing to recognize that the religious difference was only a matter of faith and not a matter of racial or political concerns.

In a way, here again we might recognize resonance of the same human spirit which permeates Boccaccio's *Decameron* and which can also be recognized, in some ways, in Wolfram von Eschenbach's famous Grail romance, *Parzival* (ca. 1205). Of course, Fabri composed his *Evangatorium* for a learned audience, for Latin readers, hence for religiously trained individuals, and he lived in the absolute paradigm of

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Christianity. Nevertheless, as these short narrative episodes indicate, in the practical situation of traveling through the Holy Land, he just had to cope with the local people and depended very much on their help and cooperation. Many openly rejected him or simply demanded money, but others responded to him in a charmingly open-minded manner and indirectly forced him to ignore his own religious ideals and to recognize the others as fellow human beings who were nice to him, and sometimes rescued him from dangerous situations out of the goodness of their hearts.

In emergencies such as Fabri's bad fall, people rushed to each other's help, and religion suddenly proved to be of secondary significance, even in the context of a pilgrimage account.[208] We are also reminded of the close and personal relationship between Fabri and his first ass driver Cassa who had welcomed him back to the Holy Land with great joy (see above, Fabri, I, 242).

Fabri also does not hesitate to give praise to the Sultan where praise is due, such as regarding his building of an extensive waterway through the mountains to provide the city of Jerusalem with that precious resource: "Herein the King Soldan hath deserved no slight praise" (II/I, 200). The author lingers for a long time on the question of what the Sultan might intend with this massive operation, summarizing that each religious group was hoping for a major transformation in favor of their religion. The Muslims hoped that he would transfer the seat of government from Babylon of Egypt (Cairo) to Jerusalem; the Jews hoped that he would return Jerusalem to them once it had been rebuilt; the Christians dreamed of the possibility that he might abandon his old Muslim faith and convert to Christianity. Whatever the outcome would have been, Fabri still expresses great respect for the Sultan and encourages his reader: "Christians are bound to pray to God for him and for his long life, forasmuch as he is Lord of the Holy Sepulchre and King of the Holy Land, and deals very kindly and gently with Christian pilgrims" (201).

As much as Fabri formulated his open admiration of the Sultan, as much he also provided immediately thereafter a dramatic example of the hostility which the pilgrims regularly encountered, here by an armed Arab who threatened to attack and hurt them if they did not pay the toll due to him from all pilgrims. Surprisingly, one of the other monks could communicate with him in Arabic, explaining their situation, but the Arab then aimed at Fabri because he openly wore his cross and was thus identified as a pilgrim. The conflict would have

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208 For a further literary example where the public display of strong love overcomes religious differences, see Albrecht Classen, "Suffering in Konrad Fleck's *Flore und Blanscheflur* as a Catalyst in the Meeting with the Foreign: Emotional Bonds with the Orient in a Late-Medieval Sentimental Romance," *Neophilologus* 95.4 (2011): 605–25. For English examples, see Siobhain Bly Calkin, *Saracens and the Making of English Identity: The Auchinlek Manuscript*. Studies in Medieval History and Culture (New York and London: Routledge, 2005).

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erupted into violence if the other monk had not threatened to report him to the authorities down in the valley where the waterworks were done, whereupon he fled (II/I, 202–03). Here we encounter a fascinating example which confirms that language skills had been acquired by individual pilgrims and that the communication between the pilgrims and the locals was, after all, somehow possible.

Consequently, as we observe in a later, quite telling episode, where the group of pilgrims settled beside a fountain and shared some of their bread with Arabs there, interhuman relations were always possible, even disregarding the deepest divide between religious convictions. But this is not all, it got even better: "At last there came one with a basket full of most excellent and sweet grapes, to whom we showed our scrips full of bread, which exchange pleased him much, and so we ate and drank in that place with them even unto the going down of the sun" (II/I, 205). On a human level then, when money was not of any concern in terms of tolls or taxes, or when the pilgrims did not face robbers, the Arabs and the Europeans suddenly experienced a considerable degree of solidarity and community, putting all religious differences aside to enjoy a meal together.[209]

Nevertheless, everything depended on specific settings and people's needs, because shortly thereafter the pilgrims ran into a group of women who violently demanded toll. However, since they identified themselves as "Saracens" and not as "Arabs," the money was denied to them, which resulted into shouting and throwing of rocks at the travelers (II/I, 206). It remains unclear what Fabri really might have meant here, but it is possible that he identified Saracens as Muslims of non-Arabic stock.[210]

In a subsequent chapter Fabri enters into another discussion about the experience of the foreign that deserves to be discussed here as well, although the issue here suddenly centers on the differences between Western Europeans, specifically Germans, and people from the Greek Orthodox area and further east. Referring to the great attraction the relics kept in the cathedral of Cologne exert on pilgrims from far and wide, he notes that a good handful of "Eastern Christians . . . even cross the Alps and sail down the Rhine to Cologne, that they may see the church and sepulchres of the three kings" (II/I, 215). However, the different climate

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209 Stefan Schröder, "Dess glich ich all min tag nie gesechen hab vnd ob got wil nùt mer sechen wilz: Fremd- und Selbstbilder in den Pilgerberichten des Ulmer Dominikaners Felix Fabri," *Zeitschrift für Württembergische Landesgeschichte* 68 (2009): 41–62.

210 For further investigations, see John V. Tolan, *Saracens: Islam in the Medieval European Imagination* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002). The best discussion of the term 'Saracen' can be found in the article by Irfan Shahîd, "Saracens" (27–28) and by C. E. Bosworth, "In Medieval European Usage" (28), *The Encyclopedia of Islam*, ed. C. E. Bosworth, E. van Donzel, W. P. Heinrichs, and the late G. Lecomte. New ed. Vol. IX (Leiden: Brill, 1997). Unfortunately, it does not become clear here either what Fabri might have meant, unless he already perceived a noticeable distinction between Muslim Arabs and Muslim Non-Arabs in the Holy Land.

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in Germany keeps most of them from making the long and difficult trek over the mountains to northern Europe, while scores of devout Hungarians regularly make their way to Cologne and Aachen. More conforming to the geophysical and climatic conditions, we learn from Fabri that "it sometimes happens that pilgrims from the countries of the three kings come to Jerusalem in their companies at the time when our pilgrims visit the same from the West" (II/I, 216).

Those Eastern pilgrims then seek out eagerly the visitors from Cologne and buy anything they might get from them, including shoes, hats, laces, or purses. "Should anyone chose to sell them any rings or jewels which have touched the bodies of the holy kings, he will receive tenfold the price thereof" (II/I, 216). Resorting to translators, those devout Christians from the East inquire meticulously about "the size of the city, the cathedral church, and the sepulchres of the three kings, and they devoutly write down what they hear in answer word for word in their note-books, even as we note down the position of the Holy Land, of Jerusalem, and of the Church of the Lord's Sepulchre" (II/I, 216). Some devout Easterners even manage, as he tells us, to reach Germany and are then held in highest esteem there, indicating thus how much pilgrimage really brought people together from all parts of the old world, both from East and West.[211]

However, despite a number of most amazing cases of Arab travelers to northeastern Europe, especially into the Russian area, and despite some intriguing cases of Arab geographers including northwestern Europe into their tracts, it seems highly unlikely to find in our records any traces of Arab pilgrims or merchants traveling through the Christian world during the Middle Ages.[212] Their focus rested much more on the Near, Middle, and Far East, and on Eastern Africa, but not on Europe where they could not profit at all in spiritual terms, here disregarding some likely cases of mercantile contacts and exchanges. The situation in the southern part of the Iberian Peninsula and in southern Italy might well have been different, where we observe direct contact zones, but that will have to be discussed in another context.

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211 See the contributions to *Routes of Faith in the Medieval Mediterranean: History, People, Pilgrimage Perspectives: International Symposium Thessalonike 7–10/2000, Proceedings*, ed. Evangelia Hadjitryphonos (Theassaloniki: European Centre of Byzantine and Post-Byzantine Monuments, 2008). As to pilgrimage sites just a little further north, see Karl-Ferdinand Beßelmann, *Stätten des Heils: westfälische Wallfahrtsorte des Mittelalters*. Schriftenreihe zur religiösen Kultur, 6 (Münster: Ardey, 1998). For post-medieval reflections of Cologne pilgrims, see *Navis peregrinorum: ein Pilgerverzeichnis aus Jerusalem von 1561 bis 1695 mit Angaben über Pilger aus Deutschland, England, Frankreich, Italien und den Niederlanden, sowie aus anderen europäischen und außereuropäischen Ländern*, ed. Bertrand Zimolong. Palästina-Hefte des Deutschen Vereins vom Heiligen Lande, 12–14 (Cologne: Bachem, 1938).

212 For exceptions, such as Ibn Fadlān or Yāqūt, see Ibn Fadlān, *Ibn Fadlān and the Land of Darkness: Arab Travellers in the Far North*, trans. with an intro. by Paul Lunde and Caroline Stone (London: Penguin, 2012).

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Religion, however, has always been a most touchy issue deeply separating people from each other. Fabri indicates that himself in his lengthy discussion about whether Christians can enter a Muslim mosque and pray to their God, which some authorities had strictly forbidden. The difficulty often arose for him and many other pilgrims because the Muslims had transformed former Christian churches into mosques, and then forbade all Christians to enter. Some of those tried to sneak in anyway out of religious fervor, but then deep fear gripped them, either because they were afraid of being punished or killed by the Muslims, or, much worse, by God himself. As to the Temple of the Rock, Fabri mentions one knight who had attempted to make his way into it using a disguise, but then started to tremble so strongly that he could not move further. Fabri himself then admits: "Although I myself am fond of seeing strange and curious sights, yet I never was tempted to enter the temple, but was satisfied with the sight thereof" (II/I, 257). Intriguingly, his observations of mosques and comparisons with Christian churches led him to the sad conclusion: "I have often been troubled and scandalized, when I compared the cleanliness, the beauty, and the decent order of the temple with our churches, which, O shame! are like stables for beasts of burthen. Our church stands all dirty, with people walking through them as though they were inns, and befouled with filth, to our great confusion, and to the contempt and reproach of the sacraments" (II/I, 257). Fabri also criticizes the condition the Temple of the Holy Sepulchre was in, and then even extends his severe criticism to St. Peter in the Vatican: "It is a disgrace to think of it, and a shame to say it" (II/I, 259). By contrast, the Temple of the Rock puts all Christians to shame:

> O human brother, would that thou couldst see at Jerusalem how reverend is the appearance of this temple of the execrable Mahomet, how pleasant is the approach thereunto, as I have told you on page 227 b, how clean and quiet its courtyard, how bright and neat everything is kept, how devoutly the worshippers enter therein, how gravely they bear themselves in praying, how modestly the women show themselves there, with their faces always veiled, and how the men pray in silence apart from them! Culdst thou see this, thou wouldst be deeply shocked and grievously wroth with the neglect and irreverence shown by the faithful in our own churches. (II/I, 259–60)

Apparently, the cultural contact forced Fabri to recognize the deep decline of his own church and the neglect by the authorities. The encounter with the foreign served him, so to speak, as a mirror of his own culture, and this very much to his own embarrassment.

After having retold the entire history of the Holy Land, Fabri offers another summary of the various faiths represented there at his time, but since he himself was a strong Christian, he only identified the diverse 'nations' as "a collection of all manner of abomination" (II/II, 384). To wit, he discusses the Muslims and their faith, the Greek Orthodox, the Syrians, the Jacobites, the Abyssinians, the

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Nestorians, the Armenians, the Gregorians, the Maronites, the Turcomans (Turks), the Bedouins, the Assassins, the Mahometans (a secret Muslim sect), the Mamluks, the Jews (who are divided into other sects), and the Latin Christians (II/II, 384–92). Of course, none of them withstands his scouring criticism, as to be expected from a devout Catholic of his time, but Fabri at least recognizes, as he always does throughout his account, the multiplicity of people and their faiths.

While traveling, he always faced the problem of not understanding the foreign people, as he relates on numerous occasions, in which the communication at first was very difficult (if not impossible), until some translator got involved or gestures overcame the language barrier: "neither did we understand the habits, signs, and words of the camel-drivers, nor did they understand ours; wherefore for some days we loaded our beasts with many quarrels and much trouble" (II/II, 403). Although he does not reveal to us how they ultimately developed some kind of communication, we can draw from the text that both sides must have finally learned to grasp what the other group meant or intended. But neither did the Christians learn Arabic nor the Arabs learn German, Latin, or Italian. Nevertheless, insofar as the company at the end managed to get the pilgrimage to Mount Sinai going, with the camels and asses, things must have worked out more or less. The situation with these pilgrims could be easily compared with modern-day tourists who only want to experience the exotic foreign world but never develop any linguistic means to speak with their new environment. A meeting of East and West happens, but the gulf between both simply continues, both then and today. This did not mean that exchanges were impossible, since it all depended on individuals' attitudes, abilities, functions, and professions, as we have seen a number of times above.

Another example would be the case of an inn-keeper in Hebron who took great care to house his guests well, to protect them from potential robbers, and to allow them to get a good sleep: "With all this we were much pleased, and wondered at the kindness of the infidels towards us" (II/II, 419). Nevertheless, Fabri and his companions kept up their critical approach and wondered whether the man only intended to make more money: "yet we feared that before we left the city they would charge us heavily for the kindness which they showed us" (II/II, 419). Since he does not say anything about the events the next day, however, we might as well assume that the inn-keeper was simply a friendly and kind man, which Fabri also acknowledges, though always with that proviso in mind.

Fabri's account continues for a considerable length, but what we have examined so far seems sufficient to confirm the overall impression that here we encounter a diligent, open-minded, reflective, patient, and yet resolute, very Christian writer who never hesitated to venture into new fields, to overcome barriers and problems, and to explore every possible corner and area in the Holy Land for his and his companions' religious enlightenment and inspiration. It remains doubtful

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whether he ever overcame, if he even might have been inclined to do so, his Eurocentric, never-questioned Catholic position and faith. There are no attempts to learn Arabic, but he seems to have understood Italian quite well, and so he managed decently well at least to talk with the local Muslim authorities. Fabri never hesitated to condemn the "Saracens" as terrible infidels, and he never held back with his highly negative opinion about the Jews and various Christian sects and churches. Nevertheless, as a traveler and pilgrim, he proved to be extraordinarily skilled in coping in that foreign world, in interacting with the foreigners, and in building, as far as that was even possible for a Dominican traversing the Holy Land, some cultural, human bridges to some local Arabs, such as ass drivers, inn-keepers, and officials.

24. Bernhard von Breydenbach's *Peregrinatio*

We also should consider the even more popular pilgrimage account, *Peregrinatio in Terram Sanctam* or *Sanctae Peregrinationes*, by Bernhard von Breydenbach, who was in the same company as the one Fabri traveled with on his second pilgrimage.[213] Bernhard was born ca. 1440 (perhaps as early as 1435), acquired an extensive legal education, receiving a doctorate, applied for the position of a Canon of Mainz around 1450, is mentioned as a Canon first in 1458, subsequently held many different legal and administrative posts, and went on this pilgrimage in 1483 until the end of January 1484.[214] The manuscript of his account in Latin was completed in 1485—all surviving copies seem to be excerpts or copies of prints—and printed in Mainz on February 11, 1486, while a German translation appeared on June 26, the same year, followed by another print edition in Augsburg in 1488, in Speyer in 1490 and again in 1505.

This travel narrative, richly illustrated by the Dutch artist Erhard Reuwich from Utrecht, was translated into French (1488, 1517, 1522), Flemish/Dutsch (1497), Spanish (1498),[215] and Polish (1610), and then also printed without illustrations in Latin in 1536, in German in 1584, 1612, and in 1639, all reflecting its enormous

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213 *Bernhard von Breydenbach and His Journey to the Holy Land 1483–4: A Bibliography*, complied by Hugh W. M. Davies (London: J. & J. Leighton, 1916); now also online at: http://archive.org/stream/bernhardvonbreyd00davi/bernhardvonbreyd00davi_djvu.txt (last accessed on July 31, 2012). Davies discusses in impressive details the author, the company of travelers, the content of the book, the journey, the editions, and the illustrations.

214 Frederike Timm, *Der Palästina-Pilgerbericht des Bernhard von Breidenbach* (see note 197), 54–59.

215 Bernardo de Breidenbach, *Viaje de la Tierra Santa*. Colección Primeras ediciones, Serie folio, 2 (Madrid: Ministerio de Educación y Ciencia, Dirección General de Archivos y Bibliotecas, Instituto Bibliográfico Hispánico, 1974). This is a reprint of the 1497 edition published by P. Hurus in Zaragoza.

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popularity, mostly due to the fact that it was the first travelogue with illustrations, containing, which was a first for its time, five large fold-out woodcuts and a five-foot-long (1600 x 300 mm) woodcut panoramic view of Venice.[216] Altogether, both in terms of its content and form, this *Peregrinatio* was a major bestseller and a huge success on the early modern book market. Breydenbach died on May 5, 1497.[217]

Breydenbach's account contains detailed comments and, most significantly, relevant illustrations of the various faith groups in Jerusalem, accompanied by the corresponding alphabets used by each. The author does not leave any doubt as to his complete rejection of the non-Christians, but he still deemed it important to help his audience in providing some pictures and practical examples of their writing style in order to familiarize the readers with the difference in the foreign world. Comparing other illustrations by Gentile Bellini from 1479, Frederike Timm could confirm that the artist Reuwich represented the various clothing styles quite accurately. "Verschiedene Gründe sprechen auch in diesem Falle für die Verarbeitung einer oder mehrer Bildvorlagen . . . . [Es] obliegt dem Holzschnitt gleichsam die Funktion einer Gewandstudie, die auf eine variantenreiche Demonstration muslimischer Gewänder abzielt . . . ." (Timm, 198; Various reasons affirm also in this case that one or several image models were used. The woodcut has somewhat the function of a study of clothing that aimed at a demonstration of Muslim clothing in many variations).

Moreover, as Timm emphasizes, on the basis of previous research, the tables with the various alphabets more or less loyally replicate the actual writing style and can be identified as fairly accurate, since they were based on a model (200–02) created by the Franciscan Paul Walther von Guglingen who had accompanied the group of pilgrims among whom we find Breydenbach.[218] By contrast, the presentation of Jews, as depicted by Reuwich, vastly varies from what we actually know about their clothing styles and sartorial laws, at least in Constantinople under Mamluk rule or in Jerusalem. Instead, the Jews are here presented in the same way as they appeared in Germany during the fifteenth century.[219]

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216 Timm, *Der Palästina-Pilgerbericht des Bernhard von Breidenbach* (see note 197).

217 Huschenbett, "Bernhard von Breidenbach" (see note 197). See also Jacob Klingner, "Bernhard von Breidenbach," *Deutsches Literatur-Lexikon: Das Mittelalter*, ed. Wolfgang Achnitz. Vol. 3: *Reiseberichte und Geschichtsdichtung* (Berlin and Boston: De Gruyter, 2012), 915–22. See also Christian Halm, *Deutsche Reiseberichte* (see note 105), no. 87, 201–09.

218 Ursula Ganz-Blättler, "'Und so schrieen sie in ihrer Sprache.' Vom Umgang mit Fremdsprach(ig)en in spätmittelalterlichen Pilgerberichten," *Das Mittelalter* 2 (1997): 93–100; Berthold Altaner, "Zur Kenntnis des Arabischen im 13. und 14. Jahrhundert," *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 2 (1936): 437–52.

219 Timm, *Der Palästina-Pilgerbericht des Bernhard von Breidenbach* (see note 197), 204–05. She also emphasizes that virtually only the visual depiction of the 'Saracens' corresponded with the real conditions, probably because Reuwich must have learned from various models in Venice where

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Breydenbach was equally strong as Fabri in his total rejection of the non-Christians, wherever they might have come from, and he bitterly laments throughout his account the horrors committed by the Muslims, above all, against the Christians. For him the worst problem was that the Muslims had laws forbidding any missionary activities: "The Saracens strictly observe their own laws and the rules by Mohammed, and especially follow the evil law that they do not allow anyone to preach against or discuss about their faith. They defend their laws with the sword and kill anyone on the spot who turns into an apostate."[220]

At the same time Breydenbach severely complains about the Greek Orthodox within the entire world of the Eastern Mediterranean and in the Holy Land: "Thus the entire Orient, especially Greece, have become rotten and disobedient, because they [the Greeks] do not want to understand that the Holy Roman Church has been given the prime rank and honor not from the apostles, but from our Lord and Savior" (30). The author focuses mostly on their actual pilgrimage, does not by far spend as much time on the local conditions and people there as Fabri, so mostly ignores the common experience of conflicts, negotiations, and cultural difficulties. At one point, however, he shares a terrifying scene of a slave market:

> We also came to a market where people were sold like unreasonable animals. There was a great throng and there were many people who were offered for sale. We had great pity with them. The Mameluke, our guide, was asked how expensive we were as slaves. Our Mameluke then angrily answered that these people were not for sale, but that they soon would get to a market where they would be very expensive. Nevertheless, the merchant wanted to give him ten ducats for one of us, until he realized that we were not for sale. (37)

Bath houses and sweat rooms (a kind of sauna) attracted Breydenbach, who mentions how beautifully the Saracens had erected those buildings. He also demonstrates how much he was impressed by their service of massaging the customers (37), but then he turns back to his religious narrative, which does not leave much room for any mentions about the foreign, exotic world in the Holy Land.

Nevertheless, as very much to be expected from a pilgrimage account focusing on the Holy Land, the existence of the Islamic faith represented one of the greatest

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artists had begun, after the fall of Constantinople in 1453 and after the subsequent strong influx of Oriental merchants and others to the West, to copy those foreigners more accurately (e.g., Gentile Bellini). (Timm 225–26).

220 For the sake of convenience and since it does not matter in strictly philological terms, in this case I translate directly from Bernhard von Breydenbach, *Die Reise ins Heilige Land: Ein Reisebericht aus dem Jahre 1483*. Übertragung und Nachwort von Elisabeth Geck (Wiesbaden: Guido Pressler, 1961), 24–25. See now also Bernhard von Breydenbach, *Peregrinatio in terram sanctam. Eine Pilgerreise ins Heilige Land. Frühneuhochdeutscher Text und Übersetzung*, ed. Isolde Mozer (Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2010).

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challenges for Breydenbach, as was the case for many other Christian authors. Arguing against an imaginary opponent who would defend the Muslims, the author emphasizes clearly:

> wie wol die sarracenen die cristen nit zwyngen zuo wychen von yrem glauben, so vndertrucken sie doch die selben gar swerlich vnd hart, also daz die cristen vnder ynen leben als vnder eym joch eyner gefengnuß vnd dienstbarkeyt. Item die sarracent kriegen vnd stryten stets wyder die cristen vnd vahen vnd todten sie wo sie mogen, vnd verwuosten yre land. (chapter "Deß funfften artikels halb," no page number, r)[221]
>
> [although the Saracens do not force the Christians to remove themselves from their faith, they subjugate them very hard and forcefully so that the Christians live under them like in the yoke of a prison and servitude. Likewise, the Saracens wage wars and fight against the Christians, capture and kill them wherever they like, and destroy their lands.]

For Breydenstein, probably more than even for Fabri, the battle between these two religions was an ongoing process, although he, as a pilgrim, was still allowed freely to traverse Muslim territory on his quest for holy sites: "Also wyder die falschen bosen sarracenen die allein hoffen yn yr macht vnd gewaldt hatt got syner kirchen mechtig vnd geweltig konig vnd fursten geben die selben zuo bestritten, dar yn sich gott erzeuget ein gerechten vnd mylten regyrer syner kirchen" (immediately before the chapter "Ist auch zu mercken daz vmb das end der welt," v; God has given His church mighty and powerful kings and princes to fight against the false and evil Saracens who only hope [to win] through their might and power. In this regard God shows Himself as a just and kind ruler of His Church). But then Breydenstein also voices sharp criticism and formulates a severe warning against the Christian authorities who might be neglectful in their obligation to defend the Christian Church: "Aber wee den obern weltlichen oder geistlichen die vß yr versmukeyt oder tragkeit die kyrch also lassen verderben etc." (ibid.; But lo about those worldly and clerical authorities who let the Church come to nought through their neglect or laziness).

Somehow the author seems to have heard something about the principles of the Islamic faith, but he badly garbles everything and charges the Muslims, for instance, of not believing in Christ's virtues and His divine nature, charging Christ with having been a criminal and impostor (ibid.). Quickly generalizing, Breydenbach subsequently evaluates the Muslims summarily as "die schnoden sarracenen vnsers bluots vnd namens vyndt" ("Sittemal aber der doctor," v; the evil Saracens are the enemies of our blood and good name). Many times the author

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[221] Here I quote from the copy held at the Cambridge University Library, Inc.2.A.1.7.35. Unfortunately, the pagination ends very early, probably because the inclusion of the many woodcuts created problems for later researchers. I will give approximate references. Superscripta are written out, and I have carefully added modern interpunctuation.

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has occasion to complain also in concrete terms about the local people who bother them, rob them, or steal things from them while they were on their pilgrimage to Mount Sinai. But then the travel group had always recourse to their Muslim guide, the "trutzschelman" who chased the mob away and protected the pilgrims to the best of his ability (August 28, r).

The same phenomenon as in Fabri's case becomes noticeable, insofar as the author indirectly confirms himself how much it would be necessary to distinguish between the ordinary people in the cities and the roads, and the Arab authority figures. However, Breydenbach was much less willing to explore those differences and continued, instead, with his rather hostile attitude, to remark only in negative terms about the Muslims as a collective.

Breydenbach gives a fairly detailed description of the Muslim customs during their month of fasting, Ramadan, but he demonstrates no understanding of the religious meaning and tends to ridicule the people for their hypocritical behavior, refraining from all eating and drinking during the day, but celebrating and feasting at night: "Wan so das fest grosser ist so auch die lichvertikeyt besunder by nacht grosser ist" (Chapter: "Von dem ynngang vß dem dorff Matharea," r; The greater the festival, the more they give in to lecherousness at night). In that context the author also refers to the Mamluks, many of whom came to visit them on October 16. One of them identified himself as a German from Basel, whereas the majority were Hungarians, one of whom proved still to be a Christian in secret:

> ein cristenlich hertz truog er vnder eym sarracenischem gewandt, vnd das wust nyman dan alleyn der Soldan vnd zwen ander von synem hoff, die auch das heymlich hyelten vmb wegen frumkeyt, strengykeyt vnd stercke des mans wol wyssende daz er ee sturbe ee dan er den glauben verleukelet, dem nach der Soldan ym vnd ettlichen andern erberen mamalucken verschribung hatt geben daz sie nach synem todt fry sollen syn von sollicher dienstbarkeit so sie eym yeden Soldan verpflicht syn" (ibid., v, next page over)
>
> [he had the heart of a Christian under his Saracen clothing, and no one knew that except only the Sultan and two others of his court who kept it a secret. This was possible because they knew of his courage, discipline, and strength of the man, being fully aware that he would rather die than to deny his faith. Therefore the Sultan had given a written pledge to him and several other honorable Mamelukes that they would be free of this servitude, to which they were all obligated to the Sultan, after his death.]

Fully intrigued about this phenomenon of secret Christians in the army of the Mamluks, he delights in giving us here a full account of the entire institution, with many of them even allowing their children to be baptized secretly, although they later deny that faith and are thus given the privilege to inherit their parents' properties and offices (ibid.). Nevertheless, if we search further for personal comments about the interactions between Christians and Muslims, Breydenbach remains rather reticent and focuses mostly on his own perspectives regarding the

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travel and the pilgrimage sites. Still, his extensive account concludes with a lengthy list of Arabic phrases translated into German, before he ends with a historical narrative about the loss of Constantinople and Nigropont (or Calcidis) to the Turks. There is no doubt that his pilgrimage account, combined with the astounding illustration program, widely appealed to his audience and so brought home to them, apart from the information about all the traditional holy places, also much data concerning the foreign world (see fig. 3).

25. Other Contacts and Contact Zones

It would be futile to attempt to cover every possible contact between Christian Europeans and Non-Christians or Non-Europeans during the Middle Ages and the early modern age. The history of the Jews proves to be such a case, richly discussed and critically examined already from many different perspectives, but always underscoring the common trend all over the continent ultimately either to expel, repress, or at least marginalize them.[222] Similarly, there were just too many contact zones where representatives of various cultures, religions, and races encountered each other, sometimes mingled, sometimes communicated, and sometimes faced each other with hostility. Andalusia and neighboring areas in modern-day Spain belong as much to those important contact zones as Venice, Genoa, southern Italy, Sicily, and the Adriatic Coast.

Let us linger briefly on Andalusia where most of research has focused regarding the so-called *convivencia* of Muslims, Christians, and Jews, at least until 1492.[223]

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222 Most recently, Dean Philipp Bell, "Marginalization and the Jews in Late Medieval Germany," *Das Mittelalter* 16.2 (2011): 72–93. But the scholarship on this topic is legion.

223 Juan Vernet and Leonor Martínez Martín, *Al-Andalus: culturas de convivencia*. 3rd ed. (1987; Barcelona: Unwerg, 2002), summarize as follows: "estos hechos demuestran el importante peso específico que el mundo árabe tuvo en la formación de la España actual que, sin embargo, no pudo penetrar en el substrato hispánico de modo definitivo. La pátina unitaria islámica que ha recubierto con extraordinaria facilidad los más diferentes pueblos y las más diversas culturas: persas, turcos, bereberes, hausas, mongoles son buen ejemplo de lo que decimos. En al-Andalus siguió los mismos pasos que entre los pueblos citados pero, enfrentado a un enemigo exterior vencido al principio y vencedor después, sólo pudo influirle indirectamente desde un punto de vista espiritual y, más directamente, desde el material y cultural" (44; those facts demonstrate the specific and important weight which the Arabic world exerted on the formation of modern Spain, though it could certainly not penetrate the Spanish subculture in a definitive mode. The unifying Islamic veneer which had influenced with extraordinary facility the widest range of peoples and the widest range of diverse cultures, such as Persian, Turkish, Berber, Hausa, Mongols are good examples for that what we are trying to say here. In al-Andalus the same steps were taken as among the peoples mentioned above, but there the Arabs confronted an exterior enemy defeated at the beginning but gaining victory at the end. So they could only influence the other side indirectly, spiritually, and, more directly, through the material and cultural aspects).

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There are many sources that confirm a certain degree of cohabitation, of shared cultural space, if not of shared language/s, while the differences in religion did not necessarily matter so much. As Ashraf Anwar emphasizes,

> With the fall of Granada in 1492, the territorial *Reconquista* was completed but still a considerably large portion of *Hispania's* native population remained as Mudejars, Muslim subjects to Christian crowns. As far as the *Reyes Católicos* were concerned, the *Reconquista* was concluded in 1492. However, from a clerical point of view that was ultimately, although not always visibly, under papal influence and authority, the ideological pretext behind the *Reconquista* was only partially fulfilled.[224]

In reality, already in 1498 the Spanish crown rescinded its own holy oath to grant the Jewish converts (conversos) its protection, on the insistence of cardinal Jiménez de Cisneros, and began with coerced conversions, which quickly led to the Alpujarras revolt, which was, however, as not otherwise to be expected, brutally crushed. In the 1520s finally all remaining Mudejars were forced to convert. "For these Moorish New Christians, the 1520s announced the end of the regime of *de facto* toleration, although the new policies were not implemented until the late 1560s."[225] This then gave rise to the terrible myth of the "limpieza de sangre," which implied that these converted Muslims were not accepted even then and always rejected as people of impure blood. "Once the concept of *limpieza de sangre* became confirmed by law, the Moriscos were doomed. There was no escape for any of them from a past that was beyond their control."[226]

All these horrible events, however, point to the curious situation that in the Middle Ages a number of different forms of *convivencia* still had been possible, with the modern nation state not yet in its full ascendency, while the early modern age assumed, generally speaking, a much more hostile attitude toward outsiders,

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224 Ashraf Anwar, "Arabs in Spain or Arabised Spaniards? A Deep Down Journey Between Rejection and acceptance of Nine Hundred Years (711–1614) of Arabo-Islamic Hybridisation," *Entre Oriente y Occidente: Ciudades y viajeros en la edad media*, ed. Juan Pedro Monferrer Sala and María Dolores Rodríguez Gómez (Granada: Universidad de Granada, 2005), 155–75; here 170.

225 Anwar, "Arabs in Spain" (see note 224), 170.

226 Anwar, "Arabs in Spain" (see note 224), 171; see also his monograph *Islam and the West: The Moriscos: A Cultural and Social History* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1983); cf. also W. Montgomery Watt, with Pierre Cachia, *A History of Islamic Spain*. Islamic Surveys, 4 (1965; Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1996); Anwar G. Chejne, *Muslim Spain: Its History and Culture* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1974); Colin Smith, *Christians and Moors in Spain*. Hispanic Classics (Warminster: Aris & Phillips, 1988); Leonard P. Harvey, *Islamic Spain, 1250 to 1500* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990); Richard Fletcher, *Moorish Spain* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1992); Catherine E. Jones, *Islamic Spain and Our Heritage: al-Andalus, 711–1492 A.D.*, 2nd ed. (s.l.: Middle East Outreach Council, 1997); see also the contributions to *In the Light of Medieval Spain: Islam, the West, and the Relevance of the Past*, ed. Simon R. Doubleday and David Goleman. New Middle ages (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008).

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marginal figures, and minority groups.[227] In this regard, the reflections by Breydenbach, Fabri, or Arnold von Harff about the foreign world in the Holy Land might not have been completely out of the ordinary, but were predicated on rather common experiences of the majority group seriously grappling with its own existence and identity in confrontation with the minority and other groups at large.

26. Europeans and the Ottoman World

From here we ought to discuss at length the highly complex and conflictual, often, however, also open-minded, curiosity driven, both hostile and interested relationship between Christian Europe and the Ottoman Empire. With the conquest of Constantinople by the Turks in 1453 the power balance in the Eastern Mediterranean changed radically, and nothing has been the same since then. In fact, until today world history follows a different path than in the Middle Ages insofar as the Western world has been confronted with an Ottoman power that was, at times, an existential threat to Europe, although then the Turks' fortunes waned, and their geopolitical power declined radically, as is commonly the case with all empires throughout time.

Virtually all European intellectuals responded to the Turkish threat, or more neutrally put, the new presence of the Ottomans on the European stage, and we would have to write a comprehensive cultural history from the time well before 1453 until today in order to come to terms with the relevant issues. But not only would this create a major imbalance in the present study, especially because the number of relevant sources ballooned from then on vastly, making it impossible to come to terms with them all in a critical fashion. It would be important, for instance, to follow the travels of the Florentine Cristoforo Buondelmonti (ca. 1380/1385–after 1430), who extensively and intensively explored the Eastern Mediterranean since 1414, when he first reached Crete, followed by about sixteen more years of traversing the Aegean Sea, using Rhodes as his main base, stopping also at Andros and Imbros in 1419, at Constantinople twice before 1420 and then 1421–1422. Most famously, he wrote his *Liber Insularum Archipelagi*, published in 1420, which, because of its intricate combination of eyewitness accounts and mythological comments drawn from his learned background, became the basis for much of fifteenth-century geographical treatises. Its popularity is testified by

[227] This is not to say that the medieval world did not witness countless forms of suppression of deviants, heretics, Jews, homosexuals, and the like; see, for example, Jeffrey Richards, *Sex, Dissidence and Damnation: Minority Groups in the Middle Ages* (1991; London: Routledge, 1994).

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sixty-four surviving manuscripts, although the original is lost, probably as a result of the sack of Rome in 1527.[228]

For him, the Turks are "pirates, enemies who threaten the Aegean islands, but with whom diplomatic relations and positive appreciation are possible."[229] This captures, indeed, the commonly dialectical approach to the question of how East and West met, how they interacted with each other, and what kinds of communicative channels they pursued at least since the fifteenth century when it had become absolutely and unmistakably clear that the Muslims (Arabs and Turks) were there to stay, that they represented a major military, cultural, and religious entity, and that it was much better for the Europeans to try to deal with them constructively, apart from resisting them on the battlefield, than to ignore, malign, or stereocast them maliciously.

As to Rhodes, for instance, Buondelmonti only noted, with surprising nonchalance, "que nunc turchia fuit" (35 r, ch. 15, p. 19; which is now in the Turks' possession), adding the remarkable comment, which sounds very familiar in light of the numerous pilgrimage accounts discussed above: "et mercatorum—que peregrinorum ex omnibus mundi partibus huc uenientium" (ibid.; merchants and foreigners come there from all over the world). This does not mean that he would suddenly welcome the Turks as equals, or tolerate them in their different religion, as we notice in his remarks on the city of Gallipoli (51r, ch. 63, p. 48). Insofar as the "Imperatore grecie" had handed it over to the Turks and had married his daughters with their lords, the situation turned into a catastrophe for the Christians ("strages christianorum"), since huge scores of citizens were killed by the Turks. At the same time, however, he knows to report of the almost Solomonic wisdom of the new ruler, Amorat Bej, who treated all people equally, irrespective of their religion and social status, even defending monks against their deceptive, thieving abbot. Despite some comments here and there, however, Buondelmonti

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228 Michel Balard, "Buondelmonti and the Holy War," *Shipping, Trade and Crusade* (see note 17), 387–95; here 388–89. See also I. R. Manners, "Constructing the Image of a City: The Representation of Constantinople in Christopher Buondelmonti's *Liber Insularum Archipelagi*," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 87 (1997): 72–102; F. X. Leduc, "Les insulaires (isolarii): les îles déscrites et illustrées," *Couleur de la terre: Des mappamondes médiévales aux images satellitales*, ed. Monique Pelletier(Paris: Seuil-Bibliothèque Nationale de France, 1998), 56–61; Piero Lucchi, "Investigare la condizione et effecto delle isole: il viaggio di Cristoforo Buondelmonti e la nascita dell'isolario' cum pictura,'" *Navigare e descrivere: isolari e portolani del Museo Correr di Venezia: 5.-18. secolo*, ed. Camillo Tonini and Piero Lucchi (Venice: 2001), 58–59. For an edition, see Christophorus, de Bondelmontibus, *Liber insularum archipelagi: Transkription des Exemplars Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Düsseldorf Ms. G 13. Übersetzung und Kommentar*, commentary by Karl Bayer (2005; Wiesbaden: Dr. Ludwig Reichert Verlag, 2007). For a study of late-medieval and early modern cartographers, see Werner-Francisco Bär and Jürgen Runge, *Das Kartenbild der Insel Mallorca vom Ende des 15. Jahrhunderts bis um 1700: ein Vergleich aus kartographischer Sicht* (Frankfurt a. M.: Frankfurter Geographische Gesellschaft, 2004).

229 Balard, "Buondelmonti" (see note 228), 394.

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does not engage in a sweeping propaganda against the 'infidels,' and proves to be more of an objective observer than any kind of religious zealot.

Since the early seventeenth century we observe the development of the so-called "Grand Tour" during which young European nobles traveled far and wide, and also tried to cross parts of the Near East for the purpose of their cultural education. One such remarkable traveler and writer was Pietro Della Valle (1586–1652) who, departing from Venice on June 8, 1614, visited Constantinople (where he stayed over a year), Alexandria, Cairo, Mount Horeb and Mount Sinai, the Holy Land, then on to Syria, Persia (where he stayed six years), and Goa/India (where he stayed nearly two years), before he returned home, living the rest of his life in Rome.[230]

He was, however, only one of many to follow him, and the early-modern world saw an ever increasing number of travelers, merchants, artists, diplomats, and others traversing the Near East, going even further to the Orient, and building countless cultural bridges between both worlds.[231] To gain further insight, we only would have to consider the vast number of broadsheets and similar publications since the late fifteenth century flooding the early-modern book markets, along with countless ballads, poems, Shrovetide plays, letters, travelogues, etc., all dealing in many different fashions with the Turks as perceived by the Europeans.[232]

Concomitantly we can already refer to a large body of relevant scholarship on this topic, dealing with reports about the Turks by former Christian slaves, with Christian sermons preached against the Muslim danger from the East, with travelogues covering many sections of the Ottoman Empire, and with accounts by

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230 *The Pilgrim: The Travels of Pietro della Valle*, trans., abridged and introduced by George Bull (London:, Sydney, et al.: Hutchinson, 1989); *La porta d'Oriente: lettere di Pietro della Valle: Istanbul 1614*, ed. Chiara Cardini, foreword by Sergio Bertelli (Roma: Città nuova, 2001); Peter G Bietenholz, *Pietro della Valle, 1586-1652; Studien zur Geschichte der Orientkenntnis und des Orientbildes im Abendlande*. Basler Beiträge zur Geschichtswissenschaft, 85 (Basel: Helbing & Lichtenhahn, 1962).

231 Joan-Pau Rubiés, *Travel and Ethnology in the Renaissance* (see note 24); Michael Curtis, *Orientalism and Islam: European Thinkers on Oriental Despotism in the Middle East and India* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009). For a collection of important travel accounts in the Near East from Roman antiquity to the twentieth century, see *Travellers in the Near East*, ed. Charles Foster (London: Stacey International, 2004). Cf. also E. S. Bates, *Touring in 1600: A Study in the Development of Travel as a Means of Education, with Illustrations from Contemporary Sources* (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1911).

232 See, for instance, F. András Balogh, *Eine Unterredung gegen die Türken: zweisprachige kommentierte Edition der deutschen Flugschrift VD 16:T2239*. Kronosz könyvek, 9 (Budapest: Littera Nova, 2003); *Wahrnehmungsgeschichte und Wissensdiskurs im illustrierten Flugblatt der Frühen Neuzeit (1450-1700): Tagung in Ascona, Monte Verità, vom 31. Oktober bis 4. November 1999*, ed. Wolfgang Harms, Alfred Messerli, Frieder Ammon, and Nikola Merveldt (Basel: Schwabe, 2002).

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diplomats, merchants, artists, composers, poets, and scholars.[233] Some of the contributors to our volume will also pursue this topic from specialized perspectives and so deepen our understanding in a variety of ways.

Hence, suffice it to outline only in rough brush strokes why this topic truly matters deeply for our purposes. On the one hand we regularly observe the stereotypical rejection and fear of the Ottoman Turks, as the latest Muslim threat against Christian Europe. On the other hand, as virtually all travelers—perhaps as early as Bertrandon de La Brocquière (see above)—and a whole gamut of popular writers confirmed, the differences in culture, if not the advances in cultural development among the Turks in comparison with the Europeans, certainly fascinated the Western reporters and authors and forced them, despite the general fear of the Ottoman threat, to engage with this Muslim people in a surprisingly complex and diversified manner. How linguistic hurdles were overcome continues to be a major question that we cannot easily answer, but it is certain that there were enough translators available, or that enough linguistic skills were present among the speakers of both sides to make communication possible.

At the same time many authors of Shrovetide plays, broadsheets, and pamphlets—early forms of newspapers—raised their voices in horror about the imminent threat by the Turks who actually systematically extended their realm of

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[233] Siegfried Raeder, "Die Türkenpredigten des Jakob Andreä," *Theologen und Theologie an der Universität Tübingen*, ed. Martin Brecht. Conturbernium: Beitrage zur Geschichte der Eberhard-Karls-Universität Tübingen, 15 (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1977), 96-122; Albrecht Classen, "The World of the Turks Described by an Eye-Witness: Georgius de Hungaria's Dialectical Discourse about the Foreign World of the Ottoman Empire," *Journal of Early Modern History* 7.3–4 (2003): 257–79; *The Greek World Under Ottoman and Western Domination: 15th - 19th Centuries: Proceedings of the International Conference in Conjunction with the Exhibition "From Byzantium to Modern Greece: Hellenic Art in Adversity, 1453 - 1830", December 15, 2005 - May 6, 2006, Onassis Cultural Center, New York*, ed. Paschalēs M. Kitromēlidēs and Dēmētrēs Arbanitakēs (New York: Alexander S. Onassis Public Benefit Foundation; Athens: Benaki Museum, 2008); Andrew Wheatcroft, *The Enemy at the Gate: Habsburgs, Ottomans and the Battle for Europe* (New York: Basic Books, 2009); see also Virginia H. Aksan, *Ottomans and Europeans: Contacts and Conflicts* (Istanbul: Isis Press, 2004). See also Christiane Ackermann and Rebekka Nöcker, *"Wann gantz geferlich ist die zeit*: Zur Darstellung der Türken im Werk des Hans Sachs," *"Texte zum Sprechen bringen": Philologie und Interpreation. Festschrift für Paul Sappler*, ed. Christiane Ackermann and Ulrich Barton, with Anne Auditor and Susanne Borgards (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer, 2009), 437–64. They provide also an excellent survey of the relevant research on European reactions to the Turkish threat throughout the sixteenth century. As earlier scholarship has already demonstrated with respect to other late-medieval writers, "In der Dichtung des Hans Sachs verbindet sich die Erfahrung des Grauens, den die Türken verkörpern, mit der mahnenden Erinnerung an die eigene Sündhaftigkeit angesichts der Missachtung des göttlichen Gebots" (464; In Hans Sachs's poetry the experience of the horror, which the Turks cause, merges with the admonishing reminder of their own sinfulness regarding the disregard of the divine law). See also Clarence Dana Rouillard, *The Turk in French History, Thought, and Literature (1520-1660)* (1940; [New York: AMS Press, 1973).

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influence and occupied increasing territories in the Balkans, reaching and besieging, under the leadership of Suleyman I, or the Magnificent, Vienna already in 1529, and then, once again, in 1683 (the battle of Vienna), which represented, however, the critical turn of the tide, ultimately forcing the Ottomans out of the European geo-political theater.[234] There were, however, also significant exceptions, such as the Shrovetide play "Des turken vasnachtspiel" by the Nuremberg poet Hans Rosenplüt (fl. ca. 1460), where we observe attempts to project constructive communication between the councillors of the Turkish emperor and those of the German emperor, with both sides acknowledging each other and trying to establish a good relationship free of violence.[235]

On the other side, there are even several reports by Christians who were captured by the Turks and enslaved for many years until they could escape. Georgius of Hungary (ca. 1422–1502) provided an extensive account about his experiences in the Ottoman Empire after he had finally managed to run away and return to the Christian realm (ca. 1480). Moreover, the reading public in Germany was bombarded with a sleuth of broadsheets, the equivalent of the modern newspaper, which contained much, though often ideologized, information about the Turks in the form of texts and images.[236]

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234 Again, this is a vast topic, and yet also well researched; see, for instance, Stanford Jay Shaw and Ezel Kural Shaw, *History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977); Rhoads Murphey, *Ottoman Warfare 1500–1700* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1999); Andrew Wheatcroft, *The Enemy at the Gate: Habsburgs, Ottomans, and the Battle for Europe* (London: Pimlico, 2009). As successful as the Ottomans appeared to be on the European battle fronts, they also faced severe logistical problems, could not simply overcome the enormous geographic distances, climatic challenges, and the insufficient number of their own people who could help them colonize the newly conquered territories. Islam did not simply overtake Christianity in the new lands absorbed by the Ottomans, on the contrary. See, for instance, *Christians and Jews in the Ottoman Empire*, ed. Benjamin Braude and Bernard Lewis. 2 vols. (New York: Homes and Meier, 1982); *The Population of the Ottoman Empire and Turkey*, ed. Cem Behar. Historical Statistic Series, 2 (Ankara: State Institute of Statistics Prime Ministry Republic of Turkey, 1996).

235 Werner Röcke, "Prozession und Spiel: Inszenierungen von Gesellschaft in Reihen- und Handlungsspielen der Fastnachtzeit," *Neuere Aspekte germanistischer Spätmittelalterforschung*, ed. Freimut Löser, Robert Steinke, Klaus Vogelgsang, and Klaus Wolf. Imagines Medii Aevi, 29 (Wiesbaden: Reichert Verlag, 2012), 123–36; here 130–31. See now Jörn Reichel, *Der Spruchdichter Hans Rosenplüt: Literatur und Leben im spätmittelalterlichen Nürnberg* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag Wiesbaden, 1985), 207–08. Of course, Rosenplüt did not intend to project as true friends and trustworthy people, on the contrary, but he still imagined a situation in which both sides could really sit down and talk to each other. The play served, as Reichel rightly emphasizes, as a mask for the poet's strategy to criticize the bad conditions in the Holy Roman Empire. See also Christine Isom-Verhaaren, *Allies with the Infidel: The Ottoman and French Alliance in the Sixteenth Century*. Library of Ottoman Studies (London: I. B. Tauris, 2011).

236 Albrecht Classen, "Life Writing as a Slave in Turkish Hands: Georgius of Hungary's Reflections About His Existence in the Turkish World," *Neohelicon* 39.1 (2012): 55–72. As to the Turks in broadsheets, see John Roger Paas, *The German Political Broadsheet 1600–1700*. Vol. 11: *1663–1685*.

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Hans Lewenklaw (alias Löwenklau or Leunclavius; 1541–1594) accompanied the nobleman Heinrich von Lichtenstein on a diplomatic mission to Istanbul and studied there intensively the history of the Ottomans. He published his *Annales Sultanorum Othmanidarum a Turcis sua Lingua Scripti*, a Latin translation of the Turkish chronicle of Muhjī ed-Din Ğemali, in 1588, followed by his Early New High German text *Neuwe Chronica Tuerkischer Nation / Von Tuercken selbs beschrieben* and his *Neuwer Musulmanischer Histori Türkischer Nation: on ihrem Herkommen, Auffnemen, Geschichten, auch ihrer Sultan oder Keyser Lebenbiss auff Suleiman den Audern dieses Namens . . .* (1590). These quickly enjoyed popularity all over Europe, reflecting the great interest in and concern with the Turks the early-modern audiences had.[237]

The many different publishers of tracts dealing with the Turks knew exceedingly well how to excite and incite their audiences with often gruesome woodcuts showing how the Ottoman soldiers butchered young children and even babies, impaling them in great numbers, obviously invoking the Biblical imagery of the Massacre of the Innocents, whether their reports were accurate or not. Martin Luther himself was actively engaged in the propaganda warfare against the Turks, publishing many shorter and longer texts warning of their danger for the European heartland, mostly casting them in the same light as his Catholic opponents.[238]

The German Political Broadsheet, 11 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2012). The series began with vol. 1, published in 1985. See also Konstanty Michalowicz, *Memoirs of a Janissary*. Michigan Slavic Translations, 3 (Ann Arbor, MI: Department of Slavic Languages and Literatures, University of Michigan, 1975).

237 Carl Göllner, *Turcica: Die europäischen Türkendrucke des XVI. Jahrhunderts*, vol. 1: *1501–1550*; vol. 2: *1551–1600*. Bibliotheca bibliographica Aureliana, 23.1–2 (Bucharest: Editura Academiei, 1961, 1968); id., *Turcica III: Die Türkenfrage in der öffentlichen Meinung Europas im 16. Jahrhundert* (Bucharest: Editura Academicei, 1978); see also the contributions to *Europa und die Türkei in der Renaissance*, ed. Bodo Guthmüller and Wilhelm Kühlmann. Frühe Neuzeit, 54 (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer, 2000); Almut Höfert, *Den Feind beschreiben: "Türkengefahr" und europäisches Wissen über das Ottomanische Reich 1450–1600*. Campus Historische Studien, 35 (Frankfurt a. M. and New York: Campus, 2003); Nina Berman, "Translation and Inter/Multi/Transcultural German Studies: Germans, Ottomans, and Europe in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries," *Transcultural German Studies: Building Bridges*, ed. Steven D. Martinson and Renate A. Schulz. Jahrbuch für Internationale Germanistik. Reihe A: Kongressberichte, 94 (Bern, Berlin, et al.: Peter Lang, 2008), 251– 67.

238 Stephane Yerasimos, *Les voyageurs dans l'Empire Ottoman, XIVe-XVIe siècles: bibliografie, itinéraires et inventaire des lieux habités* (Ankara: Société Turque d'Histoire, 1991); Stephanie Leitch, *Mapping Ethnography in Early Modern Germany. New Worlds in Print Culture*. History of Text Technologies (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010); *Ottomans Into Europeans* (see note 182); Wheatcroft, *The Enemy at the Gate* (see note 234). See also the contributions to *The Turk and Islam in the Western Eye, 1450–1750: Visual Imagery before Orientalism*, ed. James G. Harper. Transculturalism 1450–1700 (Farnham, Surrey, and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2011). For the eighteenth century, see Fatma Müge Göçek, *France and the Ottoman Empire in the Eighteenth Century*. Studies in Middle Eastern

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Everything depended on the level of personal contacts and interests, and one source in this regard truly stands out and deserves to be studied more closely, building on previous research, but widening it here with a specific view toward life-writing as a medium of self-reflection, without necessarily being determined by the autobiographical genre. However, nothing can be compared to the traumatic experience of having been taken as a slave, a destiny which a number of Europeans had to go through, who later also wrote about it, such as Hans Schiltberger, Konstantin von Ostrovica, Bartholomej Georgijević, and Giovan-Antonio Menavino.[239]

Reflecting on the large period covered in this book, it needs to be emphasized that, as it certainly dawned upon the Europeans, the Turks were there to stay, they had to be accepted as a political and military reality, and they also represented a fascinating world and culture many Europeans were deeply intrigued by, if we think of the Turkish bath and the Turkish harem.[240] An interesting case now proves to be the travelogue by the Fugger merchant Hans Dernschwarm (1494–1568) who accompanied a group of ambassadors to the court of Sultan Suleyman the Magnificent (1520–1566) . The group of travelers went far beyond Constantinople and also visited the interior of Turkey up to Ankara and Amasaya. Dernschwarm paid close attention to the daily culture, the political structure of the Ottoman empire, the Sultan's politics, the condition of the army, and also to the remains of Roman antiquity.[241] In other words, early-modern literature and the book markets teemed with reports about the Ottoman cultures, their imperial power, and their history. The Turks exerted great attraction, and yet they were also deeply feared, as countless documents—poems, pamphlets, plays, broadsheets, and other media—reveal.[242]

History (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987).

239 This entire section I took from my article, "Life Writing as a Slave" (see note 236), 57–58. See also my bibliography there, 70–72.

240 Mary Roberts, *Intimate Outsides: The Harem in Ottoman and Orientalist Art and Travel Literature* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2007); for a political-diplomatic account about Constantinople, see Guillaume-Joseph Grelot, *A Late Voyage to Constantinople: Containing an Exact Description of the Propontis and Hellespont . . .* , trans. into English by J. Philips (London: John Playford, 1683); see also the *Adventures of Baron Wenceslas Wratislaw of Mitrwowitz*, trans. from the original Bohemian by A. H. Wratislaw (London: Bell & Daldy, 1862); cf. Gerald M. MacLean, *Looking East: English Writing and the Ottoman Empire Before 1800* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007). For a recent critical study, see Sonja Brentjes, *Travellers from Europe in the Ottoman and Safavid Empires, 16–17th Centuries: Seeking, Transforming, Discarding Knowledge*. Variorum Collected Studies Series, CS 961 (Farnham: Ashgate Variorum, 2010).

241 *Ein Fugger-Kaufmann im Osmanischen Reich: Bericht von einer Reise nach Konstantinopel und Kleinasien 1553–155 von Hans Dernschwarm*, ed. Hans Hattenhauer and Uwe Bake. Mit einem epigraphischen Anhang von Patrick Breternitz und Werner Eck (Frankfurt a. M., Berlin, et al.: Peter Lang, 2012).

242 *The Turk and Islam*, ed. James G. Harper (see note 238); see also Albrecht Classen, "The World of the Turks Described by an Eye-Witness" (see note 233); id., "Life Writing as a Slave in Turkish

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How the Turks viewed the Christian Europeans also deserves to be studied in specific terms,[243] but again here we open a large window into a vast research topic covering hundreds of years of cultural history,[244] yet much more difficult to approach from a Western perspective. We commonly hear of the Turkish wars, the structure and organization of the army, the political administration within the Ottoman Empire, the economy, of sciences, literature, and the arts, and of everyday customs,[245] but not of Turkish visits to Europe, at least not until the eighteenth century, when, for instance, Yirmisekiz Çelebi Mehmed Effendi was sent to France in 1721 to serve as the Turkish ambassador in Paris under Louis XIV. He had the particular assignment to "observe the architectural and educational resources and systems and inform the Ottoman state about their applicability," hence was supposed to help the Turkish government to acquire valuable information about the West.[246]

However, the Ottoman Empire entertained close diplomatic relations with the major European powers, and Turkish merchants certainly maintained good relationships with Venice, Genoa, Barcelona, and other European trading centers along the Mediterranean coast throughout the centuries, irrespective of the many military conflicts. Much remains to be done in this area, but we can already fathom how fruitful the topic of "West Meets East" promises to be if we cross the traditional boundaries and try to understand how both sides in this universal paradigm perceived each other, interacted with each other, if that was possible, and how they commented on the other side. After all, cultural history has very much to do with the encounters of people, religious groups, economic interests, and literary and artistic exchanges, not to forget philosophical and scientific ones.

Yirmisekiz Çelebi Mehmed Effendi noted, above all, the apothecaries in Paris, the gardens and parks with plants from all over the world despite the cold weather, a factory for rugs belonging to the king, a factory for mirror glass, then the dense architecture, the crowds of people, an observatory, and astronomical instruments.[247] The Ottoman ambassador to Vienna in 1757, and then to Berlin in 1763, Ahmed Resmi Effendi (b. 1700) also provided extensive notes about the

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Hands" (see note 234).

243 Alpay Kabacali, *Through the Eyes of Turkish Travelers: Seven Seas and Five Continents*, trans. from Turkish into English by Dara Çolakoğlu and Harika Erler Ahmet ([Istanbul]: Creative Yayincilik ve Tanitim, 1997).

244 See the contributions to *Ottomans into Europe* (see note 238).

245 Klára Hegyi, *The Ottoman Empire in Europe* (Budapest: Corvína Kiadó, 1986); see also the numerous contributions to *The Great Ottoman-Turkish Civilization*, ed. Kemal Çiçek et al., executive ed. Güler Eren. Vol. I: *Politics* (Ankara: Osmanli Devleti'nin, 2000).

246 Kabacali, *Through the Eyes of Turkish Travelers* (see note 243), 33. See also the good picture gallery and brief biographical survey at: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Mehemet_Effendi_portrait.jpg (last accessed on Nov. 5, 2012).

247 Kabacali, *Through the Eyes of Turkish Travelers* (see note 243), 37–38.

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foreign world, but he also reported about his task of offering a gift to the Prussian king, a luxurious tent, which he transported from his mansion in the Western part of Berlin to the court by means of camels. Not atypical of common ambassadorial ceremonies, the king and the Turk exchanged pleasantries, trying to establish good political relationships: "And then through his translator he said that he felt indebted for the good will and praise offered to him by the Ottoman State, and that he was very content with our embassy, and he praised us himself. After all this, I returned to our mansion."[248]

But most of the accounts by Turkish authors serving in a political function concern visits to neighboring countries in the Middle East and Africa as far south as to the very tip of that continent, while the European countries do not seem to have been of primary concern for the Ottomans. However, that would be a matter that requires considerably more research in the future. Similarly, we also would have to take into account the growing contacts between Europe and the Far East, and so between the Middle East and the Far East, either via economic trade, or via religious missionary activities, especially carried out by the Jesuits.[249]

In terms of architecture and the arts, on which I can touch here only in passing, we observe a remarkable cross-fertilization, especially in the relevant contact zones of al-Andalus, Venice, southern Italy, Sicily, and all over the Eastern Mediterranean already since the early Middle Ages and continuing probably until today.[250] But many questions remain since the differences in cultures and the

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248 Kabacali, *Through the Eyes of Turkish Travelers* (see note 243), 42; Aksan, *Ottomans and Europeans* (see note 233).

249 *Western Visions of the Far East in a Transpacific Age, 1522–1657*, ed. Christina H. Lee (Farnham, Surrey; Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2012). Nicholas Koss, "Matteo Ricci on China via Samuel Purchas: Faithful Re-Presentation" (85–100), for instance, discusses the efforts by the Jesuit missionary and astronomer Matteo Ricci in China. See also the contributions to *East meets West: the Jesuits in China, 1582–1773*, ed. Charles E Ronan and Bonnie B. C. Oh (Chicago: Loyola University Press, 1988); Andrew Ross, *A Vision Betrayed: The Jesuits in Japan and China, 1542–1742* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1994); Liam Matthew Brockey, *Journey to the East: The Jesuit Mission to China, 1579–1724* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2007). For the latest research on the global Jesuit missionary activities, see the contributions to *The Cambridge Companion to the Jesuits*, ed. Thomas Worcester (Cambridge, UK; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008). Cf. also Robert Markley, *The Far East and the English Imagination, 1600–1730* (Cambridge, UK, and ew York: Cambridge University Press, 2006). Allison P. Coudert, in her contribution to this volume, also discusses the astounding cultural difference between early modern China and Europe, underscoring China's vast superiority in terms of political structure, the sciences, economics, and also technology.

250 *Arte veneziana e arte islamica: atti del Primo simposio internazionale sull'arte veneziana e l'arte islamica*, ed. Ernst J. Grube with Stefano Carboni and Giovanni Curatola. Venezia e l'oriente vicino (Venice: L'altra Riva, 1989); Giuseppe Bellafiore, *Architettura in Sicilia nelle età islamica e normanna (827–1194)*. L Civiltà siciliana, 1 (Palermo: A. Lombardi, 1990); Shmuel Tamari, *Iconotextual Studies in Mid-Eastern Islamic Religious Architecture and Urbanisation in the Early Middle Ages*. Series minor

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political tensions even in those particular areas, not to mention linguistic hurdles, represented huge barriers.[251] We also have to be careful not to become victims of idealistic images of tolerance already presence in the Middle Ages, as the riot organized by Christian, Lombard nobles against the King Roger I and the converted Muslims in 1161, and other major conflicts in the subsequent years confirm. Always resorting to the hegemonic ideology drawn from Christianity, political groups easily found scapegoats amongst other religious minority groups, whether Jews or Muslims, which proved to be catastrophic especially in twelfth-century Sicily.[252]

From here we could also extend our investigations to areas at the European periphery, such as the Crimea, the Caucasus, and the Volga-Ural region, and we would always discover how much the Arabic culture was often the giving partner, while the Europeans and their neighbors were on the receiving end, even though that was to change considerably in the following centuries.[253] Moreover, there are a good number of Islamic religious objects that were Christianized in the Latin West, or vessels and images that peacefully shared Arabic inscriptions with Christian icons.[254] In terms of heraldry, the influence by the Arabic world on

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(Istituto universitario orientale), 39 (Naples: Istituto universitario orientale, 1992). Deborah Howard, *Venice & the East: The Impact of the Islamic World on Venetian Architecture 1100–1500* (New Haven, NJ, and London: Yale University Press, 2000), 217, emphasizes: "Just as Venice derived her wealth and power from transporting goods from the East to sell to the markets of Western Europe, so too, the city could gain religious and intellectual stature by the importation of memories and ideas to feed the imagination of the Western mind. In the composite self-image that the city compiledfrom this rich array of experiences, spectators could recognise the city's cultural fertility through recourse to their own individual visual repertoire, ranging from exotic travellers' tales to first-hand recollections of travel." See now Benjamin Scheller, "Migration und kulturelle Hybridisierungen im normannischen und staufischen Königreich Sizilien (12.–13. Jahrhundert)," *Transkulturelle Verflechtungen im mittelalterlichen Jahrtausend: Europa, Ostasien, Afrika*, ed. Michael Borgolte and Matthias M. Tischler (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2012), 167–86. He clearly emphasizes, as we have done as well above, that the supreme role of monotheism (Christianity) superseded all other criteria, and this even in Sicily and Southern Italy during the high Middle Ages. Most tragically, both here and in Andalusia and elsewhere, conversion by a Muslim to Christianity did not really help to overcome deep-seated animosity, fear, and hatred by the Christians against all so-called outsiders (see Scheller, 174–75).

251 Hubert Houben, "Möglichkeiten und Grenzen religiöser Toleranz im normannisch-staufischen Königreich Sizilien," *Deutsches Archiv für die Erforschung des Mittelalters* 50 (1994): 159–98.

252 Henri Bresc, "La formazione del popolo siciliano," *Tre millenni di storia linguistica della Sicilia: Atti del convegnodella Società Italiana in Glottologia, Palermo, 25-27 marzo 1983*, a cura di Adriana Quattordio Moreschini. Biblioteca della Società italiana di glottologia, 7 (Pisa: Giardini, 1985), 594–604; Alex Metcalfe, *Muslims and Christians in Norman Sicilty* (see note 88); Benjamin Scheller, "Migration und kulturelle Hybridisierungen" (see note 250).

253 *Islamic Art and Architecture in the European Periphery: Crimea, Caucasus, and the Volga-Ural Region*, ed. Barbara Kellner-Heinkele, Joachim Gierlichs, Brigitte Heuer. Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes, 63 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2008).

254 Avinoam Shalem, *Islam Christianized: Islamic Portable Objects in the Medieval Church Treasuries of the*

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medieval Europe is undeniable, and we are only not yet quite sure about the true extent and depth of further influences on European art and literature resulting from the East.[255] If we pursued that topic further, we could quickly come across a multitude of further examples underscoring for us the need to base our perception on how East and West interacted with each other on a much broader basis than in the past, without losing a grip on the dominant culture in each respective part of the world.

One other intriguing example would be the Italian author Ludovico di (de) Varthema, also known as Barthema and Vertomannus (ca. 1470–1517) whose extensive account of the Near East (especially Mecca), India, Sumatra, Borneo, Java, and Nagapattinam, his, was first printed in Rome in 1510, then in Venice in 1518, 1520, 1535, 1563, 1589, etc., in Milan in 1519, 1523, and 1525. Latin translations appeared in Milan in 1511 (by Archangelus Madrignanus) and in Nuremberg in 1610, not counting the numerous translations into various European languages, such as German (Augsburg 1515; Straßburg 1516; Frankfurt a. M. 1548, 1549, 1556, and 1567; Leipzig 1608 and 1610; Helmstedt 1636).[256]

To be sure, Ludovico was one of the most daring and far-reaching travelers of his time, but the global interest in geographical explorations was one of the hallmarks of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, as documented by Giovanni Battista Ramusio's works.[257] Quite naturally, Ramusio also included Ludovico's account. The second volume appeared in 1554, also in Venice, together with the

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Latin West. Ars faciendi, 7 (Frankfurt a. M.: Peter Lang, 1996). See also the contribution to this volume by Jens T. Wollesen.

255 William Leaf and Sally Purcell, *Heraldic Symbols: Islamic Insignia and Western Heraldry* (London: Victoria and Albert Museum, 1986).

256 *Itinerary of Ludovico Di Varthema of Bologna from 1502 to 1508*, as translated from the original Italian edition of 1510, by John Winter Jones, F.S.A., in 1863 for the Hakluyt Society; with a Discourse on Varthema and his travels in southern Asia, by Sir Richard Carnac Temple. Argonaut Press Publication, 4 (London, The Argonaut Press, 1928; rpt. New Delhi: Asian Educational Services, 1997). See now the new edition, *Itinerario*, ed. e commento a cura di Valentina Martino. Oltremare. Viaggiatori italiani dal Medioevo al Rinascimento, 12 (Alessandria: Edizioni dell'Orso, 2011). As to the German translation, see *Die ritterlich un[d] lobwirdig Rayss (1515)*, a facsimile reproduction with an intro. by George Winius. Scholar's Facsimiles & Reprints, 477 (Delmar, NY: Published for the John Carter Brown Library by Scholars' Facsimiles & Reprints, 1992).

257 *Primo volume, & seconda editione delle Nauigationi et viaggi: in molti luoghi corretta, et ampliata, nella quale si contengono la descrittione dell'Africa, & del paese del Prete Ianni, con varij viaggi, dalla città di Lisbona, & dal mar Rosso à Calicut, & insin'all'isole Molucche, doue nascono le spetierie, et la nauigatione attorno il mondo: aggiuntoui di nuouo la relatione dell'isola Giapan, nuouamente scoperta nella parte di settentrione, alcuni capitoli appartenenti alla geographia estratti dell'historia del S. Giouan di Barros portoghese, tre tauole di geographia in disegno, secondo le carte da nauigare de Portoghesi, & fra terra secondo gli scrittori che si contengono in questo volume, un'indice molto copioso, delle cose di geographia, costumi, spetierie, & altre cose notabili, che in esso si contengono* (Venice: Nella stamperia de Giunti, 1550). Certainly a bombastic title, but it reveals the global perspective which this kind of travel literature tried to achieve.

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first one.[258] Ramusio's work, that is, Varthema's travelogue, subsequently experienced a tremendous popularity throughout the next centuries, particularly because of the extraordinary illustration program bringing home to the European readers impressions of a truly exotic world, in a form of Orientalism *avant la lettre* (see figs. 4 and 5), especially when it included clearly erotic elements appealing to the European voyeur. Another significant traveler to India who subsequently reported about it at great length was the Bavarian Balthasar Sprenger who accompanied the Portuguese Admiral Francisco de Almeida (ca. 1450–1510) on his journey from 1505 to 1506 and subsequently produced an extensive narrative about it, his *Die Merfart vnd erfarung nüwer Schiffung vnd Wege zu viln onerkanten Inseln vnd Künigreichen* (1509).[259] Another fascinating traveler was the Russian

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258 *Secondo volvme delle navigationi et viaggi nel qvale si contengono l'historia delle cose de Tartari, & diuersi fatti de loro imperatori, descritta da m. Marco Polo gentilhuomo venetiano, & da Hayton Armeno*. The third volume appeared in 1556, *Terzo volume delle nauigationi et viaggi: nel quale si contengono le nauigationi al mondo nuouo, alli antichi incognito, fatte da don Christoforo Colombo genouese, che fu il primo à scoprirlo à i Re Catholici, detto hora le Indie occidentali, con gli acquisti fatti da lui, et accresciuti poi da Fernando Cortese, da Francesco Pizzarro, & altri valorosi capitani, in diuerse parti delle dette Indie, in nome della Ces. Maes : con lo scoprire la gran città di Temistitan nel Mexico, doue hora è detto la Nuoua Spagna, et la gran prouincia del Perù, il grandissimo fiume Maragnon, et altre città, regni, & prouincie : le nauigationi fatte dipoi alle dette Indie, poste nella parte verso maestro Tramontana, dette hora la Nuoua Francia, scoperte al Re Christianiss. la prima volta da Bertoni & Normandi, et dipoi da Giouanni da Verrazzano Fiorentino, & dal capitano Iacques Cartier. . .* (also in Venice).

259 George Bruner Parks, *The Contents and Sources of Ramusio''s Navigationi* (New York: New York Public Library, 1955); Blanca López de Mariscal, *Relatos y relaciones de viaje al nuevo mundo en el siglo XVI: un acercamiento a la identificación del género* (Madrid: Polifemo, 2004); Fabio Romanini, *Se fussero più ordinate, e meglio scritte--: Giovanni Battista Ramusio correttore ed editore delle Navigationi et viaggi*. Frontiere della modernità, 4 (Rome: Viella, 2007); Otto-Hermann Storz, *Die persische Karte: venezianisch-persische Beziehungen um 1500: Reiseberichte venezianischer Persienreisender*. Romanistik, 20 (Berlin: Lit, 2009). In this context, we really would have to refer to the excellent reference work, at least for the Middle Ages, *Trade, Travel, and Exploration in the Middle Ages: An Encyclopedia*, ed. John Block Friedman and Kristen Mossler Figg (New York and London: Garland, 2000), although Varthema is not even mentioned there. For the Renaissance, see Boies Penrose, *Travel and Discovery in the Renaissance, 1420–1620* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1952); Rubiés, *Travel and Ethnology* (see note 24); Daniel Carey, *Asian Travel in the Renaissance* (Malden, MA: Blackwell Pub., 2004). For Balthasar Sprenger, see *Die Meerfahrt: Balthasar Sprengers Reise zur Pfefferküste. Mit einem Faksimile des Buches von 1509*, ed. Andreas Erhard and Eva Ramminger (Innsbruck: Haymon, 1998). Cf. Beate Borowka-Clausberg, *Balthasar Sprenger und der frühneuzeitliche Reisebericht* (Munich: Iudicium-Verlag, 1999). For a good introduction, though devoid of any noticeable interpretive analysis, see Hermann Wiesflecker, "Neue Beiträge zu Balthasar Sprengers Meerfahrt nach 'Groß-India'," Tirol – Österreich – Italien: Festschrift für Josef Riedmann zum 65. Geburtstag, ed. Klaus Brandstätter and Julia Hörmann. Schlern-Schriften, 330 (Innsbruck: Wagner, 2005), 647–60; Thomas Horst, "The Voyage of the Bavarian Explorer Balthasar Sprenger to India (150/1506) at the Turning Point Between the Middle Ages and the Early Modern Times: His Travelogue and the Contemporary Cartography as Historical Sources," *Weltbilder im Mittelalter: Perceptions of the World in the Middle Ages*, ed. Philipp Billion, Nathanael Busch, Dagmar Schlüter, and Xenia Stolzenburg (Bonn: Bernstein-Verlag, Gebr. Remmel, 2009), 167–97. Sprenger's text seems to have appeared in print only once (1509). By contrast, Varthema's

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merchant Afanasy Nikitin (d. 1472), who explored India and left an extensive report about that exotic world as well.[260]

The critical issue for the Europeans consisted of coming to terms with the constantly growing body of information in the form of texts and images, not to speak of material objects (merchandise, goods, etc.). Both artists (especially creating woodcuts for broadsheets) and authors and poets endeavored hard to digest the new body of knowledge, and yet it took decades, if not centuries, for a systematic discourse to emerge. As Stephanie Leitch observes,

> Although the manners and customs of the world's peoples peppered the pages of chivalric fiction, crusader, and pilgrim narratives, and were summarized with increasing coherence by cosmographers, the first organized study of the world's peoples to announce itself as such as Johannes Boemus' *The Manner, Laws, and Customs of All People*, printed in 1520 . . . . The earliest visual forms of ethnographic recording appeared in encounters that were not shaped by the agendas of crusade or pilgrimage, but ones in which a relativistic analysis of the world's diversity emerged as a growing concern.[261]

Although artists such as Jörg Breu the Elder (ca. 1475–1537)—he illustrated Ludovico Varthema's tract in 1515—did not yet succeed in developing a clear concept of ethnography, they certainly were at the forefront of introducing rich ethnographic material to the European audiences. Jean de Léry, for instance, brought with him a treasure trove of personal experiences from his trip to Brazil in 1556. To cite Leitch again, "Instead of irredeemable savagery, Léry finds evidence of culture in the lives of the Brazilians he encountered. He mitigates the barbarity of Brazilian cannibalism by portraying Tupinamba feasts in the context of their own rituals."[262] Even though here we are no longer talking about the East, in epistemological terms the issue remains the same, the conflict or tensions, if not exchanges and communication, with the foreign world outside of Europe.[263]

Already in about 1448, the famous humanist and Renaissance scholar, Poggio Bracciolini, had written in a letter to Henry the Navigator, extolling the king's

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work, translated into German, experienced a tremendous popularity.

260 R. H. Major, ed., *India in the Fifteenth Century, Being a Collection of Narratives of Voyages to India in the Century preceding the Portuguese Discovery of the Cape of Good Hope, from Latin, Persian, Russian, and Italian Sources*, rpt. (New York: Burt Franklin, n.d.), 1, vol. 3; *Medieval Russia's Epics, Chronicles, and Tales*, trans. and ed. Serge A. Zenkovsky (New York: E. P. Dutton, 1974). See also http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Afanasy_Nikitin (last accessed on March 20, 2013).

261 Leitch, *Mapping Ethnography in Early Modern Germany* (see note 238), 101.

262 Leitch, *Mapping Ethnography in Early Modern Germany* (see note 238), 174.

263 For the intriguing, much earlier example of John Mandeville's *Travels* where we come across a curiously detached, certainly not critical observer, see the contributions to this volume by Albrecht Classen and Jean E. Jost. Of course, the more the various cultures and peoples got to know each other, the lower the barriers between both sides, even if this general rule does not imply a reduction in military aggression.

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enormous accomplishment of the first major navigational adventure down the west coast of Africa:

> When I asked my many Portuguese friends about your deeds, I was told that, moved by a certain greatness of soul and invited by virtue's goad, you sailed with several triremes along the most distant shores of the Ocean Sea and went where none of the ancients, neither emperor nor king, ever went, as far as we have heard or read. For they say that you went to the south ends of Africa and even reached Ethiopia: a thing not only to be wondered at because of the great assaults of the Ocean and the foaming waves of storm, but a thing also to be celebrated by the praise of all men because of the novelty of those things which are related about these places.[264]

Of course, this excerpt does not shed true light on intercultural experiences in the narrow sense of the word, but it certainly confirms how much already fifteenth-century writers, of whom we have met a good handful already above, were most anxious to explore foreign lands, to meet new people, and to learn more about the wide world. In the fourth book of his extensive treatise *De varietate fortunae* (ca. 1448; On the Vicissitudes of Fortune) he also presented a far-sweeping report about the knowledge available to him about Central Asians, Indians, and Ethiopians. This section was based on Nicolò de' Conti's account about his enormous travels to the East, related to Poggio orally in ca. 1444, though the first printed version, of this book in particular under the title of *India Recognita*, did not appear until 1492 in the original Latin by Cristoforo da Bollate and dedicated to Pietro Cara, who was going on a journey to India.[265] Although Poggio was, as usual, very much concerned with presenting a serious scholarly work, he also did not hesitate to include exotica, fantasy accounts, and erotica.

Nevertheless, the account he provides offered by Nicolò de' Conti signals that a most remarkable rapprochement between people from East and West was certainly possible, especially when their commercial and personal interests converged. Nicolò told him, for instance,

> Subsequently, he and his Persian and Moorish merchant friends got a ship, first taking a solemn oath to be faithful and loyal companions one to another.
>
> They sailed together for a month and reached the noble city of Cambay, situated in the second gulf beyond the mouth of the Indus. (8–9)

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264 *Travelers in Disguise: Narratives of Eastern Travel* by Poggio Bracciolini and Ludovico de Varthema. English trans. by John Winter Jones, rev., with an Intro., by Lincoln Davis Hammond (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1963), vii. See now also Leitch, *Mapping Ethnography* (see note 238), 101–45.

265 http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Niccol%C3%B2_de%27_Conti (last accessed on Oct. 31, 2012); for an edition, see *Le voyage aux Indes: de Nicolo De Conti (1414–1439)*, préf. de Geneviève Bouchon; trad. de l'italien par Diane Ménard; présentation Anne-Laure Amilhat-Szary (Paris: Chandeigne, 2004).

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Referring to Sri Lanka (Ceylon), he gives great praise to the inhabitants: "The islands are governed by men who are of the race of the Brahmans. Brahmans are philosophers and they study astrology all their lives: they lead exemplary, honest lives" (11). But then he also identifies the inhabitants of another island as cannibals (11), without having any evidence but hearsay. At other times he provided a ridiculous sounding account of how men have their penis cruelly treated to make it elongated and swollen in order to increase women's sexual pleasure during intercourse (14). Later, he also related of cruel and barbaric people (18–19), offering both entertainment and information, somewhat similar to the accounts offered by John Mandeville in his *Travels* (late fourteenth century). The foreign world obviously deeply attracted both Nicolò and Poggio, but subsequently countless readers as well, while religious differences mattered only in degrees, wherever they would increase the exotic nature of the travelogue.

However, to return to the question of Oriental perceptions of the Occident, we would probably have to admit that the medieval Muslim empire—or the various parts of it in the course of time—was much more oriented toward its interior or toward further east, such as toward modern-day Iran and Pakistan for its own cultural and administrative development, while in the West there might have been more of an interest to acculturate styles, concepts, and structures from the Arabic for their own purposes.[266] Of course, history is not stagnant, and things changed profoundly in the West as well, especially in terms of technology, the arts, philosophy, architecture, and so on. We would have to write a whole book all by itself on the cultural exchanges between East and West since the 1600s, on the countless travelers, the meetings, the commercial trade, and the diplomatic interaction, although it will continue to be a curious phenomenon that many more Europeans seem to have visited the East than Arabs and other Orientals having visited the West, at least during the high and late Middle Ages. In this regard it

[266] Martina Müller-Wiener, "Die Entstehung der islamischen Kunst im östlichen Mittelmeerraum," *Al-Andalus und Europa* (see note 10), 15–19.

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would be entirely misleading to talk about an "'iron curtain' of Islam,"[267] although Muslims were generally forbidden from residing in Christian Europe.

Occasionally representatives of other cultures and races came to Europe, but then mostly by force, such as the North African trader and diplomat from Fez, as-Hasan al-Wazzan, later known as 'Iean Leon, African' (French, 1556), 'Ioannes Leo Africanus' (Latin, 1556), 'Iohn Leo, a More' (English, 1600), or 'Johann Leo der Africaner' (German, 1805). Pirates brought him as a slave to Rome where the pope was thinking about a new crusade against the Ottoman Turks. He stayed in Italy for nine years during which he published a book entitled by his Italian editor *La Descrittione dell'Africa* (1554).[268]

He might have been born in Granada, Spain somewhere between 1486 and 1488, while he later, just in time before the fall of the last Muslim fortress to the Castilian crown in 1492, moved to Fez. Later in his life, on his way back from a pilgrimage to Mecca, he was captured by Spanish corsairs and taken to Rome. Because of his great value for the Western powers as a translator, traveler, diplomat, and informant, he was released and baptized in 1520. Subsequently he left Rome, traveled throughout Italy for several years, composed an Arabic-Hebrew-Latin medical vocabulary, of which only the Arabic part has survived, and a grammar of Arabic of which only an eight page fragment has survived. In 1526 he returned to Rome, where he composed his most important and popular study of Africa, mentioned above, which was reprinted many times, and also translated into

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267 See, for instance, I. *The Diary of Master Thomas Dallam, 1599-1600*. II. *Extracts from the Diaries of Dr. John Covel, 1670-1679. With some Accounts of the Levant Company of Turkey Merchants*, ed., with an Intro. and Notes, by J. Theodore Bent. Early Voyages and Travels in the Levant. Works Issued by the Hakluyt Society, First Series, 87 (1893; New York: Burt Franklin, 1964). As to the formulation of "iron curtain," see John Winter Jones, "Introduction" to *Travelers in Disguise* (see note 264), xvi. Rubiés, "Late Medieval Ambassadors" (see note 20), concludes: "between 1250 and 1500, before Europe created a global maritime system of trade and colonization, there was already a great deal of communication within Eurasia, cultural, ethnic, and political. There was also a fundamental shift in the center of gravity of world civilization, from the unquestionable superiority of an Islamicate central ecumene . . . to the increase in the levels of political strength, economic prosperity, technical expertise and scientific learning in the extremes of China and Western Europe—'Cathay' and 'the Franks,' as Arab-Persian writers would define them." See also the contribution to this volume by Allison P. Coudert. Scott L. Taylor, in his contribution to this volume, also agrees with this critical perspective, approaching the topic from the point of view of late-medieval travelogues.

268 *Primo volume, & seconda editione delle nauigationi et viaggi in molti luoghi corretta, et ampliata, nella quale si contengono la Descrittione dell'Africa, & del paese del Prete Ianni . . . . Aggiuntoui di nuouo la Relatione dell'isola Giapan. . . . Tre tauole di geographia in disegno*, ed. Giovanni Battista Ramusio (Venice: nella stamperia de Giunti, 1554). For a German translation of those sections dealing with northern Africa, see Dietrich Rauchenberger, *Johannes Leo der Afrikaner: seine Beschreibung des Raumes zwischen Nil und Niger nach dem Urtext*. Orientalia biblica et christiana, 13 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1999). See now Natalie Zemon Davis, *Trickster Travels: A Sixteenth-Century Muslim Between Worlds* (New York: Hill and Wang, 2006).

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numerous European languages, such as into English as *A Geographical Historie of Africa* (1600).[269] It was one of the first treatises to describe in great scientific detail the kingdoms of Marrakesh, Fez, Tlemcen and Tunis, and the regions of Numidia, the sub-Saharan regions, and Egypt.[270] Here we come across another border crosser, a cultural diplomat, a scholar and traveler, that is, a unique and most important spokesperson for the ever ongoing communication and exchanges between East and West, problematic, difficult, but certainly intriguing for many people throughout the ages.

Considering the great appeal of this geographical treatise throughout Europe, interspersed with historical accounts and autobiographical references, we recognize here, once more, the enormous appeal of all texts or works of art that have reflected the crossing of borders and cultures throughout time. As Natalie Zemon Davis comments, "The *Cosmography and Geography of Africa* is a book of description and commentary, in which its author consciously moves back and forth between Europe and Africa, between the different cultures and politics of Africa, and between Islam and Christianity."[271] The documents by future travelers throughout the early modern age and until today, venturing to the East and to the West, always crossing boundaries, language borders, and cultural and religious domains, constituted critical mass, since the 'foreign' or the 'cultural other' has always, if it did not exert fear, been of greatest interest for the self.[272]

27. Anton von Pforr's German Adaptation of Indian Literature: Cross-Cultural Experiences in the Late Middle Ages

Perhaps the most fascinating example of how the relationships between East and West really worked within the context of literary reception, even if only underneath the common radar screen, might be Anton von Pforr's German translation of the *Buch der Beispiele der alten Weisen* (The Book With Examples from the Ancient Wise Men; *Kalīla wa-Dimna*) composed sometime between 1473 and 1485.[273] It has survived in nine manuscripts (three in Heidelberg, one in Chantilly,

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269 Crofton Black, "Leo Africanus's 'Descrittione dell'Africa' and Its Sixteenth-Century Translations," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 65 (2002): 262–72.

270 See the useful summary of his life and works online in the *Wikipedia* article: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Leo_Africanus (last accessed on Sept. 13, 2012).

271 Zemon Davis, *Trickster Travels* (see note 268), 108.

272 See now the excellent and highly detailed survey article by Charles W. Connell, "Foreigners and Fear in the Middle Ages" (see note 35).

273 Anton von Pforr, *Das Buch der Beispiele der alten Weisen, kritisch hg. nach der Straßburger Handschrift, mit den Lesarten aller bekannten Handschriften und Drucke des 15. und 16. Jahrhunderts*. Deutsche Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin, Institut für Orientforschung. Veröffentlichung, 61 (Berlin:

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one in St. Gallen, two in Straßburg, and one in private possession), and in seventeen incunabula and early modern prints until the end of the sixteenth century. Despite its great popularity, it represents one of those truly magisterial pieces of world literature which still awaits its wider acknowledgment and critical study.[274]

As far as we can tell, it originated in early medieval India (third or fourth century C.E.; also known as *Pañacantra*), maybe composed by a man called Bidpai (alternatively Burzōe, Berosias, Pilpay, etc.) and was then handed on to Persia, from where it made its way into the Arabic world, followed by Hebrew, Latin, and from then into many vernacular translations, such as the one by Anton von Pforr. The German version was then also printed, and this at least seven times between 1480 and 1485, and many times thereafter (see above).[275]

Anton von Pforr relied on the Latin version by John of Capua, the *Directorium vitae humanae alias parabolae antiquorum sapientium* (ca. 1263–1278), who had translated it from Rabbi Joel's Hebrew version of *Kalilah wa-Dimnah*,[276] but neither one was unique in their literary effort, since this *Buch der Beispiele*, or *Directorium*, obviously appealed to readers all over medieval Europe and the Near and Middle East, if not also in China and South-East Asia—we know of about sixty translations into various languages and of ca. two hundred text versions altogether.[277]

While John's version has only survived in some early fifteenth-century manuscripts and late fifteenth-century incunabula, the overall reception and dissemination of this work almost knew no bounds.[278] Its complex and truly

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Akademie Verlag, 1964). The first edition by Wilhelm Ludwig Holland. Bibliothek des Litterarischen Vereins in Stuttgart, LVI (1860; Amsterdam: Editions Rodopi, 1969), which is based on the three manuscripts housed in the Universitätsbibliothek Heidelberg, is online at http://books.google.com/books?id=Nq4LAAAAIAAJ&pg=PP11#v=onepage&q&f=false(last accessed on Oct. 20, 2012).

274 For a list of the manuscripts, see http://www.handschriftencensus.de/werke/611 (last accessed on Oct. 20, 2012).

275 http://www.fabelnundanderes.at/bidpai.htm (last accessed on Oct. 20, 2012). For a critical study of the illustration program, see Iris Carolin Höger, "Text und Bild im ersten Ulmer Druck des Buchs der Beispiele der alten Weisen Antons von Pforr," Ph.D. diss. Hamburg 2010; see http://ediss.sub.uni-hamburg.de/volltexte/2010/4638/pdf/Band_1_Textband.pdf (last accessed on Oct. 20, 2012).

276 For an online version of the 1894 edition, in turn based on the 1483 publication, see http://www.hs-augsburg.de/~Harsch/Chronologia/Lspost13/IohannesCapua/cap_di00.html (last accessed on Oct. 21, 2012).

277 Bodo Gotzkowsky, *"Volksbücher": Prosaromane, Renaissancenovellen, Versdichtungen und Schwankbücher. Bibliographie der deutschen Drucke*. Part I: *Drucke des 15. und 16. Jahrhunderts*. Bibliotheca Biblioghraphica Aureliana, CXXV (Baden-Baden: Verlag Valentin Kroerner, 1991), 251–63; see also Friedmar Geißler, "Handschriften und Drucke des 'Directorium vitae humanae' und des 'Buches der Beispiele der alten Weisen'," *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Orientforschung* 9 (1963): 433–61.

278 Aubrey Jerome Ford, "The Art of Translation: A Comparison of John of Capua's *Directorium vitae*

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sophisticated narrative structure, both intra-, meta-, and extradiegetically, has already attracted considerable attention.[279] For our purposes we only need to emphasize how much the author, in our case Anton von Pforr, openly signaled to his readers that the true wisdom in his book actually derived from the Orient, which thus receives the highest level of recognition for inspiring the Occidental readers with deep insights into the fundamental nature of mankind and into the way how to reach a higher level in intellectual, ethical, and moral life:

> Es ist von den alten wysen der geschlächt der welt dis bůch des ersten jn yndischer sprauch gedicht vnd darnach in die bůchstaben der Persen verwandelt: dauon hond es die Arabischen in jr sprauch bracht, fürer ist es zů hebreischer zungen gemacht, zůletzt zů Latin gesatzt vnd yetzt in tütsch zungen geschriben. Vnd dis bůch jst lieblicher wort vnd kostlicher red, dadurch die alten jr wyßeit hond wöllen ußgiessen, damit sy ir wyßheit durch die wort der vernunft erzöugent (1).[280]
>
> [This book was first created by the ancient wise people in the Indian language, and then it was translated into Persian. The Arabs took it then and rendered it into their language. Thereafter it was translated into Hebrew; at last into Latin, and now into the German language. This book contains delightful words and precious expressions through which the ancient wise people had wanted to manifest their wisdom in order to create that wisdom by way of the words of reason.]

Neither Anton von Pforr nor John of Capua enters into any intercultural discussion, but the text is clearly marked as a philosophical bridge between the Orient and the Occident. The countless examples provided, often in the form of fable narratives, but often also in explicitly didactic manner (direct teaching) illustrate how much the individual can and must learn to improve his/her lot in this life. Literature can provide the platform for this learning process, and the European readers are strongly encouraged to pay great respect and attention to the messages contained in these profound accounts provided by their Indian predecessors.

The narratives themselves do not reveal any specific sensitivity toward the cultural difference, if there are any in terms of human life and the need to pursue wisdom under any circumstance. But the framework and the specific source references indicate how much we are facing here a remarkable literary document that leaves all cultural idiosyncracy and differences behind and propounds a universal, human approach to the best possible form of existence, determined by

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humanae and Anton von Pforr's *Das Buch der Beispiele der alten Weisen*," Ph.D. diss. Tulane University, 1977.

279 Sabine Obermaier, *Das Fabelbuch als Rahmenerzahlung: Intertextualitat und Intratextualitat als Wege der Interpretation des Buchs der Beispiele der alten Weisen Antons von Pforr*. Beihefte zum Euphorion, 48 (Heidelberg: Universitätsverlag Winter, 2004).

280 Here I quote from Holland's edition for pragmatic reasons.

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humility, modesty, wisdom, and intelligence. Neither John nor Anton considered possible conflicts among religions, languages, peoples, and the like, potentially blocking the text's reception in late-medieval Christian Europe. What mattered for both, and the countless number of other translators, was the timeless value of the lessons provided by the original author from India.

Cultural or religious differences here disappear completely because the entire focus rests on how to improve human life by means of granting wisdom and intellect supreme dominance. As we learn, for instance, it is better to accept the bitterness of the ordinary life with all its pains, conflicts, suffering, and disappointments, behind which, however, happiness and spiritual fulfillment await us ("gesunde süssigkeit," 17; healthy sweetness), than to aim for the superficial, material, and short-lived sweetness of this life behind which undoubtedly rests the eternal bitterness ("langverende bitterkeit," 17). Of course, the author formulates generalities that were already formulated by ancient and early medieval philosophers, such as Boethius (*De consolatione philosophiae*, ca. 525 C.E.), and he thus escapes the danger of getting bogged down by specifics and conflictual conditions in political and religious terms. But as a didactic author, having learned from ancient wisdom literature, he reached out to all readers and established a platform where every human being could learn fundamental lessons of universal values, irrespective of religious, linguistic, social, or generational differences. We face, in other words, an extraordinarily impressive example of a literary and cultural bridge connecting East and West, bringing both sides together as part of the same universal human family. Irrespective of the cultural context, human life demands very similar conditions in order to fulfill fundamental needs and wishes. Behind all the military, aggressive facade both in past and present, in the meeting of East and West throughout time we realize how much the differences are only on the surface, while the core of human existence proves to be the same.

In a way, in the case of this text we observe, at a very ominous time in the late Middle Ages when the Ottomans were directly confronting the European world on the Southeastern front (Balkan), the curious and fascinating merging of Eastern and Western wisdom literature and philosophy. Of course, these narrative reflections were far removed from the concrete military, political, and religious conflicts on the ground at the contact zones, such as in Hungary, Slovenia, Serbia, or Croatia. But this *Buch der Beispiele der alten Weisen* demonstrates in an almost stunning way how much there were intriguing cultural connections between East and West after all, and that Edward Said's theoretical model of "Orientalism" might not simply be transferrable to the Middle Ages and the early modern age, especially because of its one-way perspective from West to East.

We can certainly agree with Sabine Obermeier and others that the original Indian elements, including names and specific animals, have almost systematically

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been replaced with familiar ones, indicating that the European audience was no longer truly challenged with the exotic nature of the *Pañacatranta*, or the *Kalila and Dinna* and did not have to acknowledge publicly how much they were deeply intrigued by ancient Eastern wisdom. But it would also go much too far simply to assume that hence here we face subsequently a case of complete 'de-Orientalization,' or cultural appropriation, since the authors still explicitly alert their readers/listeners to the fact that they borrowed their literary material from Oriental sources and that their moral, ethical, and philosophical messages continue to carry great relevance, and this also for late-medieval Europeans.[281]

Relying on the fable tradition, the various sections of this *Buch* address such fundamental issues as human virtues and vices, weaknesses and strengths, such as: chapter 1—fear and justice; chapter 2—deception and trickery; chapter 3—envy and *Schadenfreude*; chapter 4—ignorance and loyalty; chapter 5—foolishly trusting enemies who pretend to be good friends; chapter 6—true friendship and the failure to maintain it; etc.

We are, after all, dealing with an enormously complex case of wisdom literature that has appealed to people throughout time in all cultures. As we learn in the introduction, "Dann es sprechen die wysen, das die wyßhait nicht dann durch die werck der wyßhait fruchtbar werd. Dann die wyßhait ist glich ainem boum, des frucht übung der werck haissen; dann welicher einen bösen weg waist vnd den gat vnd verlat den gůten weg, den er vor gelernt hat, den mag man ain toren schätzen" (3; The wise say that wisdom can bear fruit only through the works of wisdom. He who knows an evil path and takes it, leaving the good path which he had learned about before, can be called a fool).

It should have become very clear by now how much the questions all by themselves prove to be critically important in what way, for instance, individuals both in East and West perceived each other, if they recognized and acknowledged the foreign in the first place, what lenses they used, how they responded to each other when they came into contact, and how much they might have been willing to overcome the strict paradigm limits imposed on them by their own faith and ideologies. Exceptions confirm the rule, but they could also open our eyes to much

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[281] Obermaier, *Das Fabelbuch* (see note 279), 90–99. For an interesting parallel case from the seventeenth century and beyond, see the contribution to this volume by Thomas Willard. The European fascination with India especially in the twentieth century (Hermann Hesse), might well be a continuation of this late-medieval tradition. For another most intriguing example of literary, cultural, and philosophical exchanges between East and West, see the case of the *Barlaam and Josaphat* narrative spread all over medieval and early modern Europe after it had reached that continent after hundreds of years of dissemination from India to the West. See Albrecht Classen, "Kulturelle und religiöse Kontakte zwischen dem christlichen Europa und dem buddhistischen Indien während des Mittelalters: Rudolfs von Ems *Barlaam und Josaphat* im europäischen Kontext," *Fabula* 41.3/4 (2000): 203–28.

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different cultural conditions than traditionally assumed. For instance, as Ramón E. Duarte informs us in his contribution to this volume, it was possible for some inhabitants of Baghdad in the seventeenth century to travel not only to Western Europe, but also to receive the permission to go much further west, to the New World. In 1668, the priest of the Chaldean Catholic Church, Ilyas bin Hanna al-Mawsuli, first embarked on a trip to Venice, Rome, Spain, and Italy, and then in 1675 he continued with a journey to the West Indies, Peru, and New Spain in the New World. I will return to this figure and to Duarte's contribution below, but we can be certain that he was by far not the only one, especially if we think of diplomats, traders, merchants, sailors, scientists, or simply curious travelers who wanted to explore the West.[282]

To be sure, all monotheistic cultures suffer from a profound myopia, and all writers whom I have studied here reflect that sort of religious narrowness in their perception of foreign cultures and peoples. Nevertheless, as we could observe, the number of travelers traversing the world from West to East, from South to North, and from East to West from the early Middle Ages to the early modern age—our deliberate time limitation for the present study—was astonishingly large, and many of them, even as strongly religious people, still demonstrated a remarkable willingness and ability to perceive and appreciate the other world with its different people, cultures, and structures, at least in individual cases. The intercultural discourse was rather astonishing, despite all arguments by some recent scholars who tend to project more hostility into past conditions than the historical documents actually warrant.[283] Could it be that the medieval Crusader mentality has continued to shape modern perceptions of the relationships between Muslims and Christians in the pre-modern world? Modern political parlance has at times tended to resort to the term "Crusade" or "Jihad," depending on the side of the public discourse in order to justify either massive military operations in Iraq

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282 *In the Lands of the Christians: Arabic Travel Writing in the Seventeenth Century*, ed. and trans. Nabil Matar (New York and London: Routledge, 2003); although somewhat marginal and not quite germane to our topic, see also Kamran Rastegar, *Literary Modernity Between the Middle East and Europe: Textual Transactions in 19th Century Arabic, English and Persian Literatures*. Routledge Studies in Middle Eastern Literatures (Hoboken: Taylor & Francis, 2007). I did not have an opportunity to consult the forthcoming book by Ahmed Idrissi Alami, *Mutual Othering: Islam, Modernity, and the Politics of Cross-Cultural Encounters in Pre-Colonial Moroccan and European Travel Writing* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2013).

283 Frakes, *Vernacular and Latin Literary Discourses* (see note 41); id., ed., *Contextualizing the Muslim Other* (see note 27); Geraldine Heng, "The Invention of Race in the European Middle Ages," *Literature compass* 8 (2011): 258–93; for a contrastive view, see Suzanne Conklin Akbari, *Idols in the East: European Representations of Islam and the Orient, 1100–1450* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2009); see also Tolan's highly sensitive remark in his "Afterword" to *Contextualizing the Muslim Other* (see note 27), "Said's Orientalist model cannot be transferred unreflexively to explain discourse coming from very different social realities" (171).

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and Afghanistan since 2003, or terrorist attacks against the West (9-11-2001 etc.).

Cross-cultural and hybrid communication was in place already in the Middle Ages and in many areas and periods. Despite arguments to the contrary by a variety of scholars with a certain ideological bent who just cannot, or do not want to, recognize that in the premodern world the religious and linguistic differences were not insurmountable and absolute barriers between both worlds, East and West, the Mediterranean proved to be an enormously fascinating area of cross-fertilizations, communications across cultures and languages, whether we think of the Genoans and the Tunisians, Alexandrians and the people of Constantinople, and Catalans and Maghrebis, not to mention the Venetians and the entire Eastern Mediterranean and far beyond.[284]

Of course, this is not to idealize the premodern European world in terms of its ability and willingness to engage with foreigners, so-called infidels, and enemies of the Christian faith. The number of those who were explicitly opposed to the Turks and Arabs and who expressed highly hostile opinions was large, and perhaps the vast majority in the premodern West. But in order to do justice to the entire phenomenon, we have to make great efforts to listen to individual voices, to read between the lines, and to learn to differentiate between official and private statements.[285]

We are, of course, not embarking on a completely new enterprise here, as the rich body of scholarly literature that I have engaged with here indicates.[286] For me as well, this book is a continuation of previous efforts to come to terms with xenology and teratology in the Middle Ages and the early modern age, deeply determined by the confrontation of cultures, religions, languages, and political

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284 See John Tolan, Henry Laurens, and Gilles Veinstein, with a foreword by John L. Esposito, *Europe and the Islamic World* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2012), 4. They offer an in-depth and transhistorical perspective on the intense relationships between Westerners and Easterners, with Tolan focusing on the Middle Ages, Gilles Veinstein on the time of the Ottoman Empire, and Henry Laurens dealing with the modern era.

285 See the contributions to *Hybride Kulturen* (see note 120); cf. also Michael Waltenberger, "Diversität und Konversion: Kulturkonstruktionen im französischen und im deutschen Florisroman," *Unordnung und Ordnung in der Literatur des Mittelalters*, ed. Wolfgang Harms (Stuttgart: Hirzel, 2003), 25–43. See also the contributions to *Vermitteln – Übersetzen – Begegnen: Transferphänomene im europäischen Mittelalter und in der Frühen Neuzeit: Interdisziplinäre Annäherungen*, ed. Balázs J. Nemes and Achim Rabus. Nova Mediaevalia, 8 (Göttingen: V&R unipress, 2011), However, as Andrew Holt argues in his contribution to this volume, the term 'barbarian' proved to be highly effective in projecting the religious 'Other' as an abject outsider and infidel. Ideological slogans continue to have deeply damaging effect over the centuries until today.

286 See now also the comprehensive reference work, *Bibliographical History of Christian-Muslim Relations*, ed. David Thomas and Barbara Roggema, with Juan Pedro Monferrer Sala. History of Christian-Muslim Relations, 11, 14–15, 17 (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2009–).

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systems.[287] But that is one of the crucial concerns in the Humanities at large, for the self trying to find a place in this world, to determine one's identity within the large context of many different cultures and religions, and to explore how our predecessors dealt with those issues so that we can blaze the path toward our future. To come to terms with all those issues represents an ongoing and highly meaningful process both intellectually and personally. We live, after all, in a very colorful, mixed world, and the countless struggles in the premodern world certainly shed most important light on the issues that we have to cope with today.

In other words, the large chorus of different voices in the premodern world presents us with most exciting insights into previous attempts to encounter the other, to analyze the own self in comparison and confrontation with the other, and to recognize where we stand today in relationship to the wider human community both in East and West, in South and North. This book is driven by the firm belief in the timeless value of past cultures, literatures, and the arts for an understanding of the present and the future. There is no doubt, of course, that modern issues require modern responses, but most problems today are somehow grounded in the past and require an extensive sensibility toward their organic or disruptive development from then until today.[288]

We can certainly discover numerous manifestations of Orientalism and Occidentalism in the premodern world, but this does not mean, as Edward Said had believed, that hence individual representatives of Eastern and Western cultures were not able to recognize each other, to establish communicative links, and perhaps also to appreciate the otherness as a valuable enrichment of their own lives. Of course, all travelers and travel writers come with preconceived notions and operate, nilly-willy, with specific cultural lenses shaping their vision of 'the Other.'[289]

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287 Albrecht Classen, "The Self, the Other, and Everything in Between: Xenological Phenomenology of the Middle Ages," *Meeting the Foreign in the Middle Ages*, ed. id. (see note 15), xi–lxxiii.

288 Many of these issues have recently been addressed by Jacob Lassner, *Jews, Christians, and the Abode of Islam: Modern Scholarship, Medieval Realities* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2012), but his approach proves to be rather too universal, covering the entire history of the relationships among the representatives of the three Abrahamic faiths until today, even though he still provides some interesting insights into the medieval exchanges among those three religions (see esp. his chapter 10). But Lassner basically addresses a lay audience, does not engage critically with the relevant scholarship, and tends to ignore the great need to integrate primary sources. There are no references, for instance, to such major figures as Abelard, Llull, or Nicholas of Cusa. Instead, Lassner limits his ruminations to translators as mediators between cultures and languages. Unfortunately, then, this book comes ca. fifty years too late. See now Ulli Roth and Reinhold F. Glei, "Die Spuren der lateinischen Koranübersetzung des Juan de Segovia – alte Probleme und ein neuer Fund," *Journal of Neo-Latin Language and Literature* 11 (2009): 109–54; id., "Eine weitere Spur der lateinischen Koranübersetzung des Juan de Segovia," *Journal of Neo-Latin Language and Literature* 13 (2011): 221–28.

289 See Timothy Severin, *The Oriental Adventure: Explorers of the East* (Boston and Toronto: Little,

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Nevertheless, travelogues still demonstrate that certain types of bridges existed, that there were communicative links, and that people from different cultures, religions, and languages actually met, sometimes in a hostile context, often in a surprisingly constructive, harmonious setting. As I have argued above already, it seems a deeply flawed notion, at least in light of the wealth of new data that have been compiled for several decades by now, if not more, to talk about the Islamic world as an 'iron curtain.' Of course, the differences between the Christian West and the Islamic East were and continue to be of profound significance, but this does not mean that there were not countless human contacts throughout time.

We also would have to consider the huge topic of migration which did not only begin in the seventeenth century, as recent scholars have argued in a somewhat flippant manner.[290] After all, migration has constituted a basic element in human life from the earliest time, otherwise the human race would not have spread all over the globe. The same applies to the entire period of the Middle Ages and the subsequent centuries, which regularly implied the encounter, if not confrontation, with foreign peoples, cultures, languages, and religions.

Both the early Middle Ages—see the process of ethnogenesis involved in the age of migration[291]—and the late Middle Ages—see the global expulsion of the Jewish population from many European countries[292]—not to mention the massive movements of peoples in the wake of the Ottoman conquests from the sixteenth through the eighteenth centuries, have witnessed wide-spread movements of individuals and peoples. Large-scale migrations can also be observed in other parts of the world in premodern times, and we can be certain that all those automatically led to some kinds of cultural exchanges, conflicts, tensions, and growth of all sorts.

Migration requires, at least in many different ways and strategies, the ability to cope with foreigners, enemies, and strange, unfamiliar territories and cultures. But it has happened throughout time, and it can certainly be identified as the broad undercurrent of the overarching goal which this volume wants to achieve with the

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Brown and Company, 1976). See now the contributions to *Travel Writing and Empire: Postcolonial Theory in Transit*, ed. Steve Clark (London and New York: Zed Books, distributed by St. Martin's Press, 1999).

290 Klaus J. Bade, "Historische Migrationsforschung," id., *Sozialhistorische Migrationsforschung*, ed. Michael Bommes and Jochen Oltmer. Studien zur Historischen Migrationsforschung, 13 (Göttingen: V + R Unipress, 2004), 27–48; here 27.

291 Patrick J. Geary, *The Myth of Nations: The Medieval Origins of Europe* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2002); Walter Goffart, *Barbarian Tides: The Migration Age and the Later Roman Empire*. The Middle Ages Series (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2006).

292 The literature on this topic is vast; see, for instance, Robert Chazan, *The Jews of Medieval Western Christendom, 1000–1500*. Cambridge Medieval Textbooks (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006).

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study of specific aspects characterizing the peaks in historical development.[293] Potential areas of further research promise to be the Vikings, the Magyars, the Mongols, the Normans, but then also the Arabs who conquered all of northern Africa in the seventh century and huge parts of the Middle East as well. The same would then have to be considered for the Ottomans in the early modern period, and subsequently to the huge success of the Habsburg dynasty. To this we would have to add the mass migration of Europeans to the New World since 1492, which had a dramatic impact both on the indigenous population in the Americas (negative) and on Europe as well (both positive and negative).[294]

We can be certain already that the premodern world was not as static and frozen as is commonly assumed. On the contrary, as recent research has demonstrated, medieval and early modern society found itself really in a rather radical flux. In fact, it was a society—both East and West—in which considerable dynamics and movements of whole groups of people can be observed, meaning that contacts among the various cultures and languages, for instance, were quite common.

The physical and hence intellectual distance between Islam and Christianity was obviously not as big as we were wont to assume, at least as far as southern Spain and southern Italy, among other contact zones, were concerned.[295] The true extent of transculturality in the premodern world, however, still awaits our careful investigation, while at the moment we can only hope for new synergies to arise helping us to look beyond the traditional barriers in epistemological terms.[296]

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293 See now the contributions to *Transkulturelle Verflechtungen im mittelalterlichen Jahrtausend: Europa, Ostasien, Afrika*, ed. Michael Borgolte and Matthias M. Tischler (see note 250). Borgolte admits himself that there is still very little scholarly interest in this more global aspect in premodern history (9), and the authors in this volume either limit themselves to developing sweeping perspectives or fall back to rather specialized foci which do not help us much yet to comprehend the true effects of migration, or passage, as Borgolte and Tischler prefer to say, considering the most large-scale population moves concerned the elite, and not the masses.

294 For further insights and discussions, see the *The Encyclopedia of Global Human Migration*, ed. Immanuel Ness, Michael Borgolte, et al. 4 vols. (Hoboken, NJ: Wiley-Blackwell, 2013).

295 Hugh Kennedy, *The Great Arab Conquest: How the Spread of Islam Changed the World We Live In* (2007; Philadelphia: Da Capo Press, 2008); Francesco Gabrieli, "Gli Arabi in terraferma italiana," *Gli Arabi in Italia: Cultura, contatti e tradizioni*, ed. Francesco Gabrieli and Umberto Scerrato. Collana di studi sull'Italia antica (Milan: Scheiwiller, 1979), 109–48; see also Kordula Wolf, "Ǧihād und muslimische Migration auf dem süditalienischen Festland (9.–11. Jahrhundert)," *Transkulturelle Verflechtungen im mittelalterlichen Jahrtausend* (see note 250), 120–66.

296 See, for instance, Edith Feistner, "Vom Kampf gegen das 'Andere': Pruzzen, Litauer und Mongolen in lateinischen und deutschen Texten des Mittelalters," *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum und deutsche Literature* 132.3 (2003): 281–94. She sensitively observes: "Der Kampf gegen das 'Andere' ist ein Kampf um das 'Eigene'. Und je rigoroser der Kampf um das 'Eigene' geführt wird, desto rigoroser wird auch das 'Andere' bekämpft, so sehr, daß, wenn es denn irgend möglich erscheint, die Existenz des 'Anderen' überhaupt für nicht nichtig erklärt wird" (293; The fight against the 'Other' is a fight for the 'Self.' The more radically one fights for the 'Self,' the more radically the 'Other' will be battled, so much so that, if it seems possible at all, the existence of the

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Our findings promise to serve fundamental needs to understand, at least in some part of southern Europe, hence in all the contact zones between East and West, remarkable exchanges and meetings, hence a far-reaching, to some extent even mutual leaning-process. Returning to our very early reflections, we can conclude in anticipation of the subsequent contributions, that all cultures take shape in exchange with others, and that all individuals need to learn from others in order to grow into mature members of the larger cultural community.

Perhaps the best reflection of this constant struggle between 'Self' and 'Other,' whether in concrete physical terms (East versus West, North vs. South) or in spiritual, imaginary terms, can be found in the numerous manifestations of the myth of the ghost-like woman, Melusine, half human and half fairy, or half woman and half snake. Both French and German authors in the fifteenth century and beyond strongly embraced this narrative theme as a powerful metaphor of the ongoing negotiation between their own and the foreign culture, whether we think of Jean d'Arras, Couldrette, or Thüring von Ringoltingen.[297] As the central motif indicates, Raymond's irrepressible desire to gaze through a hole in the door to learn about his wife's secrets when she disappears every Saturday[298] powerfully illustrates what the foreign, the Eastern, the Oriental, or the Saracen Other seems to have meant for people in the premodern world, certainly a threat, but also a deeply fascinating alternative to their own culture. For that reason, the title of this book, "East Meets West," provides a significant springboard for fundamental epistemological investigations in cultural-historical terms.[299]

'Other' is declared null and void in the first place).

297 Albrecht Classen, *The German Volksbuch* (see note 160), 141–62; see also the contributions to *Eulenspiegel trifft Melusine: Der frühneuhochdeutsche Prosaroman im Licht neuer Forschungen und Methoden. Akten der Lausanner Tagung vom 2. bis 4. Oktober 2008*, ed. Catherine Drittenbass and André Schnyder, together with Alexander Scharz. Chloe, 42 (Amsterdam and New York: Editions Rodopi, 2010).

298 Albrecht Classen, "Love and Fear of the Foreign: Thüring von Ringoltingen's *Melusine* (1456). A Xenological Analysis," *Foreign Encounters: Case Studies in German Literature* , ed. Mara Wade and Glenn Ehrstine. *Daphnis* 33.1-2 (2004): 97-122.

299 Another aspect would be the concept of transfer, which has always deeply impacted all cultural developments, both within Europe and between Europe and the rest of the world, and vice versa. See now the contributions to *Vermitteln – Übersetzen – Begegnen: Transferphänomene im europäischen Mittelalter und in der Frühen Neuzeit*, ed. Balázs J. Nemes and Achim Rabus. Interdisziplinäre Annäherungen. Nova Mediaevalia, 8 (Göttingen: V&R unipress, 2011). Marion Sorg (137–66) takes into consideration the impact of economic and political conditions in Southeast Asia during the seventh century on the failing export of garnet to the West, which constitutes the only article dealing with issues of material transfer. Nevertheless, from a conceptual point of view, 'transfer,' as explored here, helps considerably in understanding cultural exchanges and communication.

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This book is conceived as a larger contribution to the current and on-going research on the contacts between both worlds during the Middle Ages and the early modern age. We could also, as indicated above, include here a whole chapter on the history of the Jesuits with their global outreach, extending both to the Americas and East Asia, especially China, Japan, and the Philippines. One astounding example would be the book *De Missione Legatorvm Iaponensium ad Romanum curiam*, edited and published by Alessandro Valignano, the Visitor to the Jesuit mission in the East Indies, in Macao in 1590, who had sent four Japanese boys to Europe in 1582 to tour the royal courts, the Holy See, and the courts of high-ranking bishops in order to foster future relationships between Japan and Europe and thus to improve the work of the Jesuit missionaries in Japan since 1549.

> The embassy was an integral part of Valignano's strategy for advancing the Jesuit mission in Japan. The boys chosen were intended to personify Jesuit success in Japan, to raise awareness of Japan in Europe amongst the clerical and secular elites, and to demonstrate conclusively that what the Jesuits had been writing about Japan since their arrival there in 1549 was not a fabrication. The embassy was further intended to impress upon the boys the glory, unity, stability and splendour of Christian Europe, so that they might report favourably about their experiences on their return, and counter what Valignano believed were the negative impressions of Europe left by Portuguese merchants and seamen in Japan.[300]

Valignano also made major efforts to improve the Japanese language skills of the Jesuit missionaries and seems to have had considerable success in that regard, as documented by the publication of a Japanese grammar and dictionary, apart from several religious books containing accounts of saints and martyrs, also completely in Japanese.[301]

In general, we would have to pursue the history of the Jesuit mission worldwide at much greater length and depth to comprehend how early modern Europe actively looked out to other continents and other peoples, certainly with clear religious, missionary purposes in mind.[302] These efforts were, unfortunately,

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300 Copied from the publisher's website, at http://www.ashgate.com/default.aspx?page=637&calcTitle=1&isbn=9781908145031&lang=cy-GB. *Japanese Travellers in Sixteenth-Century Europe: A Dialogue Concerning the Mission of the Japanese Ambassadors to the Roman Curia (1590)*, ed. Derek Massarella, trans. J[oseph]. F. Moran. Hakluyt Society, Third Series, 25 (Farnham, Surrey, and Burlington, VT: Asghage, 2012).

301 J[oseph] F. Moran, *The Japanese and the Jesuits: Alessandro Valignano in Sixteenth Century Japan* (London: Routledge, 1993); Henri Bernard-Maître, *Présences occidentales au Japon: du siècle chrétien à la réouverture du XIXe siècle*, éd. établie et présentée par Christophe Marquet. Histoire (Paris : Éd. du Cerf, 2011); see also http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Alessandro_Valignano (last accessed on Jan. 7, 2013).

302 See now Albrecht Classen, *Early History of the Southwest through the Eyes of German-Speaking Jesuit Missionaries: A Transcultural Experience in the Eighteenth Century* (Lanham, MD, Boulder, et al.:

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indirectly or even directly the spearhead of colonialism taking effect, but in our context we can concentrate on the fact by itself that through the Jesuits much new knowledge about the foreign world was disseminated back in Europe.

28. Origin and Framework of this Volume

The papers contained in this volume were first presented at the "10th International Symposium on Medieval and Early Modern Studies at the University of Arizona, Tucson, May 3–6, 2012," which I organized and chaired, dedicated to the same topic as the title of this book indicates.[303] It is getting harder and harder these days to find the necessary funds to organize such symposia, but I am delighted to acknowledge the financial support by the Consulate General of the Federal Republic of Germany, Los Angeles, the University of Arizona Bookstore, and the Departments of German Studies, French and Italian, Spanish and Portuguese, Russian and Slavic, Religion, Africana, Sociology, Anthropology, and Middle East Studies, and of the Dean of the Humanities, all at the University of Arizona.

All contributors secured their own funding, and so were, in their own way, major supporters, quite apart from their excellent papers. These were subsequently considerably expanded and revised extensively, subsequently read by a variety of the other authors, which created a brilliant peer-review process. I greatly appreciate all the contributors' patience especially with my editorial comments and requests. My dear colleague Marilyn L. Sandidge, Westfield State University, Westfield, MA, long-term collaborator and co-editor of our series "Fundamentals of Medieval and Early Modern Culture," was so kind to read this introduction and to provide me with valuable corrections and suggestions. I also received valuable feedback from some of the contributors to this volume, especially from Linda Darling. I am very thankful for the continued and highly appreciated support from the editorial staff at De Gruyter, especially Frau Susanne Mang (Tübingen, Germany, formerly with De Gruyter), Jacob Klingner (Berlin), and Kevin Göthling (Berlin).

Lexington Books, 2013).

303 For the program and the abstracts, see http://aclassen.faculty.arizona.edu/2012_symposium_east_meets_west_middle_ages_and_early_modern_time (last accessed on Oct. 15, 2012).

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29. Summaries of the Contributions and Critical Reflections

In order to provide the reader with a good sense of what the individual contributions are all about, I will subsequently provide critical summaries of each paper. I shared these summaries with the authors and could thus check thoroughly whether I had grasped the critical message contained in their works. The authors, in turn, were thus able to control whether they had formulated their arguments clearly enough for the larger audience of experts and the general reader. I can only express my appreciation for their feedback, their willingness to undergo the intense editing process, and to respond to all my queries.

The topic of East-West relationships in the premodern world should first be explored by way of comparative analysis of specific literary genres, such as *Mirrors for Princes*, that is, highly didactic treatises serving the general education of princes and as guidebooks for rulers. In other words, can we even imagine that common elements existed in the Eastern and the Western culture that made contacts, communication, or exchanges of all kinds possible in the first place? These *Mirrors*, for instance, were very popular both in East and West throughout the Middle Ages and the early modern age for obvious reasons. However, the intriguing question, which has never been fully addressed, is whether they influenced each other or whether they belonged to a similar circle of literary discourse, where mutual exchanges might have been possible. Linda T. Darling offers here a first attempt at coming to terms with these *Mirrors* as important ethical, moral, religious, and political documents produced both in Latin Europe and Islamic Middle East throughout times in large numbers from antiquity to the modern age, particularly as they were studied by scholars in both cultures.

Unfortunately, and this might be quite symptomatic, the critical study of *Mirrors for Princes* in East and West has taken very different directions. Scholars of the Western *Mirrors* ignore the Eastern documents and vice versa. Also, scholars of the Western *Mirrors* mostly focus on the thoughts in the *Mirrors* and pay little attention to the production of the *Mirrors* in their historical context, while scholars of the East mostly focus on the production of *Mirrors* in their historical context and pay relatively little attention to the thoughts in the *Mirrors*. Thus, bringing the two scholarly traditions together proves to be a difficult but significant task.

Both the Western and the Eastern *Mirrors* can obviously be traced back to Greek antiquity and before, that is, to the ancient Near East, since they are all grounded in the basic idea of teaching the prince some of the fundamental rules of a good leader. While Arabic *Mirrors for Princes* were often translations from Persian sources and pursued specifically political goals, in Europe the tradition referred to Latin antiquity and focused more on ethical and religious issues, regularly probing the relationship between Church and state. Some Byzantine *Mirrors*

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emphasized primarily the practical side of government, and in this regard leaned more toward the direction of the Arabic *Mirrors*. But there is as yet no evidence of these texts crossing the East-West divide; in any case, they reflect archetypal needs of all societies, to instruct the ruler/prince about the best practices of government.

Darling pinpoints specifically the *Secret of Secrets* as one of the few *Mirrors* that enjoyed parallel popularity both in the West and in the East, but scholars study only each society's respective translations. By the twelfth century the interest in this genre grew rather exponentially in Latin Europe and in the Arabic-speaking world as well, as documented by John of Salisbury's *Policraticus* and al-Turtushi of Tortosa's *Sirāj al-Mulūk* (The Flambeau of Kings), even though there is still no evidence of contact, and it would be highly speculative to claim that these writers influenced each other; nevertheless, the question should be raised so that we can begin to explore in greater detail and depth what, if any, cultural contacts existed between the Muslim and the Christian world in premodern times.

Considering the global development of the *Mirrors*, we might consider utilizing a concept developed by evolutionary biology to explain this phenomenon of universally admired and cherished *Mirror* literature emerging more or less at the same time, that is, the concept of 'convergent evolution.'[304] Political, economic, and even cultural developments in both worlds began to look rather similar, and hence the genre of *Mirrors* emerged at about the same time in East and West in direct response to the need of addressing the prince regarding fundamental ideals of government.[305]

Darling points out some possible contact areas and moments in time, but defers to future research with respect to the question of a potential exchange process, while we can refer to the concept of 'convergent evolution' of the various political systems both in East and West. However, Middle Eastern *Mirrors* seem to have exerted some noticeable influence on Indian (Persian and Telegu) and Far Eastern literature and culture, a process which was paralleled by a strong flow of Arabic sciences and literature to China.[306]

Most important, however, the parallels between Eastern and Western *Mirrors for Princes* allows for a good comparative study in the political, ethical, and moral

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304 George R. McGhee Jr., *Convergent Evolution: Limited Forms Most Beautiful*. Vienna Series in Theoretical Biology (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2011).

305 Syrinx von Hees, " The Guidance for Kingdoms: Ffunction of a 'Mirror for Princes' At Court and Its Representation of a Court," *Court Cultures in the Muslim World: Seventh to Nineteenth Centuries*, ed. Albrecht Fuess and Jan-Peter Hartung. SOAS Routledge Studies on the Middle East, 13 (London and New York: Routledge, 2011), 370–82.

306 This can be specifically confirmed with respect to medical information and practicing physicians who were attracted in fairly large numbers to the Chinese courts of the Yuan period; see Angela Schottenhammer, "'Westasiatisch-muslimische' (Huihui _ _) Medizin und Ärzte im yuanzeitlichen China (13.–14. Jahrhundert)," *Transkulturelle Verflechtungen* (see note 250), 34–53 (I could not replicate the Chinese characters for 'Huihui').

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discourse prevalent in Europe and in the Middle East more or less at the same time, which would illustrate parallel developments in the late Middle Ages and the early modern period in both cultural domains. The same issue pertains to the rise of courtly love poetry in Arabic and in the vernacular European languages, but the genre of *Mirrors* constitutes an excellent introductory subject topic.

As Darling subsequently notes, the fifteenth century represents a difficult period to categorize, as it falls between the interests of medievalists and early modernists. Nevertheless, it was then when the Ottoman exemplars began to appear, and Timurid and Indian *Mirrors* to flourish. Sixteenth-century authors, both in the Western (Macchiavelli) and in the Eastern context (Lütfi Pasha and Mustafa ʿÂlî), began to write more realistically and directly, and in both regions seventeenth-century authors addressed multiple holders of political power. Political thought and strategic advice became much more relevant in all *Mirror* literature since the sixteenth and especially seventeenth centuries than traditional ethical and religious advice for the prince as an individual during the Middle Ages. In this period, evidence of direct contact does appear, as Europeans begin collecting the works on Middle Eastern authors, although any influence they may have had on European thought has not yet been researched.

Even though Darling does not identify direct bridges between *Mirror* literature in the West and the East, she demonstrates forcefully that this type of didactic texts was extremely popular both in Europe and in the Middle East, and beyond. Strong parallels certainly exist, although we cannot yet confirm any cross-overs, cross-fertilizations, or mutual influence. Nevertheless, her investigation illustrates what we need to do in the future in order to comprehend both the similarities and dissimilarities between the worlds in East and West. Democracy was still far away, yet in both worlds the need for concrete advice at first just for the king, but soon also for the entire governmental organization, became most visible since the sixteenth century As Darling can bring to light, a 'global' analysis of a specific genre allows us, where possible, to identify fundamental and shared concerns of political, ethical, and moral matter as they gained in traction both in East and West in significant parallels, probably because on both sides of the cultural, linguistic, and religious divide major political structures emerged that were then characteristic of the early modern world. We might hence talk of a 'convergent political discourse' that developed in the course of time.

In their effort to orient themselves in the global context, people have always distinguished themselves from others, either to the West or the East, to the North or the South, and each time they have observed major differences and have used those to elevate themselves over the others or to determine their own selves. One of the most common iconic elements in that process, most cherished throughout the entire Middle Ages, though not without undergoing considerable adaptions

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and modifications, has always been, so it seems, the projection of monsters or wonders, such as in the Old English *Wonders of the East*, or *Marvels of the East* (ca. 1000), which has survived in two manuscripts.[307] It was translated from a Latin origin, *De rebus in oriente mirabilibus*, which in turn had been based on an original Greek text. Isidor of Seville had utilized the Latin version shortly before his death in 636 in his *Etymologiae*. In other words, here we encounter a highly popular text reflecting the extensive interest by scholars, readers, listeners, and artists throughout the ages from late antiquity to the early Middle Ages. Considering the specific topic of this narrative, little wonder that it is richly illuminated, at least more than all other texts in the *Beowulf* manuscript. After all, people's fantasies and their need for cultural differentiation have always gone hand in hand, meaning that hardly any other subject matter has ever attracted the readers/listeners more than the stories about the miraculous East, whatever that might have meant in the Middle Ages—perhaps already a strong expression of medieval Orientalism *avant la lettre*.

However, Courtney Barajas, in her contribution to this volume, revisits this thoroughly studied narrative as a literary piece all by itself, encouraging us to reconsider the presentation of monsters not from the perspective of the fearsome 'Other,' but as the eroticized allure of the East for readers/listeners in the West, even though still within the framework of Christianity in its ow expansive outreach and conquest of the rest of the world. As Barajas demonstrates, the attractiveness of the East can be traced throughout the centuries, as illustrated by a passage in Shakespeare's *Othello*, but the same applies to countless other literary and art-historical documents from the entire Middle Ages, whether we think of the anonymous German *Fortunatus* (1509) or the famous Grail romance, first composed by Chrétien de Troyes, *Perceval* (ca. 1180), later vastly expanded by Wolfram von Eschenbach in his *Parzival* (ca. 1205).

Barajas specifically focuses on the Anglo-Saxon *Wonders* which she tries to read from a non-essentialist perspective, that is, being located outside of the traditional paradigm of the positively charged West and the negatively charged East (or: Christianity vs. Islam; or: human beings versus monsters). After all, both the Celtic

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307 Daston and Park, *Wonders and the Order of Nature* (see note 25), 39–48. They argue that "[m]onstrous individuals, portents, and prodigies . . . were rarely read allegorically and were treated not as symbols but as signs. Temporary deviations from the natural order, they were deliberate messages, fashioned by God to communicate his pleasure or . . . . his displeasure with particular actions or situations" (52). Cf. Andy Orchard, *Pride and Prodigies: Studies in the Monsters of the Beowulf-Manuscript* (Cambridge and Rochester, NY: D. S. Brewer, 1995); for a good introduction with bibliography, see http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Wonders_of_the_East (last accessed on Nov. 6, 2012). See also John Block Friedman, *The Monstrous Races in Medieval Art and Thought* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2000); for the role of monsters in the modern era since the sixteenth century, see Wes Williams, *Monsters and Their Meanings in Early Modern Culture: Mighty Magic* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011).

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world of Ireland and the Anglo-Saxon world of Britain were deeply influenced by the desire to travel and to evangelize the rest of the world, if we think of the famous account of *St. Brendan* and of the most influential and successful eight-century St. Boniface, missionary to Germany and founder of numerous monasteries there.[308]

Both the scribes and the illuminators, not to forget the compilers of the two manuscripts containing *The Wonders*, demonstrated considerable interest in these mysterious monsters, but not, as Barajas perceives it, as historical facts, but as representations of ideas and concepts in their own and their audiences' minds. The geographic details are rather vague and probably only intended as markers for an imaginary map. That, in turn, is strongly supported by the rich illumination program, depicting, above all, monsters, such as the blemmyae. But these are not threatening creatures at all; instead they seem to gaze with curiosity upon the reader/viewer and try to establish a form of communication through which fascinating bridges between East and West could be established. Barajas notes, for instance, that these monsters do not observe the limitation imposed by the frame in which they are presented by the artist, since both their hands and feet reach beyond that frame, as if they are about to step forward and to enter the familiar space of the Western spectators. Again, however, even this transgressive element does not present itself as threatening, since there is no aggressive gaze or move—very differently, as a side note, to the appearance of Grendel and his mother in *Beowulf* or the dragon in the Middle High German epic poem *Nibelungenlied*. Readers interested in this fascinating position might want to pursue in greater detail how medieval *mappaemundi*, such as the *Ebstorf* example, engaged, or rather refrained from dealing, with the alleged threats resulting from the East.[309]

The blemmyae in the Tiberius manuscript is clearly identified as male, but the rough, if not blurry depiction of his penis really draws the view upward to the

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308 *The Voyages of Saint Brendan: Representative Versions of the Legend in English Translation with Indexes of Themes and Motifs from the Stories*, ed. W. R. J. Barron and Glyn S. Burgess (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 2002; paperback 2005). For St. Boniface, see, for instance, the contributions to *Bonifatius: vom angelsächsischen Missionar zum Apostel der Deutschen*, ed. Michael Imhof and Gregor K. Stasch (Petersberg: Imhof, 2004); Hubertus Lutterbach, *Bonifatius - mit Axt und Evangelium : eine Biographie in Briefen* (Freiburg i. Br.: Herder, 2004); Janneke Raaijmakers, *The Making of the Monastic Community of Fulda, c. 744–c.900*. Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and Thought, 4th ser., 83 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012).

309 See the discussion of the *Ebstorf mappamundi* by Tinsley, "Mapping the Muslims" (see note 29). The conclusion of the narrative on the map reveals intriguing parallels to the *Wonders of the East*, as Tinsley outlines: " Amid many allusions to salvation history is found another very subtle Islamic connection. The world itself is physically embraced by the body of Christ with Jerusalem as its/his heart . . . . This, combined with the portrait of the fortress in which Alexander imprisoned Gog and Magog . . . maintains the connection among the Creation, the Fall, God's ability to use virtuous pagans as part of his plan to bring about the end of evil empires, and the approaching Apocalypse" (74–75).

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chest, and the entire nude figure seems to exert more allure than threat, especially because of the eyes placed on the chest, gazing in a friendly manner at the viewer. The East, in other words, proves to be not simply the passive feminine, but the active masculine, and the open frame, through which the blemmyae could easily step, seems to be inviting enough for the viewer to accept the invitation, which could result in a sexual union. Barajas thus deftly undermines, in her own way, the theoretical concept of Said's Orientalism, and this already with regard to this significant eleventh-century narrative with its truly intriguing illustrations.

While many of the monsters depicted here and elsewhere in large numbers emerge as truly different, strange, outlandish, and hence monstrous, in the *Wonders*, but then also in the *Letter of Alexander the Great*, the East proves to be like a siren, attracting the Westener, almost calling him/her in. While in many literary texts from the high Middle Ages, mostly in the wake of or in coordination with the Crusades, the male protagonist wins his Eastern bride by convincing her to flee with him to Europe and there to convert to Christianity,[310] the creatures in *The Wonders* virtually ask the viewer to come to them and to join the monstrous races in harmonious, probably sexual union and hence to procreate, resulting in an amazing hybridity of two cultures, bringing together East and West in a highly unexpected manner, signaling that the monsters could help in spreading Christianity. More generally, the monsters here are not threats, but simply representatives of another world, which appears as strong, independent, and even attractive to the West.

One of the most important cultural centers in the universal East-West relationship was, of course, Constantinople, the old Eastern Roman capital. Here both Greek-Orthodox and Latin-Catholics vied for their influence, and even Arabic groups, especially scientists and medical doctors, belonged to some of the important power players. Glen M. Cooper examines the *Alexiad* of Anna Komnene (1083–ca. 1153) as an important literary document in which the political strife separating those leaning toward the West and those leaning toward the East finds extraordinary expression. The *Alexiad* apparently served the poet-historian well to document, in a propagandistic move, how much superior her father and she herself were over their political opponents at court, especially with regard to those representing the Western Hellenism with its strong Greek, Latin, and Arabic influence.

While her father, Alexios, not known for specific medical knowledge, is identified as the true physician able to lead the government effectively (which included Anna as well), Anna's nephew Manuel I (r. 1143–80) favored the Western form of Hellenism which was deeply influenced by the ninth-century Baghdad

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[310] Most recently, this has been discussed, once again, by Hathaway, *Saracens and Conversion* (see note 44).

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Arabic enlightenment, so the political battle at court really represented the profound tensions between East and West, between Christian and Arabic cultures at the crossroad of Constantinople.

Anna proved to be highly learned in ancient philosophy and rhetoric, and was also well informed about medical knowledge. At the same time she served as one of her father's strongest tools in his political goals to secure the survival and continuity of his dynasty, though she later lost out in the bitter political conflict and was condemned to lifelong confinement. As Cooper points out, irrespective of the bitter polemics, the strife in Constantinople also exposed the degree to which the Arabic learned community served an important function in transmitting ancient Greek knowledge in the Byzantine world. There, however, especially under Manuel's rule, the ideology reigned supreme that the highest form of learning was still to be found in Constantinople, not in Southern Italy, for instance, or wherever Arabic knowledge had transpired to the Christian counterpart. Manuel himself was an expert medical doctor and had also acquired extensive understanding of astrology.

Anna, however, composed the *Alexios* in order to compete with Manuel for the public authority to rule the country, and both relatives resorted to the field of medicine as one of the most important signifiers of their own true recognition as Alexios's heir to the throne. While Manuel strongly favored western traditions, Anna and her group opposed him strongly and rejected, for instance, the preference for astrology. Instead, she preferred Galenic humoral pathology and created an analogy out of it for the government of the state, which requires a strong physician able to control and suppress the various diseases that can prop up all the time both within and outside. In the *Alexios* this is most poignantly expressed in Anna's detailed account of her father's illness.

She was, as the text implies, the true medical doctor in the tradition of Eastern Hellenism, with its roots in ancient Greece, while Manuel followed fantasies, as she perceived it, borrowed from Western Hellenism with its strong Arabic influence. In this regard, the polarity of East and West suddenly emerges as the very opposite of what the Westerners usually assume to be, since the conflict battled over here, via the literary discourse, reveals that the more traditional Byzantine court was actually oriented toward the East in its ancient configurations, while the more modern group looked to the West and toward the influences by the Arabs.

No other region in East and West experienced a more dramatic and intense meeting of both worlds (Orient and Occident) during the Middle Ages and far beyond (if not until today) than the Holy Land. Many different cultures, many different powers, and many different religions have met in that critical territory throughout time. In fact, we could probably say that until today the Holy Land

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represents the linchpin of global politics, being the central stage for the most influential power players on both sides of the universal divide. After all, the three major world religions have always claimed that land as their own for very specific and irrefutable reasons, as they have seen it. The Crusades at first radically changed the power balance, but in the course of time the Muslim rulers succeeded in wresting the Holy Land from the Franks, as the Christians were commonly called, or *al-Ifranj* in Arabic.[311]

But when the Crusading armies arrived and the Frankish principalities were established, the ethnic distribution was rather varied and highly complex, as Alan V. Murray outlines in his contribution to this volume. Neither the traditional view of a benevolent colonialist society nor the model of a strict segregation of the local population and the colonialists, predicated on medieval concepts of apartheid, can be upheld today. Apart from the Jews and the various groups of Muslims, there were also a number of different Christian populations, mostly Eastern Christians, and despite certain tensions, as Murray emphasizes, the Franks often lived side by side with them without significant problems. By the same token it would be ahistorical to suggest that the situation might have been one of integration and tolerance/toleration, since the Franks certainly regarded themselves as the legitimate lords and as the only true believers in Christ. Even the concept of 'rough tolerance' would not address the actual situation adequately because of the countless forms of interaction on a daily basis both in economic and political, at times even in military terms.

As much as the Franks were aware of the religious differences, in reality they often disregarded religion as a marker of identity and quite freely cooperated with individual communities irrespective of the religious orientation. However, there is no doubt that the Saracen/Muslim population was systematically decimated, killed, expelled, or repressed throughout the Holy Land. The intellectual elite, if not slaughtered, left on its own, resettled in Islamic territories, while the masses stayed, mostly reduced to the status of land laborers, if not slaves. The Jewish population was allowed, in the course of time, to return to most cities which the

311 This has been studied already from many different perspectives, as Alan V. Murray indicates in his contribution to this volume; see also Robert Louis Wilken, *The Land Called Holy: Palestine in Christian History and Thought* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1992); Thomas S. Asbridge, *The Crusades: The Authoritative History of the War for the Holy Land* (New York: Ecco Press, 2010); as to the Muslim perspective, see Raphael Israeli, *Green Crescent Over Nazareth: The Displacement of Christians by Muslims in the Holy Land*. Cass Series—Israeli History, Politics, and Society (London and Portland, OR: F. Cass, 2002); Rollin S. Armour, Sr., *Islam, Christianity, and the West: A Troubled History*. Faith Meets Faith (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 2002); see also the contributions to *The Meeting of Civilizations: Muslim, Christian, and Jewish*, ed. Moshe Ma'oz (see note 37). Moreover, cf. the articles in *Cross Cultural Convergences in the Crusader Period: Essays Presented to Aryeh Grabois on his Sixty-Fifth Birthday*, ed. Michael Goodich, Sophia Menache, and Sylvia Schein (New York, Washington, DC, et al.: Peter Lang, 1995).

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Franks had conquered, with the important exception of Jerusalem where a true bloodbath had ended the existence of the Jewish and Saracen communities for good until the end of the Frankish occupation.

In order to make up for the massive loss of population by the mid twelfth century, the Franks called in large numbers of rural Syrians who were dispersed throughout the Holy Land. But their lack of military experience made them mostly unfit for such service under the colonialists. Murray also notes the considerable presence of Greek Christians, who often were employed in administrative posts, but they could also achieve the rank of knights and be holders of lordships. Similarly, a fairly stable and productive cooperation between the Franks and the Armenians developed in the course of time, although the former had treated the latter rather harshly and had repressed their lords brutally. Most significantly, the Armenians had maintained a whole class of aristocrats who set up a strong bulwark of defense against the Turks to the North, which increased their positive evaluation by the Franks quite visibly.

Many of the Franks also intermarried with some of the Eastern Christians, and even with converted Muslim women. Altogether, as Murray remarks, the relationship between the Crusader lords and the indigenous population depended heavily on the degree to which the latter were of service and use to the former, while religious difference mattered rather less, here disregarding Jews and Muslims. The most pragmatic model for the interpretation of the social conditions in Outremer during the Crusading history hence would be, according to Murray, one based on a pragmatic hierarchy, as far as Christians from East and West were concerned. Moreover, neither the Jewish nor the Muslim population disappeared completely, although the various elites, especially among the Saracens, were killed or expelled.

Historians have often explored the history of Crusades, but some of the basic questions pertaining to the conditions on the ground have still not been properly raised, not to speak of being answered. These would involve issues such as water and food, transportation, logistics, physical orientation in a foreign country, and especially communication, first among the Crusaders themselves, but then also between the latter and the local peoples, if not the enemy armies. Moreover, we need to find out how the Franks, once they had established themselves in the Holy Land, managed to reach out to the new subjects and to the hostile forces at the border of the Crusader principalities. K. A. Tuley endeavors to explore just that question and hence embarks on a fundamental issue which most military historians throughout time have simply ignored, although it proves to be absolutely essential in the daily dealings with the enemy. Generally, however, the sources remain rather quiet about those intermediaries, i.e., translators, as important as they certainly have been all the time, especially because the linguistic

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challenges in the Holy Land were normally considerably greater than anywhere else in medieval Europe.

Tuley presents a variety of evidence pertaining to the utilization of translators, either provided by the Byzantines to the Crusaders, or employed by the latter after recruitment from among the Eastern Latins, or Syrian Christians, not to mention other population groups that were more familiar with Arabic and Turkish. Some of the translators originated from Greek-speaking people, who had enough knowledge of other Eastern languages to serve this purpose well. Once, however, the Franks had established themselves, and the next generation of Westerners born in the Holy Land had grown up, it was no longer that unusual to find Christian nobles capable of speaking some of the local languages, Arabic, Turkish, or Syrian. These individuals were then increasingly involved in the military and political negotiations, and because of their new language skills were able to establish much better relationship with the opponents, some of whom even became their allies in the highly volatile world of the Crusader principalities and Arabic kingdoms bordering them.[312]

By the end of the twelfth century, however, with the influx of new Western forces as part of the Third Crusade, the situation of the Christian Latins in the Holy Land changed, making room for a new class of translators who were then recruited increasingly from the lower ranks and hence were regarded only as servants for the grand lords who cared considerably less for the Christian knights born in the Levant. It would be fascinating to investigate further, which Tuley cannot do in the framework of her investigation, whether this critical shift in the attitude toward translators and major aristocrats with dual language skills might have had an influence on the future development of the Crusade history. After all, once people can truly talk to each other and acquire a solid understanding of the other side, the military and religious conflicts might be reduced and ameliorated. However, just that was then no longer the case.

In this regard, Tuley's article might serve extremely well as a case study not only for general Crusade Studies, but also, and much more critically, for modern military operations, especially when Western armies, for instance, attack Eastern forces and cannot even talk to them, so are generally in the dangerous situation not even knowing what the other side wants, thinks about them, or fears.

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312 An interesting case would be the literary figure of Willehalm in Wolfram von Eschenbach's eponymous romance and subsequent variants in Middle High German and Old French because he is identified as captive who, in the course of time, acquires enough knowledge of Arabic to communicate with the Saracen princess, wife of his captor, to reach out to her, to present himself most attractively to her, to make her fall in love with him, and subsequently to convince her to escape with him to the West. For *Willehalm*, see my discussion above.

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How can we utilize art-historical objects as mirrors of the relationship between East and West? How are we to read pictures, for instance, as visual documents indicating the extent to which people from both worlds interacted with each other? And can we actually discuss pictures without taking the larger context into account? The contribution of Jens T. Wollesen is about reading or interpreting pictures in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries in *Outremer*—where East meets West and vice versa during the Crusading era. His focus is on the latter aspect, since the picture as such is a problematic issue in the Muslim East. He argues that the pictures examined are neither direct unmediated copies of what they represent, nor transparent windows on the world. Their appearance is deceptive and cannot prima vista be taken as pictorial testimony for either a "shared culture" or "assimilation."

Certainly, some book illustrations specifically served propaganda purposes to demonize the religious Others, the Saracens, and to glorify the Christian fighters willing to go to war in and for the Holy Land. But there were other examples, revealing an explicit fascination with the Orient, such as exotic Eastern dancers at the court of Emperor Frederick II, whether they were slave-girls or free entertainers. The Mongols were always and consistently presented as horrible creatures who were a deadly threat both to Christians and Muslims.[313] By contrast, the situation with the Saracens was rather mixed, however, since they were welcomed warmly, as we can read and also see in corresponding illustrations, if they desired to convert to Christianity and to be baptized.[314]

Many French illuminations as they appear in the novel *Histoires Universelles*, for instance, illustrate the encounter between East and West; however, they contain both elements of fantasy and of reality. Christian knights and their families settled in *Outremer* and lived among a vast majority of Muslims there. It is almost unimaginable that their experiences would not have found a way into artifacts produced for them, often by Arabic artists. Charles of Anjou (1226–1285), brother of King Louis IX the Saint, for instance, received as a gift the Arabic treatise on medicine written by Rhazes (865–925) from the Sultan of Tunis, which he then had translated into Latin. Many other texts were handed over to the Christians as important diplomatic gestures, which facilitated, as we have already observed above, and as recent research has discussed a number of times, the rise of the

313 Ruotsala, *Europeans and Mongols* (see note 24); and the contributions to *Historicizing the "Beyond"* (see note 24). See now also Gyaram Molle, *Dschingis Khan und das Bild der Mongolenherrscher in der deutschen Literatur des Mittelalters* (see note 24), for an analysis how the onslaught of the Mongols was perceived, if at all, in medieval German literature.

314 In a number of literary texts from the twelfth and thirteenth centuries we observe, as I have already discussed above, an intriguing interest in the Orient and its people, such as in Wolfram von Eschenbach's *Parzival* and even in his war epic, *Willehalm*, a German adaptation of the Old French genre of *chansons de geste*.

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Twelfth-Century Renaissance. But Wollesen alerts us that those political and scientific relationships probably did not fundamentally change the imperialist, or colonizing, attitude among the Christians and the hostility among the Muslims against their opponents.

Luxurious metal work, however, produced in the eastern Mediterranean and used in daily life, might confirm a remarkable proximity, if not amalgamation, or hybridity, of the two cultures. Objects such as the Freer canteen, showing Christian themes and Arabic inscriptions, confirm that there must have been closer contacts than we commonly assume, irrespective of how the specific elements would have to be interpreted as to their intentions and functions. Wollesen introduces a variety of brass objects with a similar combination of Eastern and Western aspects from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.

It remains a very difficult task to identify a Muslim provenance for those vessels produced for Christian clients, but the evidence on them underscores that we can safely assume valuable contacts and exchanges between both cultures, especially after the fall of Acre in 1291 and a kind of normalization of the political relationships between Latin Europe and the Muslim powers, which in turn made it possible and interesting to place Arabic inscriptions side by side with Christian iconic images. After all, the members of royal and other aristocratic dynasties, obviously shared the same interests and tastes characteristic of a courtly life style, such as hunting. Interculturality also found its expression in liturgical objects created for some Western knights living within the realm of the Eastern Orthodox Church where they obviously coped well and had no conflict with the different doctrines and dogmas as to the ceremonies, rituals, and administrative structure because they shared the basis of their faith in Christ.

However, Wollesen also warns us about reaching too quick conclusions since pictorial evidence is often very ambivalent and very hard to decode and requires an extensive and highly careful analysis, which will necessitate much more groundwork research than available at the moment. Nevertheless, there is good evidence that clients as well as artisans on both sides of the religious and cultural divide were attentive enough to notice and find attractive what was produced elsewhere. It is high time, as Wollesen emphasizes, to change the traditional view of medieval art as a world completely determined by Christianity, without becoming a victim of the opposite fallacy that in the wake of the Crusades and the colonization of the Holy Land numerous Europeans and Arabs suddenly enjoyed close contacts and exchanged ideas, techniques, materials, and styles.

On the contrary, hostilities and conflicts continued to dominate the relationships btween Christians and Muslims, so *Outremer* was not a cuddly multicultural world with very low barriers, if any, between the Franks and the Saracens. But by the same token, it would be equally erroneous to claim that no cases of personal contacts and hence mutual influences existed. Wollesen's article promises to

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trigger new investigations in this field, especially since we know already how much Arabic sciences, medicine, architecture, and music, for instance, influenced al-Andalus and Sicily, not to forget the huge role which Venice assumed in conveying Arabic cultural elements to the European continent, especially with respect to architecture.[315]

The Crusades had, of course, a major impact both on the Muslim population in the Holy Land, as the primary victims, and on the European, Christian population because of the enormous strains on their resources which were required to carry out those massive war campaigns in *Outremer*, which constituted incredible logistical problems, not to mention the huge religious impact which fighting in the Holy Land certainly had on an individual. All of Europe was virtually abuzz with comments on the Crusades and its many different ramifications.[316] Poets and writers were as much involved in that discourse as theologians, philosophers, and politicians. So it does not come as a surprise that one of the most influential Middle High German poets, Walther von der Vogelweide (fl. ca. 1190–ca. 1220), famous both for his courtly (or not so courtly) love poetry and his didactic, often

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315 Ulrike Ritzerfeld, "Mamlūkische Metallkunst für mediterrane Eliten – Grenzüberschreitungen in Luxus und Machtrhetorik," *Integration und Desintegration der Kulturen im europäischen Mittelalter*, ed. Michael Borgolte, Julia Dücker, Marcel Müllerburg, and Bernd Schneidmüller. Europa im Mittelalter: Abhandlungen und Beiträge zur historischen Komparatistik, 18 (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2011), 523–40. See also Tamcke, *Christians and Muslims in Dialogue* (see note 27). For Venice, now see Deborah Howard, *Venice & the East* (see note 250). John Tolan, "Saracens and *Ifranj*: Rivalries, Emulation, and Convergences," *Europe and the Islamic World* (see note 284), 9–107; here 93–97, offers important other examples, though he seems overly optimistic as to the actual exchange and mutual influence that occurred in medieval art. He only refers to examples (coins, architectural design, interior decorations, and abstract frescoes) in Mediterranean countries, especially Spain and Southern Italy. Wollesen's words of caution are here well applied, although we should not throw out the proverbial baby with the bath water. See also the contributions to Lateinisch-griechisch-arabische Begegnungen: Kulturelle Diversitat im Mittelmeerraum des Spätmittelalters, ed. Margit Mersch und Ulrike Ritzerfeld. Europa im Mittelalter, 15 (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2009). For a good review, see Georg Christ, in *Mediaevistik* 25 (forthcoming): 250–53.

316 For an older but still seminal study, see Friedrich-Wilhelm Wentzlaff-Eggebert, *Kreuzzugsdichtung des Mittelalters: Studien zu ihrer geschichtlichen und dichterischen Wirklichkeit* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1960); for more recent perspectives, see Peter Hölzle, *Die Kreuzzüge in der okzitanischen und deutschen Lyrik des 12. Jahrhunderts (das Gattungsproblem "Kreuzlied" im historischen Kontext)*. Göppinger Arbeiten zur Germanistik, 278 (Göppingen: Kümmerle, 1980); Ingrid Hartl, *Das Feindbild der Kreuzzugslyrik: das Aufeinandertreffen von Christen und Muslimen* Wiener Arbeiten zur Germanischen Altertumskunde und Philologie, 40 (Bern, Berlin, et al.: Peter Lang, 2009); *Encounters with Islam in German Literature and Culture*, ed. by James Hodkinson and Jeff Morrison. Studies in German Literature, Linguistics, and Culture (Rochester, NY: Camden House, 2009); *Remembering the Crusades: Myth, Image, and Identity*, ed. Nicholas Paul and Suzanne Yeager. Rethinking Theory (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2012). For the role which the Holy See played in Crusade history, see the contributions to *La Papauté et les croisades* (see note 16).

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very political single stanzas, also engaged with the Crusades. Christopher R. Clason offers a focused analysis of those stanzas which at times clearly serve as propaganda poetry to incite his audience to join the Crusades and to do their best to liberate the Holy Land from the infidels. But Walther was more discriminating and offered, as Clason recognizes, a variety of perspectives toward the two other world religions, Judaism and Islam.

While the majority of Walther's Crusading stanzas either target the Pope as the Emperor's enemy because he undermined the secular efforts to organize the military campaign for religious reasons, in his later poems he increasingly refrained from identifying the Muslims in a simplistic and ideologizing fashion with the devil. For Walther, as probably for many of his contemporaries, the chauvinistic dream behind the Crusades consisted of the hope that a universal peace might be established in the name of (the Christian) God, under the leadership of the German Emperor Otto IV and others, while the Holy Land could be translated into a utopian space here on earth.

However, whereas Walther unequivocally identified that space as entirely belonging to the Christian faith, he also did not refrain from discussing parallel claims by the Jews and the Muslims, which he rejected, of course, fully in line with the contemporary 'colonialist' attitudes prevalent in twelfth- and thirteenth-century Western Europe. Joining the Crusade represented a major step toward ascendancy to Heaven as God's anointed. Christian knights who were reticent in joining the Crusades were severely reprimanded and actually scared by means of the image of their souls not being deemed worthy by God Himself.

Clason, however, then also discovers certain changes in Walther's general orientation because in the "Wiener Hofton," for instance, the poet suddenly offered somewhat different perspectives in that he recognized that all representatives of these three world religion worshiped one God only, and hence shared, at least phenomenologically speaking (monotheism), a fundamental concept, although he still identified Christianity as the only true faith. With an astounding sensibility to religious alterity, Walther here acknowledges the centrally shared human nature among Jews, Christians, and Muslims, as demonstrated by the way all human bodies live and perish, joining the universal circle of life.

In his so-called "Elegy," "Owê, war sint verswunden alliu mîniu jâr" (L 124, 1) Walther also mentions the Crusade, but here refrains from projecting polar images, pitting the Christians against Jews and Muslims. Instead, going to the Holy Land would simply provide an opportunity to help one's soul to gain salvation. In fact, as Clason suggests, Walther abandoned his propagandistic, ideologizing hostility so prevalent in the previous stanzas and emphasized, instead, the need to join the global salvation narrative for one's own self.

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This is not suddenly 'tolerance' or 'toleration' in the Middle Ages, but Walther in a way put down his usual hostility toward other religions and realized that the Holy Land by itself could be the ultimate goal of all human life. Beyond the strong propagandistic Crusade theme in the other poems, Walther was able, as Clason affirms, to accept all people at some level irrespective of their faith as part of the human family, subject to nature's law of life and death.

The change in Walther's late poems is subtle, hardly noticeable, but it is important enough to be highlighted in the larger context of thirteenth-century Crusade literature since the poet suddenly refrained from targeting representatives of other religions as culprits and infidels and focused on individual salvation alone. After all, Walther turned silent as to the military aspects of the Crusade, at last as far as it concerned himself, and reflected only on the spiritual dimension of going to the Holy Land ("gevarn über sê," 125, 9).[317]

Throughout this Introduction, but then also in several of the contributions to this volume we encounter references to the Middle High German poet Wolfram von Eschenbach (fl. ca. 1200–ca. 1220). This does not come as a surprise because he formulated, after all, some of the most astounding and intriguing comments and observations regarding the encounter between East and West. Heiko Hartmann subjects Wolfram's *Parzival* (a Grail romance) and his *Willehalm* (based on the Old French *chansons de geste*, *Aliscans* and *Le Prise d'Orange*) to a critical examination once again as to how the poet perceived the Oriental other, that is, specifically, what he knew, if anything really, about the concrete theology of Islam.

Did anyone in the Middle Ages, on the European side, concretely understand anything about the non-Christian world?[318] Or, to be even more provocative, does anyone today in the Western, Christian world understand anything about the Islamic domain, here disregarding the small cohort of scholars specialized on this topic?[319] Could we even go so far as to argue that medieval society at large was

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317 Frakes, *Vernacular and Latin Literary Discourse* (see note 41), 138–43.

318 For a contrastive approach, see the contributions to *Frühe Koranübersetzungen*, ed. Reinhold F. Glei (see note 22). Cf. also Thomas Kaufmann, "The Christian Perception of Islam in the Late Middle Ages and in the Reformation," Labeling the Religious Self and Others: Reciprocal Perceptions of Christians, Muslims, Hindus, Buddhists and Confucians in Medieval and Early Modern Times ed. Hans Martin Krämer. Comparativ, 20.4 (Leipzig: Leipziger Universitäts-Verlag, 2010), 43–57.

319 Jonathan Lyons, *Islam Through Western Eyes: From the Crusades to the War on Terrorism* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2012). Andrew Holt, in his contribution to the present volume, strongly suggests that the stereotypical notion of the Muslims as barbarians was widespread throughout the Middle Ages. Identifying a different people with different customs, religions, and languages as barbarian categorizes them immediately as completely alien, or contemptible, hence as uncivilized and dangerous. For modern Arabic perspectives, see Aḥmad S. Moussalli, *Images of Islam in the Western World and Images of the West in the Islamic World*. Post September 11 Series (Riyadh: Arab-PR, 2003). For the history of Muslim societies since 1800, see the contributions to

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determined by racism and intolerance considering that even we today, in majority, do not know much about the differences between, say, Sunnis and Shiites and tend to view our Muslim neighbors with suspicion?[320] Here Hartmann investigates, in order to achieve at least some concrete insights, what Wolfram knew about that eastern religion and puts him to test in that regard.

Even though the issue proves to be very difficult to determine, we can be certain that Wolfram held very specific, rather open-minded perspectives regarding the Orient, since Parzival's father, for instance, falls in love with and marries a black queen, Belacane, and also finds easy and highly respectable employment as a warrior in the Baldac's kingdom. When he dies there in battle, this does not negatively impact the generally positive impression about the East which the early section of Wolfram's romance implies.

By the same token, in *Willehalm* the conflict between East and West, now in serious military terms, does not necessarily concern the conflict between arch enemies, but between members of the same family yet with different religious and cultural orientations.[321] It would be absurd to look for expressions of modern tolerance in this epic poem since it treats an existential military conflict between both cultures, but it would be equally erroneous to assume that the murderous exchanges between both cultures are based on personal tensions and conflicts, hence racism and intolerance. Of course, the Christian knights are obligated to fight against the Muslim warriors, and this simply in self-defense, but in a closer analysis we can recognize that Wolfram did not really embrace a xenophobic policy and ideology, although some scholars have posited this very explicitly.[322]

As Hartmann alerts us in his article, most people in the Middle Ages had no concrete understanding of the holy book of Islam, the Qur'an, or its true teachings. Both intrinsically and explicitly we can recognize fundamental concerns on the part of Wolfram on how to integrate the foreign cultural dimension into the political sphere in the Christian West (mostly by way of love). However, since he drew only from vernacular, European sources, such as the Middle High German *Rolandslied* or the Old French *chanson de geste* in many manifestations, and not from scholarly treatises, as far as we can tell despite a number of curious allusions to

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The Islamic World in the Age of Western Dominance, ed. Francis Robinson. The New Cambridge History of Islam, 5 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010). Cf. also the contributions to *Critical Perspectives on Islam and the Western World*, ed. Jonathan Johansen (New York ; Rosen Pub. Group, 2006). The research on this topic is, of course, legion.

320 See the contributions to Arabic and Islamic Studies (West, East, Literature, Archaeology, History, Philosophy, Theology, Natural Sciences, and Qur'anic Studies) in *Handbook of Medieval Studies* (see note 183), vol. 1, 3-104.

321 Sylvia Stevens, *Family in Wolfram von Eschenbach's* Willehalm*:* mîner mâge triwe ist mir wol kuont. Studies on Themes and Motifs in Literature, 18 (New York, Washington, DC, et al.: Peter Lang, 1997).

322 See Frakes, *Vernacular and Latin Literary Discourses* (see note 41); see also my discussion above.

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Arabic knowledge about astronomy, for instance, we cannot really expect from Wolfram any radical transgression of the dominant, Christian paradigm.

Hartmann recognizes numerous examples in both *Parzival* and *Willehalm* where the author presents the foreigners virtually in the same terms as the Christian knights, giving them high praise and paying considerable respect to the opponents at large. Only one aspect truly differentiates the Easterners from the Westerners, religion, since Christianity must be, for Wolfram and his audience, the only true faith. Indeed, the poet never leaves any doubt that the Saracens are idolaters and misguided individuals who worship false gods and are hence to be condemned, disregarding the astounding respect which they command as persons. This simply constitutes, as we have already observed many times above, a fundamental medieval and early modern paradigm, a concrete lens through which virtually all writers or artists, etc., gazed when they turned their attention to the East. I would suspect that the same more or less applies to the Eastern view of the West, since both the Islamic and the Christian society are determined by an absolutist monotheistic religion.

By contrast, as Hartmann outlines, many medieval scholars had a much better understanding of the other religion, Islam, and would have mockingly dismissed the popular notions about the Saracens and their 'false' faith as expressed in the countless vernacular narratives in which Westerners and Easterners meet and have to engage with each other. Merchants and pilgrims were certainly more exposed to the material reality in the Eastern world than writers, for instance, as we have seen above many times. Quite understandably, both artists and poets operated with standard clichés about the Saracens and cast them, for many convenient and traditional reasons, as polytheists, polygamists, and monstrous people in order to stereotype them as dramatically as possible.[323] Clearly, the premodern world was rife with many different stereotypes, preconceived notions about others, and had no hesitation to marginalize, if not to expel and even kill, minorities, that is, people who did not conform with the majority concept of self and identity, such as Jews, heretics, homosexuals, and Muslims, though the latter mostly lived, if at all, in the southern zones of the Iberian Peninsula and Italy, hence had little contacts with the world north of the Alps.[324]

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323 See the contributions to *La chrétienté au péril sarrasin: Actes du colloque de la section française de la société internationale Rencesvals (Aix-enProvence, 30 septembre – 1e octobre 1999*, ed. Chantal Connochie-Bourgne. Senefiance, 46 (Aix-en-Provence: Université de Provence, 2000).

324 This is well documented in the text anthology *Other Middle Ages: Witnesses at the Margins of Medieval Society*, ed. Michael Goodich. Middle Ages Series (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1998); see also the contributions to *Meeting the Foreign in the Middle Ages* (see note 15). But as to early-medieval Arab travelers throughout northern Europe, see my discussion above.

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Proto-tolerant attitudes among theologians and philosophers existed, but were rare at best, and sometimes literary texts contain them as well, though we would have to apply a very sensitive reading to do justice to those comments and qualify them correspondingly (more toleration than tolerance!). After all, Wolfram wrote, as Hartmann rightly emphasizes, for a Christian audience and had to meet their xenophobic attitudes, especially because he did not compose any kind of theoretical treatises on how Christians were supposed to interact with their Muslim neighbors. Nevertheless, we still cannot simply dismiss Wolfram as an alternative voice in this large discourse concerning the interaction with the Orient and relationships between East and West, considering the many positive and mixed projections of Muslims or Saracens in his works. Although he did not embark on ethically or theologically innovative strategies in any radical fashion to realize a rapprochement between both cultures and religions, both his extensive narratives still signal to us how much even a medieval poet was capable of and willing to perceive the Muslims as ordinary people, though with a different faith. He was opposed to them for their lack of belonging to the Christian community, but he did not espouse racist ideas, which would have been an anachronism anyway. Condemning them for their unwillingness to convert to Christianity was one thing, and acknowledging them as human beings in their own right was another thing, which we must distinguish as carefully as possible.

The most common attitude throughout the Middle Ages and in the early modern age toward the Islamic, i.e., Arabic world was, however, as Andrew Holt argues in his contribution, rather negative and deprecatory. Irrespective of the high level of cultural, scientific, musical, and architectural developments in the Muslim world, often much more sophisticated than medieval Europe, Western intellectuals regularly espoused the idea that the Arabic people, of whom they really knew something only since the rise of Islam in the seventh century, were nothing else but barbarians. This represents a very specific ideologizing strategy to demonize the 'Other,' equating them, more or less, with the traditional monsters, though now viewed through a religious and a cultural lens. The derogatory epithet 'barbarian' constitutes a particularly nefarious and evil-minded rejection of the Muslim religion by Christians, but it seems to come through in the various Crusade chronicles and other accounts much more often than scholarship has generally been willing to accept or to acknowledge. Holt, by analyzing a wide range of relevant sources, demonstrates how much the European 'propagandists' in fact successfully resorted to that term to whip up the masses into a frenzy of military and religious passion, probably necessary to motivate them in the first place to join a Crusade.

While this horrible term also appears in such epics as the *Chanson de Roland*, later medieval and early modern authors utilized a rather different language, as the

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case of Wolfram von Eschenbach intriguingly indicates, and as we can learn in a wide variety of other medieval and early modern European narratives, such as in Boccaccio's *Decameron* (ca. 1350). It will be necessary in the future to consider more carefully the specific ideologizing language by chroniclers and public speakers or preachers (popes, bishops, abbots, etc.) and contrast it with the statements by contemporary poets who generally pursued rather different interests.

As Holt alerts us, in other words, the rhetorical operations by the most ardent defenders of the Crusades functioned so well because of the specific employment of key terms such as 'barbarians' to malign the Islamic 'Other' and to build sufficient political energy among the knightly audience for them voluntarily to join the Crusade agenda and to dedicate their entire life to the religious-military campaign in the name of the Christian God. Literary authors were much freer to project inter- and cross-cultural connections and rarely identified the Muslim opponents as 'barbarians' because their major themes focused on fundamental humanistic ideals, such as love, friendship, and honor, which could be found in every culture and among all peoples.

Surprisingly, however, in the late Middle Ages poets and writers cared less and less about the heavily ideologized attitudes about the Arabic and the non-Christian world and projected increasingly interesting and fascinating images of the mysterious, sophisticated, but also very alien and foreign world in the East. Albrecht Classen illustrates this phenomenon through the careful analysis of a whole sequence of Middle High and early modern German texts, beginning with the anonymous *Herzog Ernst*, from there turning to Wolfram von Eschenbach, Konrad von Würzburg, and to the anonymous verse narrative (*mære*) *Die Heidin*, concluding with a discussion of the first original German prose novel, the anonymous *Fortunatus* (printed in 1509).

Surprisingly, when we review medieval literature from across the European landscape, we can often recognize how much poets and authors struggled hard to come to terms with 'the Other,' whether expressed in the image of a man-eating monster or a dragon (*Beowulf*), or in the image of the fear-causing foreigner of a different race, language, or religion. Marie de France's *Bisclavret* proves to be an excellent illustrative example, where 'the Other' rests inside. In German medieval literature, we observe first how in *Herzog Ernst* the protagonist encounters a whole sleuth of monsters in the mythical East, some of whom he detests for obvious reasons, while he becomes good friends with others, again for good and understandable reasons. The issue becomes more intriguing in the case of Wolfram von Eschenbach's *Parzival* (the encounter between the protagonist and his half-brother Feirefiz, who is of a mixed race and adheres to another religion), but then also in his *Willehalm*, where the military code of honor positions the Christians in

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a deadly confrontation with the Muslim opponents, although they represent, in a way Willehalm's in-laws (see my discussion about both epic narratives above).

The subsequent centuries witnessed an ever-growing diversification of the image of 'the Other' in various literary texts, such as Konrad von Würzburg's *Partonopier und Meliur*, where the Muslim opponent is rejected not really because of his different religion, but because he proves to be a dangerous contender for the heart of Partonopier's beloved, Meliur. Although the religious tensions continued throughout the Middle Ages, especially with the rise of the Ottoman Empire in the fifteenth century, poets cared rather less about the traditional stereotypes and continued to project their protagonists in a variety of constructive interactions with foreigners, even Muslims, such as in the verse narrative *Die Heidin*. The Christian protagonist wins the love of the heathen queen and can convince her at the end to run away with him, leaving her devastated husband behind, and then to convert to Christianity, but the issue is no longer religious difference, but matters of love, communication, and emotions. At issue, then, is the question of how to pursue a happy marriage, irrespective of the origin of the future marriage partner. The queen at first enjoys a harmonious, even loving relationship with her husband, but the suitor is finally able to wedge a discord between them and to demonstrate to her that the king is really a brutal, distrustful, and horrible husband—not because of his heathen religion, but because he mistreats his wife when she behaves strangely and in a ridiculous fashion to spite him, causing him to lose his self-control, and with that also his wife.

Finally, the first prose novel *Fortunatus* (printed in 1509) takes the protagonist on extensive journeys through the Near and Middle East where he simply tours the foreign lands not as a pilgrim, but as a tourist. He operates very well and without any problems in Muslim countries where he at times even feels more safe and protected by the laws than in Christian territories. The sixteenth century then witnessed the continuously growing interest in and/or fear of the Ottomans, a major threat to Christian Europe,[325] but artists, poets, and writers increasingly refrained from stereocasting 'the Others' in simply hostile terms and discovered thereby that the East could easily be a valuable, interesting, even fascinating staging ground for their own protagonists.[326]

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[325] Leitch, *Mapping Ethnography* (see note 238), 101–06. There are hundreds, if not thousands of examples of relevant broadsheets, precursors to modern newspapers; see, for instance, Friedrich Kilian, *Vnterricht vom Türcken* (Magdeburg: Kirchner, 1565); M. Iohannem Assvm, *Türckenpredigten vber den LXXIX. Psalmen. Jn welchen gründtlich vnd außführlich gehandelt wirdt von dem grausamen/ beschwerlichen vnd gefährlichen Krieg deß Türcken wider die heylige Christenheit: Was solcher für Jammer vnd Elendt mit sich bringe: Wie vnd wodurch er vervrsacht worden: Durch was Christliche Mittel er widervmb abzuwenden vnd zu stillen ... Sampt angehenckter kurtzen Außlegung deß XLVI. Psalmens: Gott ist vnser Zuversicht vnd Stärcke/ [et]c. Gehalten Zu Weickersheim in der Graffschafft Hohenlohe* (Frankfurt a. M.: Spies, 1595).

[326] Frakes, *Vernacular and Latin Literary Discourses* (see note 41), perhaps because of his limited focus

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Similar to Linda Darling's approach in her contribution to this volume, examining parallel developments in East and West with respect to the genre of *Mirror for Princes*, Patricia E. Black endeavors to elucidate the surprising and meaningful similarities between, on the one hand, the thirteenth-century *Roman de la Rose* by Guillaume de Lorris and Jean de Meun, and the contemporary *Mathnawī* by the famous Persian poet Rūmī on the other (full name: Jalāl ad-Dīn Muhammad Rūmī).[327] The purpose is not and cannot be to discover certain sorts of influences because both texts came into being in completely separate cultural worlds. But comparable to convergent evolution, an intriguing term for a biological phenomenon, both narratives demonstrate that amazingly similar features emerged at the same time in both works. Even though a high level of military

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on twelfth- and early thirteenth-century German literature, radically dismisses any and all of those observations, claiming instead that twelfth-century intellectuals, for instance, even though they began to study Arabic texts, only looked for the Greek originals of philosophical, mathematical, medical, and scientific treatises (149–50). Moreover, for him the military ideology permeating the twelfth century prohibited any serious interest in and/or openness toward 'the Other' in the East (150–64). So, not surprisingly, for him Wolfram's *Willehalm* demonstrates "just how little has actually changed in Wolfram's representation of Islam" (163). If we take all his arguments together, we discover a curious rejection, perhaps ignorance, of a growing body of evidence in historical documents, art works, literary texts, musical compositions, and architectural designs that certainly confirm the birth of a significant network of connections between the two major cultures and religions (see, for example, the contribution to this volume by Jens T. Wollesen). I am afraid that Frakes is a victim, to use a pun, of a too close, almost literal reading of his literary texts, refusing to recognize the depth and richness of the changing literary discourse especially since the thirteenth century. Granted, his monograph is mostly limited to the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries, but he overemphasizes the significance of the Crusades on medieval mentality at large and admits only at the very end that some fundamental changes occurred since the fifteenth century (165). See also my review of Frakes's book in *Mediaevistik* 25 (2013; [forthcoming]). If I read it correctly, Frakes's central argument consists of charging the high Middle Ages with a serious form of medieval colonialism leading to "the conquests, displacements, subjugation, conversion, and long-term Otherizing of massive populations" (165). There is no doubt that the Crusaders pursued a highly militaristic and religious ideology, which resulted in large-scale killings of their opponents, as to be expected in any war both in the Middle Ages and today (not to forget that the Arabic armies tried to do the very same thing with their Christian enemies). But it would be highly problematic to subscribe to Frakes's concept of massive displacement and forced conversion. Moreover, we cannot jump so simplistically from a Crusader discourse, which was propaganda and military-religious frenzy at the same time, to the highly complex and diversified secular literary discourse. Finally, the projection of monsters is not the same as the projection of Muslims in European texts. Disagreement with, even rejection of, those of a different faith did not, and this not even in the Middle Ages, automatically lead to racism and xenophobia, even though Crusade authors liked to resort to the term 'barbarian' for their opponents, as Andrew Holt points out in his contribution to this volume.

327 For Rūmī's biography, see now Mahvasholsadat Alavi, "Rumī's Life at a Glance," *Sufism*, ed. Seyed Ghahreman Safavi (London: Academy of Iranian Studies Press, 2009), 243–64. See also the excellent and in-depth article online at *Wikipedia*: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Rumi (last accessed on March 16, 2013).

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aggression and hostility separated the Latin West from the Islamic East since the eight century for religious and other reasons, in cultural, philosophical, scientific, medical, and literary terms there were not only significant influences, mostly flowing from East to West, but also important parallel developments in intellectual regards. As Black argues in her contribution, Rūmī intended with his narrative to give spiritual instruction, while the *Roman de la Rose* represents, of course, one of the most popular and influential allegorical romances on love, sexuality, but then also human knowledge at large.[328]

Despite the differences in authorial intentions, both the *Mathnawī* and the *Roman* rely heavily on metaphors and images of the mirror, reflections, and hence meditation, the Persian text oriented toward the didactic, the French toward the erotic. Both times we can observe, as Black emphasizes, the employment of "disordered structuring" derived from the concept of the mirror image translated into the narrative development. The purpose of this strategy consists of veiling the essential truth to the eye of the ignorant observer and revealing it to the sensitive and insightful reader/listener. In order to achieve the desired effect of teaching that truth to the recipient, the narratives pursue a circular motion, reiterating, repeating, including prolepsis, offering advice, developing arguments, and, most importantly, relying on the mode of allegory.

While Rūmī regularly refers to his most important source, the Qur'an, Guillaume draws heavily from the courtly love tradition, whereas Jean strategically incorporates material from the encyclopedic, learned discourse for the development of the love discourse in his part of the *Roman*. The Persian text aims at spiritual enlightenment, while the French narrative hopes to illuminate the meaning of love (Guillaume) and to reveal the truth of human life in a rather satirical fashion (Jean). But both times we recognize how much these authors struggled hard to establish new order in a chaotic world, both religiously and erotically. However, insofar as allegory is often at play in both texts, full understanding tends to be blocked or made difficult in order to force the reader/listener to probe more deeply into the narrative and hence the meaning of life.[329]

Enlightenment is made possible in the *Mathnawī* and the *Roman* through the employment of the images of the mirror and of sound, which connect the protagonist and the audience with the inner workings of the text. Moreover, Black recognizes the important role of water in both texts, once the fountain where

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328 Other scholars have also endeavored, though in different constellations, to carry out a comparison between Rūmī and Western writers; see, for instance, Manijeh Mannani, *Divine Deviants: The Dialectics of Devotion in the Poetry of Donne and Rūmī* (New York: Peter Lang, 2007).

329 Mahdi Tourage, *Rūmī and the Hermeneutics of Eroticism*. Iran Studies, 2 (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2007); Seyed Ghahreman Safavi and S. C. R. Weightman, *Rūmī's Mystical Design: Reading the Mathnawī, Book One*. SUNY Series in Islam (Albany, NY: SUNY Press, 2009).

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l'Amant encounters Narcissus, and once the well where the tyrannical lion believes to have met a serious challenger whom he tries to kill by jumping into the water, whereupon he drowns—very much a motif borrowed from the Aesopian tradition.[330] Obviously, Rumī utilized his text to illustrate the fundamental difference between those believing in fate and those believing in their own strength, a theme that would have resonated with Western readers as well, especially because both the *Roman* and the *Mathnawī*, through their allegorical strategies, outline ways for the recipient to find his/her way to truth.

As much as irony and satire determine especially Jean's part of the *Roman*, Rūmī evaluates the pompous stance of the lion, the dictator of this world, through the satirical lens upheld by the hare who tells him of the competing lion residing in the well. Both times, however, the uninitiated stares into the mirror and misunderstands the image in it, so the ideals and values of this world collapse in the end, at least for those who get caught in the illusion of reality which the mirror projects, both in the Persian and in the French text. On the surface both appear to be very differently oriented, but at a closer analysis, as presented by Black, we recognize how much there are common themes and concerns to detect truth hidden behind the mirror or the dream (*Roman*). If the individual proves to be too much focused on him/herself, or is caught by the own desire, the deception will be deconstructed at some point in time, whether in the case of l'Amant and Narcissus or the lion. Black concludes that in both texts the essential concern rests in the effort of identifying the true nature of reality, normally hidden behind the allegorical screen, and the operative tools relevant for accurate perception.

While I have mentioned the intriguing situation in medieval Spain already several times above, Connie L. Scarborough approaches it once again with the expert's eye, focusing on the phenomenon on *convivencia*, which has been discussed from many different perspectives by now. Clear-cut segregation between the representatives of the three Abrahamic faiths simply did not exist in the Iberian Peninsula, as Muslims, Jews, and Christians actually lived in very close proximity to each other.[331]

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330 Lee Rourke, *A Brief History of Fables: From Aesop to Flash Fiction* (London: Hesperus, 2011);

331 Jacob Lassner, *Jews, Christians, and the Abode of Islam* (see note 288), also discusses this phenomenon. See now, in much greater detail, Ana Isabel Carrasco Manchado, *De la convivencia a la exclusión: imágenes legislativas de mudéjares y moriscos, siglos XIII – XVII*. Serie historia medieval (Madrid: Sílex, 2012). This *convivencia* seems to have continued, strangely, even after 1492; see Natalio Ohanna, *Cautiverio y convivencia en la edad de Cervantes*. Biblioteca de Estudios Cervantinos, 29 (Alcalá de Henares: Ed. del Centro de Estudios Cervantinos, 2011). Not surprisingly, Frakes, *Vernacular and Latin Literary Discourses* (see note 41), while acknowledging that "during the seven centuries of Muslim presence in Iberia there was far more at stake than the often posited poles of militaristic *reconquista* and utopian cultural melting pot" (152; the latter point does not even make sense and has never been argued in those terms by any Hispanist), quickly dismisses the Iberian

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A fairly large number of Arabic writers from throughout the centuries indicated that they were well aware of the Christian pilgrimage to Santiago de Compostela, probably mostly through learned studies, that is, not through personal experiences. Al-Idrísí, for instance, dedicates eight pages of his geographical account to Santiago and its religious importance for the Christians.[332] The pilgrimage route, however, had no political significance for them, hence they normally referred to it only as to its religious importance for their enemies north of Andalus. When Muhammad Ibn Abi ʿAmir Al-Mansur, chamberlain to the caliph of Córdoba, Hisham II (976–1009 and 1010–1013) led a strong army against Santiago de Compostela in 997, he certainly destroyed the church and sacked the city, but he kept the tomb and shrine intact and spared its guardian, St. Pedro de Mezonzo, probably out of respect for the relevance of Christ (hence of St. James) for the Muslim faith. The more likely reason, however, was that Al-Mansur did not want to endanger his political and military alliance with the Galician-Portuguese nobility, whose castles his armies had also left intact, never attacking any of them.[333] This was, however, the turn of the tenth to the eleventh century.

During the thirteenth century, for Spain, and probably also Portugal, there was a clear distinction between the Muslims living within the Christian borders (*mudéjares*) and those coming from the outside, regularly perceived as enemies. But political borders do not help to understand the actual conditions within a society, in Spain commonly identifiable as hybrid, especially at the court of Alfonso X (reigning from 1252–1284).

Steering clear of prescriptive legal documents, Scarborough examines what the situation was like on the ground, so to speak, as reflected by the texts produced by and for the king. After all, as the historical perspective illuminates, once the Spanish kings had conquered most of the lands formerly under Muslim control, they did not wish to expel all the Muslim population, which would have emptied

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situation altogether in order to draw from French and German Crusader epics once again to confirm broad belligerence in Western Europe against all Muslim cultures. There is nothing here that would confirm Frakes's understanding of the cultural developments and specific conditions of the Judeo-Christian-Muslim relationships on the Iberian Peninsula from the twelfth through the fifteenth century. Frakes labors hard to demonstrate that the twelfth century was the birth-cradle of modern racism and colonialism, and this also in Spain and Portugal, but he overdramatizes and misreads texts composed in the genre of *chansons de geste* and generalizes the militaristic topics and themes there in order to support his claims that the Middle Ages were a time of horrible hostilities and brutality, with the Christians being at the forefront of large-scale subjugation and mass-killing of their religious opponents—*quod est demonstrandum*. Such sweeping arguments hardly ever hold sway.

332 Ana María Carballerira Debasa, "The Pilgrims' Way of St James and Islam: Pilgrimage, Politics and Militias," *Pilgrims and Politics* (see note 76), 9–27; here 15. The relevant literature on Al-Mansur can be found there.

333 Carballerira Debasa, "The Pilgrims' Way" (see note 332), 23.

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the lands and severely diminished the tax income. However, specific contracts were drawn up that regulated in detail what the Moors had to do in order to retain the right to live in their land, now controlled by Christian rulers.

Despite considerable problems which Alfonso faced with the Muslim population after the *mudéjar* uprising in 1264, he made great efforts to support and sponsor an intensive translation project in Toledo, making especially Arabic knowledge available to the Christian world, most significantly in the areas of astronomy and geography. Another issue was that if the Muslims migrated away to avoid living under a Christian king, they took with them much valuable knowledge about the local conditions, including strategies about how to irrigate their fields. In his law code, *Siete Partidas* (1265), Alfonso tried to stem the considerable flood of Christians converting to Islam because they felt attracted to the more advanced Muslim culture. Nevertheless, as Scarborough argues, there were obviously a good number of exchanges and adaptations involving both Christians and Jews, along with the Muslims, which poignantly undermines the old thesis of 'Orientalism' in medieval Spain.

Alfonso himself was not loath to integrate numerous Muslim figures in his *Las Cantigas de Santa Maria*, although those normally show how the Virgin succeeds in converting the members of the other faith. Scarborough does not deny the hegemonic perspective presented by the Christian author, but she rightly insists that these poems demonstrate how much Muslims were, indeed, integral members of that society. Muslims could be viewed with considerable sympathy, which predestined them to become converts to Christianity. But the fact remains that Alfonso did not hesitate to identify them as ordinary people in his kingdom, different only in their faith. Amazingly, the illustrators went so far as to portray the Muslims not simply as one race, but indicated a considerable variety of people from different origins, which confirms, once more, how much Christians and Muslims were at least familiar with each other and did not rely on purely stereotypical concepts of the other.

Scarborough concludes by admitting that Alfonso was, like other medieval Christian kings, a devout and religious person, but this did not lead him to subjugate those of his subjects of a different faith in a brutal and mean-spirited fashion. Of course, he wanted them to convert, but he did not expel them and did not force them to accept baptism. His strategy consisted of cajoling and offering religious examples of the absolute superiority of the Christian religion. In this sense we might recognize a remarkable parallel to the Hohenstaufen Emperor Frederick II who also made sure that his Saracen subjects were not simply subjugated, but were treated in a more or less decent way so that they could contribute to the well-being of his state.[334]

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[334] John Philip Lomax, "Frederick II, His Saracens, and the Papacy" (see note 89); Dorothea Weltecke,

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Whenever we examine the relationships between East and West in the premodern world, we can focus on the missionaries, pilgrims, diplomats, merchants, and warriors who went to the foreign world for a variety of reasons and reported about the other culture/s. I have examined those narratives already numerous times in my comments above. Another group of intermediaries, not fully studied yet in the present context, consisted of the scholars, such as the famous but also heavily critiqued thirteenth-century Roger Bacon, truly a Renaissance man *avant la lettre*.[335] Scholarship and research have never known real boundaries or limits, since nationalities and differences in religion, for instance, do not matter in that regard. Any attempt to determine the 'legitimate' scope of scholarship by ethnic or racist criteria, as happened in Nazi Germany in an extreme fashion, has been doomed from the beginning because then ideology supplants rationality, leading to a dead end. As a case in point regarding the opposite approach, this Bacon was, as Mark T. Abate illustrates in his contribution, at the forefront of research at his time, although, or just because, he challenged the way religious and other teaching was carried out at the universities, especially because he was deeply influenced by the work of Arabic intellectuals, translated into Latin, and this particularly at a period when the last crusades failed to achieve their goals, when the Holy Land got lost to the Muslims for good, and when a new threat arose on the Eastern horizon, the Mongols.

Bacon died just one year after the fall of Acre in 1291, so he was a contemporary of a major defeat by Western Christianity in Palestine, while Latin Europe experienced a massive influx of new philosophical insights coming from the Arabs and, through Arabic translations, ancient Greek thinkers, especially Aristotle, which revolutionized the natural sciences and the understanding of the world. The irony of this development cannot be overlooked, of course. Even though the Christian West lost completely in military terms in the Holy Land, its adaption of Arabic learning laid the foundation for it subsequent rise on a global level since

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"Emperor Frederick II, 'Sultan of Lucera', 'Friend of the Muslims', Promoter of Cultural Transfer: Controversies and Suggestions," *Cultural Transfers in Dispute: Representations in Asia, Europe and the Arab World Since the Middle Ages*, ed. Jörg Feuchter. Eigene und fremde Welten, 23 (Frankfurt a. M. and New York: Campus-Verlag, 2011), 85–106. See also Ian Almond, *Two Faiths, One Banner: When Muslims Marched with Christians Across Europe's Battlegrounds* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2009), who offers a comparative perspective focusing on the Spanish King Alfonso VI, Frederick II, Turkish-Christian alliances in Asia Minor during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, on Ottoman Hungary, and the Crimean War in light of Christian-Muslim fighting units and collaboration.

335 Stewart Copinger Easton, *Roger Bacon and His Search for a Universal Science: A Reconsideration of the Life and Work of Roger Bacon in the Light of His Own Stated Purposes* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1952); Jeremiah Hackett, *Roger Bacon and the Sciences: Commemorative Essays*. Studien und Texte zur Geistesgeschichte des Mittelalters, 57 (Leiden ; New York : Brill, 1997); Brian Clegg, *The First Scientist: A Life of Roger Bacon* (New York: Carroll & Graf Publishers, 2003).

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the late Middle Ages. True victories in the long run should not be measured by military categories, often rather short-lived, but by the cultural and scientific successes of either society or world.

Bacon took the greatest pain to study and comprehend the enigmatic work by Aristotle, that is, the Pseudo-Aristotelian *Secret of Secrets*, a letter that he had allegedly written to Aristotle to help him in his campaign against the Persian empire through learned information. Bacon became familiar with this famous text at the latest sometime before 1252 and through its study he also faced the issue of how to cope with Muslim philosophers, especially Avicenna and Averroes, who had offered some of the most important commentaries on that text to their European colleagues. Abate here notes that for Bacon all true philosophers both in the past and the present experienced divine illumination that gave them "Christian-like" beliefs, irrespective of their declared faith. According to his view, comprehensive and complete knowledge had already been achieved in ancient times, especially by King Solomon, who used the Hebrew language. All subsequent generations and cultures then tried to reconstruct it, which made Arabic scholarship to an essential stepping stone in that long process, allowing Bacon and his contemporaries in Western Europe to regain the ancient wisdom and hence to recover a huge storehouse of knowledge.

The Muslim philosophers were philosophers for him in the first place, whereas their Islamic faith was a subject of great dislike for Bacon, who certainly condemned that Eastern religion in vehement terms, perhaps especially because of his apocalyptic views that he espoused in light of the failing crusades and the arrival of the Mongols. Nevertheless, due to his great admiration of the learnedness of the Muslim philosophers, Bacon had virtually more respect for them than for many of his contemporary Christian colleagues, although we must not confuse this with a modern notion of tolerance; far from it.[336]

In his scientific investigations Bacon also found a truly kindred spirit in the Arab scholar al-Kindī (ninth century) and paid close attention to his teachings about the categorization of this world and the understanding of how thoughts and matter are correlated by way of rays which the former emit.[337] In a way, Bacon, following al-Kindī, also embraced the notion that even thoughts emitted rays, which hence connect all people with each other and which also explains the working of miracles by way of words uttered at significant moments.

We can certainly discover in Bacon's work many contradictory, purely imaginative observations, perhaps typical of the Middle Ages, but certainly

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336 Amanda Power, *Roger Bacon and the Defence of Christendom* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2013).

337 For a useful introduction to al-Kindī and contemporary Arabic scientists, see Jim Al-Khalili, *The House of Wisdom: How Arabic Science Saved ancient Knowledge and Gave us the Renaissance* (London: Penguin, 2010), 128–37.

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borrowed from Arabic teachings. However we might evaluate Bacon's contribution to the sciences in the thirteenth-century Latin West, he certainly was at the forefront of adopting Arabic learning for his own research and so transmitted, or developed further, thoughts, ideas, and concepts already conceived by his Arabic forerunners. Their different religious orientation, by contrast, did not matter to him at all, a characteristic feature in much of medieval scholarship since the twelfth century, paying great respect to the significant role which the Arabic intellectuals played not only in the transmission of ancient Greek teachings, but also in developing those further.

No study on medieval travel literature and the contemporary experience of the East perceived through Western eyes can ignore one of the most popular writers in that regard, John Mandeville, whose *Travels* (1357) has been studied for many decades by now from a wide array of perspectives, especially because it experienced such an enormous reception throughout times.[338] Jean E. Jost takes a fresh look at his travelogue, which might not have been based on his personal eye-witness account, and yet conveyed, perhaps just because it was mostly literary, though not completely fictional, a surprising sense of emotional detachment or lack of critical reaction to the alterity of the foreign world. In other words, he did not reject it or describe it from a hostile perspective. Although Mandeville repeated much monster lore and presented numerous cases of extraordinary wonders and puzzlement, at least for a Westerner, his *Travels* is not necessarily determined by specifically European prejudices or stereotypes. Jost goes so far as to recognize an approach to the East pursued by Mandeville which goes contrary to specifically imperialistic or hegemonic perspectives and strategies, as they had dominated the entire period of the Crusades until 1291, and also well beyond. In a way, Mandeville does not judge, he only presents the oddities of a strange world, fascinating and alien at the same time. But in most cases he blunts the impact on his audiences by presenting even the strangest phenomena almost in an ordinary light, that is, as different, but not as really extraordinary and shocking, regularly resorting to a kind of literary understatement.[339]

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338 See, for example, Iain Higgins, "*Mandeville's Travels*," *Trade, Travel, and Exploration in the Middle Ages: An Encyclopedia*, ed. John Block Friedman and Kristen Mossler Figg (New York and London: Garland, 2000), 357–60; see also the introduction to *The Book of John Mandeville: with Related Texts*, ed. and trans. with an introduction, by Iain Macleod Higgins (Indianapolis: Hackett Publishing Company, Inc, 2011). For the rich history of Mandeville's reception, see Ladan Niayesh, *A Knight's Legacy: Mandeville and Mandevillian Lore in Early Modern England*. Manchester Medieval Literature and Culture (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press: distributed in the USA exclusively by Palgrave Macmillan, 2011).

339 However, as Mary B. Campbell observes in her *The Witness and the Other World* (see note 154), 152: "The East remains a kind of mantra in Mandeville's hands, or a setting for dreams." And: "But Mandeville's context is at every point denser, richer, more constraining than has been possible in

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Although the Islamic religion is clearly presented as wrong and evil, for Mandeville it did not represent an actual threat since he did not express any emotional involvement in these religious matters because he intended primarily to entertain his audience with this text. Even when he has to report of rather bizarre aspects in the East, he maintains his matter-of-fact tone of voice and allows all those features to pass in front of our eyes like in a panopticon, often rather flashy and amazing, but not earth-shaking. Mandeville mentions even such abhorrent cultural practices as polygamy, child prostitution to which the parents agree unmoved, and cannibalism. The author voices his strong criticism, yet no real moral concerns are raised, no outrage, and perhaps this is a further factor confirming that here we are dealing in part at least with an armchair traveler for whom such an "evyl custome" is only a highlight in his account important to attract his audience's attention, but not serious enough to voice personal opposition of a more serious kind.

Quite remarkably, Jost does not observe in Mandeville's *Travels* any real affect, any shocks, disgust, or personal responses to the accounts of the Eastern alterity because the author does not seem to be really disturbed or outraged by the wonders, or rather sometimes the horrors, of the East, and he does not display real awe or dismay at sights reflecting Eastern religious practices and institutions. At the same time, Mandeville's account reveals a considerable interest in psychological conditions, human relationships, and strange phenomena of all kinds. Perhaps, as Jost suggests, this very attempt to present all those features as something rather ordinary and normal, characteristic of the foreign world, could be an indication that he might have traveled after all, or might have studied relevant literature quite thoroughly. The latter aspect can be taken for sure, as scholarship has richly confirmed, but we cannot really dismiss the possibility outright that even the most fanciful account such as Mandeville's *Travels* might not have been based somewhat on personal experiences. Whatever the situation might have been, Jost clearly points out some important features in Mandeville's account that help us to comprehend the reasons for its enormous popularity. The *Travels* might have been an effective bridge between East and West in literary terms, i.e., for the audiences in the West, or it might have been an imaginary one; but as a highly influential text it was certainly a transcultural bridge, at least for the readers/listeners in the West.

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previous, less nearly metaphysical works. He may or may not believe in the monstrosities (or he may have an apprehension of them conforming to their previously discussed status as part fact/part text). What matters more is that they [the monsters] operate in the service of some truths unfolding beneath the surface of their chapter" (154).

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Scott L. Taylor continues with the discussion of travelogue literature from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, including Marco Polo's, Mandeville's travelogues, and then also Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's text, his *Riḥla*, inquiring what they might reveal about the rise of curiosity as a secular value in the late Middle Ages. He grounds his analysis in a study of an unexpected source text, the *Chorography* by Pomponius Mela (d. ca. 45 C.E.), where we are already informed about a circumnavigation of the known world. Petrarch brought a copy of that account with him on his return to Italy from Avignon and thus contributed to its extraordinary distribution, after it had already enjoyed tremendous popularity in late antiquity and the early Middle Ages. Instead of working primarily with factual aspects, the *Chorography* was characterized by numerous fictional accounts, inviting the reader to engage in a strong process of imagination, as reflected by the regular appearance of wonders (*miracula*) and monsters.

By contrast, as Taylor observes, in the Arabic world, where scientists and scholars had learned considerably more deeply and more intimately from ancient Greek thinkers, there was a certain disinclination toward the wondrous and fictional in travelogues. Nevertheless, Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (1304–1368/1369) composed a kind of *riḥla*, a composite genre of factual and fictional elements, situating them all in his famous travel account. As Ross E. Dunn notes, "his story is far more personal and humanely engaging than Marco's."[340] While this would have met with great interest among the European readers, as Mandeville's *Travels* confirm so powerfully, Ibn Baṭṭūṭa did not enjoy any significant popularity at his time. In fact, he was even publicly accused of having been a liar, and hence was distrusted as a fabulist and also as a travel writer—a similar charge was raised against Polo, but it did not diminish his popularity as a writer. After all, the latter, and with him Rustichello, made a serious attempt at describing the world in the East in as concrete terms as possible, yet this did not prevent future readers and collectors of fabulous accounts of including his *Devisement* as well, although it often proves to be a rather sober and even dry narrative.

Taylor insists that medieval people might not have known sufficiently enough about this world compared to their posterity, but they were not mired in ignorance and substituted their gaps in hard-core knowledge based on verification deliberately with allegories, myths, and fancies in order to grasp the metaphysical

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340 Ross E. Dunn, *The Adventures of Ibn Battuta: A Muslim Traveler of the 14th Century*. Rev. ed., with a new preface (1986; Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2005), 5. In contrast to Marco Polo, Ibn Baṭṭūṭa virtually never ventured into Christian territory since he "spent most of his traveling career within the cultural boundaries of what Muslims called the Dar al-Islam, or Abode of Islam" (6). However, he experienced Constantinople and took close note of the many Christian churches and other institutions; see Christine Chism, "Between Islam and Christendom: Ibn Battuta's *Travels* in Asia Minor and the North," *Cosmopolitanism and the Middle Ages* (see note 146), 59–78.

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reality. Insofar as Polo, and later also Mandeville facilitated the expansion of literary collections about the wonders of the East, both authors met with a high degree of approval, whereas this was not at all the case with Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, perhaps because the European approach to geographic reality, at least in the Middle Ages, was driven not so much by the quest for accurate information, but by the quest for understanding and spiritualization of this world. What mattered, especially for clerical authors, were the *mirabilia*, not the *res* of this existence, as the Christian teachings underscored for almost two thousand years.

Even the earth-shattering discoveries of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries did not change that phenomenon much, as continuous reprinting of Mandeville's *Travels* indicate, since the critical interest rested in compilations of the wondrous in narrative form irrespective of new travelogues, such as by Balthasar Sprenger and Ludovico Varthema (see above). In fact, even today many people have not moved far away from that attitude, if we consider the numerous accounts about UFOs or other miraculous sightings. Reality was just too boring to gain much attraction, which Ibn Baṭṭūṭa also understood, but he failed in reaching out to his audience because they were obviously on a different planet, so to speak.

While it has become rather fashionable and more or less correctly so to emphasize in Medieval Studies how much Arabic or Persian sciences influenced and hence transformed the European cultures during the high Middle Ages, in specific contexts the situation might really have been much more complex and varied. As impressive as the Eastern knowledge often truly was, it would be erroneous to discard, as a consequence, all possibilities that the Europeans had developed their own concepts and understanding of medical issues, for instance. Romedio Schmitz-Esser examines the case of embalming in the Middle Ages, although it has traditionally been associated mostly with ancient Egypt and its cult of mummifying the pharaohs, in order to illustrate how Eastern and Western knowledge merged in the course of time.

Recent research has actually demonstrated that the procedure of embalming was not that uncommon in medieval Europe, even if it was not practiced on a daily basis, perhaps due to the costs and difficulties in achieving the desired goal. Nevertheless, many times the corpses of deceased high-ranking nobles or members of the upper clergy had to be transported over long distances, requiring some forms of embalming after all. Sometimes also ordinary knights and burghers were embalmed after their death for a variety of reasons. Nevertheless, embalming was studied at European universities only since the fourteenth century, where scholars still relied heavily on practical experiences.

Significantly, for a long time Europeans had no theoretical treatise available dealing with the techniques of embalming, which only changed in the twelfth century when Gerard of Cremona (ca. 1114–1187) translated a major tract on this

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topic by the Persian physician Abu Bakr Muhammad ben Zakariya ar-Razi, or Rhazes (865–925),[341] his *Kitab al-Mansuri fi al-tibb* (The Book of Medicine for Mansur), which he had written for the Samanid ruler of Rayy, Abu Salih al-Mansur, as *Liber medicinalis ad Almansorem*. This Latin translation was followed by a highly influential treatise from the early fourteenth century, the *Chirurgia* by Henry de Mondeville. However, Henry did not only know of Rhazes's treaty and used it extensively, but he also relied heavily on his own experiences, and hence drew from other, probably oral sources.

Still, Rhazes's teachings proved to be especially useful for him in embalming a body for a lengthy transport, or in the case of a long delay of the burial. Henry was primarily concerned with preventing bad odors emanating from a coffin or any other container used for the transport of the corpse.

One of his major techniques consisted of extracting the intestines, which Schmitz-Esser can trace back to various practices in Western Europe as early as the ninth and tenth centuries as an important ritual in the Christian Church dealing with deceased bishops, other major clerics, except for popes, whose embalming was reported only much later, and emperors and kings. However, both the Arabic and the Persian tradition clearly refrained from this extraction process and instead paid greatest attention to the integrity of the dead body. Studying embalming in the late Middle Ages, Schmitz-Esser can demonstrate that both the Occidental and the Oriental tradition merged and served well for the further development of specific techniques and methods in the treatment of important corpses. For our purpose this means that we have to accept a more complex perspective regarding the intellectual, scientific, medical, and other exchanges with and influences from the Oriental world during the medieval era. As much as Arabic and Persian authors were certainly instrumental and inspirational in the radical transformation of the study of medicine and the sciences since the twelfth century, the Europeans also had developed their own, somewhat autochthonous traditions and practices, though we do not have written records to confirm them.

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341 For a solid biographical survey with a comprehensive list of all of his writings, see Sleïm Ammar, *Abû Bekr Er-Razi, Rhazès: le Galien des arabes* (Tunis: s.n., 1977); see also the useful survey article online at: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Muhammad_ibn_Zakariya_al-Razi#Books_on_medicine (last accessed on Jan. 14, 2013). Rhazes enjoyed popularity far into the eighteenth century; see, for example, *Rhazes De variolis et morbillis, arabice et latine: cvm aliis nonnvllis eivsdem argvmenti*, ed. John Channing (London: Excvdebat Gvilielmvs Bowyer, 1766). See now Rafaela González Castrillo, *Rhazes y Avicena en la Biblioteca de la Facultad de Medicina de le Universidad Complutense: descripción de su obra médica impresa y commentaries* (Madrid: Editorial de la Universidad Complutense, 1984). Cf. also Homa Firouzabadi, "Bibliographie der medizinischen Werke Rhazes: 'Abu Bakar Muhammad Ibn Zakaryya'," Ph.D. diss., Düsseldorf 1970. Cf. also Danielle Jacquart and Françoise Micheau, *La médecine arabe et l'occident médiéval* (Paris: Maisonneuve et Larose, 1990), 56–68; John Tolan, "Saracens and Ifranj: Rivalries, Emulation, and Convergences," *Europe and the Islamic World* (see note 284), 11–107; here 89–93.

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While travelogues and pilgrimage accounts directly reflect some form of exchange between East and West, though both genres are always determined by considerable epistemological filters either of a religious or an anthropological kind (self versus other; true religion versus false religion), literary works regularly enjoy a much higher degree of freedom and can project contacts, exchanges, meetings, and communication with people from other cultures, languages, and religions. Two of the most dramatic cases, already discussed above, were Wolfram von Eschenbach's *Parzival* and subsequently his *Willehalm*, but we also could refer to the Old French chantefable *Aucassin et Nicolette* or the pan-European verse narrative of *Flore and Blanscheflur* (both thirteenth century).[342] Another intriguing example, perhaps even more developed, at least more reflexive of the global implications of the cultural exchanges between East and West, proves to be Hermanns von Sachsenheim late medieval German *Die Mörin*, composed in the fateful year 1453 when Constantinople fell into the hands of the Ottoman, which undermined profoundly the balance of power between Orient and Occident.

While Hermann had discussed the issue of personal failure in matters of love already in his narrative *Der Spiegel* (probably 1452), which then, however, was situated entirely in the Western realm, in his *Mörin* we suddenly find the old protagonist abducted to an Eastern court where he has to defend himself against serious charges of having broken his own oath of love sometime during his youth pledged to Venus.

Hermann does not engage with a realistic setting at an Oriental court; instead the trial takes place at the court of Queen Venus, which underscores the allegorical nature of this narrative. Although the old man is condemned for his transgression, he refutes all charges against him, and when he is condemned for his alleged misdeed, he insists on appealing the judgment. Finally the old man is magically

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342 *Aucassin & Nicolette, A Chantefable from the Twelfth-Century Minstrels: A Facing-Page Translation*, trans. and ill. by Jean-Jacques Jura. With a Foreword by Stephen G. Nichols (Lewiston, Queenston, and Lampeter: The Edwin Mellen Press, 2007). Jura's dating (late twelfth century) does not convince me, but it would be difficult to find hard facts; except for arguing that such a highly satirical work seems very characteristic of the thirteenth century. The narrative has survived in only one manuscript, B.N. fr. 2168. See Glyn S. Burgess, "Aucassin et Nicolette," *Medieval France: An Encyclopedia*, ed. William W. Kibler and Grover A. Zinn (New York and London: Garland, 1995), 80; Albrecht Classen, "Aucassin et Nicolette," *Encyclopedia of Medieval Literature*, ed. Jay Ruud (New York: Facts on File, 2006), 44–46; Robert d'Orbigny, *Le Conte de Floire et Blanchefleur. Nouvelle édition critique du texte du manuscrit A (Paris, BNF, fr. 375)*, publié, traduit, présenté et annoté par Jean-Luc Leclanche. Champion classiques. Serie "Moyen Âge (Paris: Honoré Champion, 2003); Albrecht Classen, "Suffering in Konrad Fleck's *Flore und Blanscheflur* as a Catalyst in the Meeting with the Foreign: Emotional Bonds with the Orient in a Late-Medieval Sentimental Romance," *Neophilologus* 95.4 (2011): 605–25. For further examples, see the contributions to *Meeting the Foreign in the Middle Ages* (see note 15); and to *Contextualizing the Muslim Other* (see note 27).

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transported back home, which somewhat inconclusively brings this literary account to its end.

Stefanie Helmschrott here offers a detailed discussion of the debates that take place in the various tents and at other locations where the two sides of this court trial meet and deliberate. As the narrative reveals, the world is determined by representatives of different cultures, but these cultures are not necessarily in a disparate or hostile relationship to each other just because of the differences in religion or languages. The entire narrative is predicated on judicial and personal exchanges, debates, discussions, and talks, which all reveal some specific characteristics of the individual speakers. More important, however, as Helmschrott rightly observes, communication between representatives of different cultures is, or should be, possible, at least in this literary context. Of course, Hermann predicates his narrative on a Eurocentric perspective, but he still bases the account on the possibility that people from the Orient display interest in those from the Occident, and vice versa, and that they can easily communicate with each other linguistically.

Undoubtedly, the poet must have been aware of the various efforts during the late Middle Ages to engage individuals from other faiths in a debate about the true religion, and since with the fall of Constantinople the imminent threat by the Turks had begun to loom large on the horizon of Christian/Latin Europe, Hermann apparently tried to outline strategies how East and West could engage in critical and constructive exchanges and in that process even learn from each other's religion.[343] Surprisingly, in September of the same year, 1453, Nicholas of Cusa wrote his famous *De pace fidei* (On the Peace of Faith), in which he expressed much more tolerant attitudes than in his later *Cribratio Alchorani* (1460; Sifting the Koran) composed on the occasion of his visit to Constantinople. Could it be that Hermann of Sachsenheim was familiar with Nicholas of Cusa?[344]

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343 Nederman, *Worlds of Difference* (see note 162), 85–89; *Wege zur Toleranz: Geschichte einer europäischen Idee in Quellen*, ed., intro., and commentary by Heinrich Schmidinger (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2002), 99–111

344 Nederman, *Worlds of Difference* (see note 162), 88–89; see also Morimichi Watanabe, *Nicholas of Cusa – A Companion to His Life and His Times*, ed. Gerald Christianson and Thomas M. Izbicki (Farmham, Surrey, and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2011), 51–57. See also Robert Schwoebel, *The Shadow of the Crescent: The Renaissance Image of the Turk (1453–1517)* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1967). For a solid biography of Nicholas, see http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/11060b.htm (last accessed on Nov. 2, 2012). For a good translation, see *Nicholas of Cusa's De Pace fidei and Cribratio Alkorani: Translation and Analysis* by Jasper Hopkins (Minneapolis, MN: A. J. Banning Press, 1990). See also the bilingual edition, Nicholas of Cusa, *On Interreligious Harmony* (see note 200). See also the contributions to *Ramon Llull und Nikolaus von Kues: eine Begegnung im Zeichen der Toleranz. Akten des Internationalen Kongresses zu Ramon Llull und Nikolaus von Kues (Brixen und Bozen, 25.–27. November 2004)*, ed. Ermenegildo Bidese, Alexander Fidora, and Paul Renner. Instrumenta patristica et mediaevalia, 46 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2005); and Gergely Tibor Bakos, *On Faith, Rationality, and the Other in the Late Middle Ages: A Study of Nicholas of Cusa's Manuductive Approach*

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In his *Die Mörin* he presents two polar strategies in the field of communication, the first based on harsh aggression, attacks, and threats, the other based on open-mindedness, attentiveness to the other, and the willingness to reach a consensus through compromise. Of course, Hermann could not even imagine the possibility of Christianity tolerating Islam as an alternative religion, but the narrative context indicates that for him the open debate in a constructive manner involving both sides was conceivable, if not necessary.[345]

Helmschrott identifies numerous parallels between *Die Mörin* and Wolfram von Eschenbach's *Willehalm* (ca. 1217–1220) because in both texts the dream of open communication between Muslims and Christians is attentively explored from many different perspectives. There are clear allusions to the Middle High German *chanson de geste* in *Die Mörin*, but Hermann also changed the framework considerably because there is no close love relationship between the old protagonist and the female characters at the judicial court, while that is critically the case between Willehalm and his wife Gyburc, formerly Arabel (when she had still been a Muslim woman and the wife of a Muslim ruler). However, despite the religious difference in the legal deliberations and discussions in Hermann's narrative, the court steward, supporting the position of the old protagonist, admonishes all to abstain from further religious conflicts and to accept that there is one God only whom they can all accept irrespective of their specific religions—certainly a strong expression of 'tolerance' *avant la lettre*. The narrator casts Venus and her court in negative light, but not because of their Islamic faith, instead because of their harsh and negative treatment of the Christian protagonists and their unwillingness to practice open and constructive communication. The true ideal would be, as *Die Mörin* signals through the debates as they develop in the course of the narrative, to accept the difference of religions as part of God's great plan and to treat others who hold opposite ideas and faiths with respect.

Hermann obviously understood fairly well the unique features of Islam and allowed some of his figures to formulate their own opinion, their criticism of

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to Islam. Princeton Theological Monograph Series, 141 (Eugene, OR: Pickwick Publications, 2011). For a very useful overview, putting Cusa in the correct theological-philosophical context vis-à-vis the engagement with the other religion, see Moffit Watts, "Talking to Spiritual Otherness" (see note 29), 209–15. She correctly emphasizes: "while *De pace fidei* might on the surface appear to be a richly-hued kaleidoscope of religions and people . . . the differences among them are finally all ephemeral. Subject to the Cusanian dialectics of *unitas* and *alteritas*, *complicatio* and *explicatio*, the historical and cultural variables that distinguish these peoples and their religions from one another, are only so many refractions of the gaze of the divine *oculus*, manifestations of the necessarily prismatic condition of human existence" (212).

345 Late medieval authors often present the very opposite conditions, deeply lamenting thereby the downfall of human communication and hence the loss of the human community. See my study *Verzweiflung und Hoffnung: Die Suche nach der kommunikativen Gemeinschaft in der deutschen Literatur des Mittelalters*. Beihefte zur Mediaevistik, 1 (Frankfurt a. M., Berlin, et al: Peter Lang, 2002).

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Christianity, and their deep convictions, and yet he did not, as a narrator, condemn them as heathens or idolaters. Helmschrott does not argue that this poet propounded 'tolerance' in the modern sense of the word; rather, she rightly claims that in Hermann's *Die Mörin* the possibility, if not necessity, arises to engage with the representatives of other religions and cultures in the form of critical and constructive debates. These, however, require, as their necessary framework, the acknowledgment of the debate partner as an equal, dignified, human being. In this regard we might be entitled to identify the Venus Island, where the old man is abducted to and then has to face his trial, as a hybrid space where people from different religions successfully operate together and manage to explore their cultural and religious differences in an open forum where the playing field surprisingly is the same for all involved.

All travel writing has been predicated on the author's interest in foreign worlds, either beyond the parochial borders or indeed far way in distant countries and continents. It does not matter for our purpose whether the author actually went abroad or not; instead all travelogues or travel poems reflect the realization that the self needs the exposure to the other dimension in order to satisfy the curiosity and the desire to grow to one's full potential. Michel de Montaigne (1533–1592) included numerous discussions about the Orient in his *Essais*, which Denis Bjaï examines in his contribution to this volume. Although China was one of the great topics since the middle of the sixteenth century, when the Jesuit missionaries, above all, tried hard to reach that land and to preach Christianity there, Montaigne does not include more than a few remarks on that world in the Far East, and then only very late in his collection of essays, after he had studied a history of China, *Zizhi Tongjian*, in the Vatican Library in 1581. Nevertheless, he was aware of those parts of the world and also knew of specific forms of dress, which he mentions in his essay. As was quite typical in that genre of travel literature, especially women's appearance mattered greatly because of its difference and also splendor. But Montaigne, following classical sources, such as Strabo (ca. 64/63 B.C.E–ca. 24 C.E.), also included comments on the lack of inhibition by the Chinese women who cared little about covering their *pudenda*. He also noted that the Chinese had developed gun powder well thousand years before the Europeans.

Drawing on more contemporary sources, Montaigne discussed India in greater detail, himself being deeply fascinated by the report that widows were buried alive with their dead husbands. He also had much to say about duels which were commonly practiced there, and also about harems, but his real interest rested on the Ottomans to the West, a true threat to Europe since 1453, and even more so since the early sixteenth century. Montaigne carefully reviews the history of the Ottoman empire, the various rulers, their major battles and victories, and he almost glorifies the accomplishments of Mehmed II (1432–1481) and Suleyman the

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Magnificent (1494–1566), although both achieved major military triumphs against Byzantium and the Latin West. Of course, Montaigne was not the only one at his time to formulate such an opinion, but his voice carried much weight in the shaping of public attitudes toward the Turks in France.[346]

While Turkish brutality and cruelty were often the topic of pamphlet literature throughout early-modern Europe, Montaigne, without denying it, also referred his readers to similar or comparable cruelty as committed in Poland, for instance, where internecine strife resulted in terrible bloodshed and horrible treatment of prisoners. Without idealizing the Ottoman Empire, Montaigne recognized a strong and solid governmental system in place there, almost comparable to the one which Macchiavelli had devised for the well-being of the modern state ruled by a prince of a new, absolutist kind.

The dream of establishing universal peace and communicative links between East and West found a remarkable expression in the fictional account of the enigmatic Christian Rosencreutz's alleged travel to the Orient in the 1390s, first published, perhaps only in jest by a student, in 1614 and subsequently reprinted numerous times. This gave rise to the emergence of the international secret society of the Rosicrucians who endeavored, like many of their contemporaries and countless others in the following centuries even until today to recover ancient wisdom and understanding in the mysterious East and to use it to solve fundamental problems in the West—perhaps an early but significant form of 'Orientalism.' The Catholic Church reacted vehemently against the publication of this *Fama Fraternitatis, Deß Löblichen Ordens des Rosenkreutzes/ an alle Gelehrte vnd Häupter Europæ geschrieben*, and condemned everyone who publicly dared to praise its deeper, almost religious insights.

One of the reasons, apart from the obviously very friendly attitudes toward Islam and other Eastern religions, to reject Rosencreutz's narrative as heretical was that its author had established a close relationship with the ideas as developed by Theophrastus von Hohenheim, known as Paracelsus.[347] Although it remains

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346 Raja J. Zaimova, *Voyager vers l'autre Europe: images françaises des Balkans ottomans, XVIe–XVIIIe siècles* (Istanbul: Éditions Isis, 2007). See also the contributions to *Emissaries in Early Modern Literature and Culture: Mediation, Transmission, Traffic, 1550–1700*, ed. Brinda Charry and Gitanjali Shahani (Aldershot, Hants, England; Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2008).

347 Theophrastus has received much new attention by recent scholarship; see the contributions to *Paracelsus im Kontext der Wissenschaften seiner Zeit: Kultur- und Mentalitätsgeschichtliche Annäherungen*, ed. Albrecht Classen. Theophratus Paracelsus Studien, 2 (Berlin and New York: Walther de Gruyter, 2010); *Religion und Gesundheit in der Frühen Neuzeit*: *Der heilkundliche Diskurs im 16. Jahrhundert*, ed. Albrecht Classen. Theophrastus Paracelsus Studien, 3 (Berlin and New York: De Gruyter, 2011); and to *Gutes Leben und guter Tod von der Spätantike bis zur Gegenwart: Ein Philosophisch-ethischer Diskurs über die Jahrhunderte hinweg*, ed. Albrecht Classen. Theophrastus Paracelsus Studien, 4 (Berlin and New York: De Gruyter, 2012).

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doubtful whether Paracelsus actually had traveled far and wide, perhaps even to Constantinople and elsewhere, as a matter of fact he had visited many different countries and fervently believed that the true medical doctor would have to gain much diverse experience among a variety of cultures and schools.

Not only Rosencreutz and Paracelsus, but many other scholars and travelers before and after them, can thus be identified as the 'living' proof of some significant intellectual contacts between East and West since the Middle Ages. But while the individuals who recorded the story of Rosencreutz formulated rather positive opinions about the high level of medical scholarship prevalent in the Near East, especially in the Umayyad and the Ottoman Empire, the military threat emanating from those countries was very clear in the minds of many, if not most early-modern Europeans, deeply terrified by the Turkish threat.

However, the account does not say that Christian spent three years reconvalescing in Damascus; instead he stayed in Damcar, Yemen, where he gained also much knowledge about medicine and philosophy, associating himself with the world of the Old Testament (Queen of Sheba and King Solomon). The wise men there sent Christian subsequently to Egypt and especially to Morocco to continue with his studies. In essence the Rosicrucian teachings were based on a rather radical openness toward learning from the East which they hoped to integrate into the learning practiced in the West.

As Thomas Willard elucidates in his contribution, the subsequently published allegorical narrative *The Chemical Wedding of Christian Rosencreutz* (1616) by Johann Valentin Andreae, probably under the influence of his teacher, the Chiliast and Paracelsian medical doctor, Tobias Heß (1558–1614), extended this spiritual and humanistic approach to bring together the secret learning from both East and West for the improvement of mankind altogether. Andreae, even though he later seems to have rejected his own work as a *ludibrium*, created an amazing account about the marriage of heaven and earth, during which, however, Cupid intervenes and creates major trouble. Other publications followed responding to Rosencreutzer's intriguing report, all engaging with the question how Eastern and Western wisdom and knowledge could be combined, such as those by a mysterious Irenaeus Agnostus (1617–1620; *Frater Non Frater*), Eusebius Christianus Crucigerus's *Eine kurtze Beschreibung der Newen Arabischen und Morischen Fraternitet* (1618), and Michael Maier's *Symbola Aureae Mensae Duodecim Nationum* (1618). From then on a variety of other authors and translators appeared who responded to the Rosicrucian teachings, exploring further the possibilities of bridging the gulf between East and West via spiritual learning.[348]

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[348] Reinhold F. Glei, "*Aetnaei fratres*: Die Centonen des Menapius (alisa friedrich grick) gegen die Rosenkreuzer (Teil I)," *Journal of Neo-Latin Language and Literature* 13 (2011): 95–121. Further bibliographical information there. See now the continuation of his study in "*Ianus Frater*: Die

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Willard alerts us, for instance, to Thomas Vaughan who introduced an English translation of the first two manifestos from 1614 and 1615, all contributing to the further development of hermetic concepts which increasingly dominated the late seventeenth century.[349] But Willard rightly emphasizes that Rosencreutz, Andreae, and other representatives of early modern hermeticism were basically continuing with a tradition that can be traced back at least to the late Middle Ages, as we observe already in our discussions above. Intellectuals and spiritualists, in other words, can often be identified as being at the forefront of transgressing cultural borders in order to expand the horizon of their learning.

While it has been fashionable to talk about 'Orientalism' since the publication of Edward Said's seminal study on this topic in 1978,[350] we have had to realize already for some time that there was also a form of 'Occidentalism' and that neither term fully illuminates the actual relationships between East and West, as I have tried to illustrate above numerous times. One of the most fascinating examples of an Easterner traveling West, but not only to Rome and France, but even to the New World, proves to be the Chaldean-Catholic priest Ilyas bin Hanna al-Mawsuli of Baghad who explored parts of the Americas between 1675 and 1683. He was always warmly welcomed wherever he went and obviously enjoyed his time abroad tremendously, obviously not only because he carried the correct papers from the pope and the Spanish queen regent, but also because of his personality and perhaps his charisma and role as a priest who was even invited to read mass to his Catholic audiences in the New World.

Like many other travelers before and after him, al-Mawsuli subsequently wrote an extensive travelogue, or *riḥla*, when his permit for his stay in Peru and New Spain had expired in 1680. The author returned to Rome in 1683, where he apparently completed his account in a leisurely fashion, which then, however, seems to have disappeared from the public view and was rediscovered only in the early twentieth century, one manuscript in the Syriac Bishopric of Aleppo, the other in the British Library (MS Oriental 3537). The original was first printed in in 1906, but there also seems to have appeared an earlier edition in Cairo in

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Centonen des Menapius (alias Friedrich Grick) gegen die Rosenkreutzer (Teil II)," *Journal of Neo-Latin Language and Literature* 14 (2012): 127–46. He concludes that Menapius drastically exposed the entire concept of the Rosicrucians, the legend of Christian Rosencreutz, the grave of Paracelsus, the alchemical allegories, the new *fama* of the Rosicrucians, the idea of a general reform, and the Christian utopia of a new form of statehood as a poorly developed patchwork and as nothing but a rumor. I thank Prof. Glei for sharing his recent publications with me.

349 Peter-André Alt, *Imaginäres Geheimwissen: Untersuchungen zum Hermetismus in literarischen Texten der Frühen Neuzeit*. Berliner Mittelalter- und Frühneuzeitforschung, 12 (Göttingen: V & R Unipress, 2012).

350 *Orientalism revisited*, ed. Richard Netton (see note 49); cf. also the useful biographical article on Said online at: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Edward_Said (last accessed on Nov. 2, 2012).

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1865–1866 as *Kitab al-mathal al-sāir fī adab al-kātib wa-al-shā`ir* (according to WorldCat).[351]

Much still needs to be done to explore this text, but Ramón E. Duarte here provides a critical reading based on the translations and discussions previously offered by Nabil Matar and Caesar E. Farah (both in 2003, but independently from each other), exploring how this traveler and writer established amazing bridges between East and West, speaking, to varying degrees, Arabic, Turkish, Eastern Syriac, Spanish, and Latin. Duarte carefully steers his way through almost contradictory interpretations, arguing that al-Mawsuli somewhat embraced European imperialist perspectives regarding the New World as well as pursued his interest to entertain his Eastern audience with exotic accounts free from a purely Western ideological concepts. His work reflects European traditions and values, and yet, in his observations of the New World, it still differs remarkably from traditional Western travel literature through the absence of imperialist, that is, mostly Spanish-Catholic, viewpoints.

We might identify al-Mawsuli's account as the narrative location of a third space in the way Homi K. Bhaba identified it in his *Location of Culture* (1994), which in turn was based on Walter Benjamin's influential theoretical reflections from the early twentieth century.[352] After all, al-Mawsuli was a priest of the Chaldean-Syrian church, and so he simply could not interpret the New World as his European contemporaries or the colonialists in Peru, for instance, did routinely. By the same token, the author did not dismiss or even criticize Islam, and he did not abnegate his obligatory obedience to the Ottoman Empire, insofar as he did not pursue any polemic goals, favoring either the Christian Church or Islam.

As Duarte demonstrates as highly likely, the New World was not an unknown entity to the Arab and other Eastern audiences, but al-Mawsuli still offered a truly amazing and innovative report about parts of the Americas most of his readers or listeners would not have ever seen before themselves. By the same token, as his travelogue clearly indicates, the author enjoyed the highest esteem during his

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351 I have discovered those dates through catalogue research on the basis of Worldcat and the Karlsruhe Virtual Catalogue, but these additional dates are not confirmed by the editors of the text. We might get to the bottom of the truth only through autopsy. One copy of the presumed 1901 (Beirut: al-Maṭbaah al-Kāthūlikīyah) edition is in the *Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Bonn*, Germany, call number Goussen 2726. But thanks to the librarian in Bonn, Dr. Andrea Specht , we could verify that the catalogue entry was actually wrong, and it should read 1906.

352 Much has been written on Bhaba's concept of the 'third space'; see, for instance, David Jefferess, *Postcolonial Resistance*. Cultural Spaces (Toronto, Buffalo, and London: University of Toronto Press, 2008); for a concise survey on the theoretical development of the concept of 'third space,' see online at: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Third_place (last accessed on Nov. 2, 2012). For pragmatic and theoretical studies, see the contributions to *Transcultural German Studies: Building Bridges*, ed. Steven D. Martinson and Renate A. Schulz. Jahrbuch für Internationale Germanistik. Reihe A: Kongressberichte, 94 (Bern, Berlin, et al.: Peter Lang, 208).

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sojourn in the Americas, both among the members of the elite and the ordinary people. All this provides us with an innovative spin to the whole notion of East Meeting West, because here it is really the West Meeting the East to their mutual delight.

According to Duarte, al-Mawsuli greatly admired the pope, but he did not identify himself as a European, being still very clear about his Eastern identity. His only true enemies were the Protestants (whom he probably never even met in person), while he could easily cope with the American heathens, i.e., the native people, since they could be converted to the Catholic faith, as the Jesuit and Franciscan missionaries were busily doing during that time.[353]

Whereas al-Mawsuli did not fully subscribe to European literary, religious, and political traditions, he relied heavily on the classical Arabic learned tradition while writing down his personal experiences (even if his Arabic reflected a "vulgar" Mosul colloquial rather than the polished *fuṣḥa* of the 'ulamâ'). Nevertheless, he added new information, whether fabulous or not, about highly aggressive and mobile (!) grass that would strike only white, or at least non-native, people with deadly force, and cocoa trees, at that time yet unknown in the Arabic world. He also respected the native Indian population as worthy of full recognition in their individual rights and deserving of conversion to the Christian faith.

To what extent his *riḥla* enjoyed a wider reception during his time or later well before the early twentieth century, cannot yet be fully confirmed, though Duarte suggests, along with Matar and others, that the oral Arab tradition and the high degree of Islamic sciences probably secured its popularity at least for some time. However, it is also possible that al-Mawsuli's work by itself represented such an anomaly and contained such incredulous reports (almost similar to those provided by Marco Polo circa three hundred years before him) that his audience soon turned away from it since they did not really have any opportunity to travel to the Americas themselves and so might have regarded his *riḥla* as pure fabulation. After all, it was an almost extreme case of intercultural engagement, far beyond what probably any other Islamic writer had produced before him, and perhaps he has not even found an equivalent successor ever since.

However, neither medieval imaginations of the Oriental East nor pre-modern strategies to capitalize on different market conditions in East and West (Tavernier; see below) can be easily claimed as a basis of premodern Orientalism, as Edward Said had described it, primarily focusing on phenomena in the nineteenth- and

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353 See, for instance, *The Letters of the Swiss Jesuit Missionary Philipp Segesser (1689-1762): An Eyewitness to the Settlement of Eighteenth-Century Sonora (Pimería Alta)*, ed. and trans. Albrecht Classen. Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, Occasional Series, 5 (Tempe: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2012). For a broader perspective, see Albrecht Classen, *Early History of the Southwest* (see note 302).

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twentieth-centuries. Orientalism, or Occidentalism, for that matter, is always predicated on the notion of hegemony of the one world over the other, and Said certainly viewed Europeans as assuming that they held absolute supremacy over the Asian cultures and those of other continents. Nevertheless, a careful analysis of the economic and political conditions in East Asia in comparison with those in early-modern Europe easily demonstrates, as Allison P. Coudert's contribution illustrates, that the opposite actually might have been the case, at least in earlier times, say, prior to 1800.[354]

The Muslim threat coming from the Ottomon Empire grew exponentially, and their political, military, economic, but then also religious forces soon had to be reckoned with, since the numbers of direct attacks on Mediterranean coastlines increased almost exponentially in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries,[355] while Western Europe constantly sank deeper and deeper into religious conflicts, regional warfares, and economic crises. To the great embarrassment of the Christian Church, fairly large numbers of captives and slaves converted to Islam, while the opposite was rarely the case.[356]

After all, the Ottoman Empire was still in its ascendency far into the seventeenth century, and experienced its first really noticeable decline only thereafter.[357] No European country or culture could truly match up with the Muslim world to the East. In many respects life in the Turkish lands proved to be much more sophisticated, well established, more orderly, better protected, and secured from external problems than in the West.

As Allison P. Coudert emphasizes in her contribution, even a number of major intellectuals raised trenchant questions as to the alleged superiority of Christianity over Islam, such as Locke and Newton, but they could not afford to speak up more explicitly and had to guard themselves against immediate repercussions from the courts in their own country, especially because the Church closely guarded its absolute supremacy also in legal and political terms.

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354 For a different approach, suggesting that late medieval Europe laid the foundation for the modern supremacy of that continent, see Michael Mitterauer, *Warum Europa? Mittelalterliche Grundlagen eines Sonderwegs* (Munich: C. H. Beck, 2003). But he pursues structural and technological aspects and does not compare the early modern cultures with each other.

355 Claire Jowitt, The Culture of Piracy, 1580–1630: English Literature and Seaborne Crime. Transculturalisms, 1400–1700 (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2010); Gillian Lee Weiss, *Captives and Corsairs: France and Slavery in the Early Modern Mediterranean* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2011).

356 See the case of Georgius of Hungary, who openly admitted his great admiration of the Ottoman culture and the impressiveness of the Islamic religion. He would have converted if he had not had a sudden epiphany and resolved to escape and try his best to return home; cf. Albrecht Classen, "Life Writing as a Slave in Turkish Hands" (see note 238).

357 Baki Tezcan, *The Second Ottoman Empire: Political and Social Transformation in the Early Modern World*. Cambridge Studies in Islamic Civilization (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010).

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Even from a gender perspective, individual writers argued that the living conditions for women in the Ottoman Empire were better than in the West, such as Lady Mary Wortley Montague (1689–1762). If we still want to subscribe to the idea of Orientalism, as Said had outlined it, then we would have to approach it from the perspective of a European sense of inferiority vis-à-vis the Orient, at least during the early modern age.

Turning to the Far East, the differences between the Western and the Eastern cultures were even more marked, as Jesuit missionaries and other travelers reported with great dismay, who hardly could get a foothold in China or Japan because they were treated as representatives of 'third-world-countries,' that is, lesser developed cultures, and this for very good reasons. Both in terms of natural resources and of the political culture, not to speak of religion and the universal infrastructure, the Europeans were simply in awe of what they witnessed during their travels or journeys as merchants. Although those cultures were not Christian at all, the life in both countries was perceived to be considerably superior to and more sophisticated than in Europe, which seems to have suffered from rather chaotic conditions everywhere, as John Donne (1572–1631) and others constantly lamented about. While Europe appeared as the heir of the Adam and Eve after their expulsion from Paradise, especially if we think of the Thirty Years' War (1618–1648) and the religious wars in England, East Asia seemed to have escaped that devastating history and inexplicably, if not to their chagrin, left the impression of being almost paradisiacal to the Western visitors, who demonstrated an enormous curiosity about and interest in the Far East since the early modern age, not yet determined by British and Dutch imperialism and Orientalism.[358]

Coudert emphasizes that this virtual veneration of China and Japan only came to an end by the eighteenth century when European technology and cultural developments had picked up sufficiently to put both worlds more or less on a par on a global scale. Not surprisingly then that many European intellectuals and mystics searched in the East for the ultimate origin of all knowledge and often believed to have found it, for instance, in ancient Egypt, established by the founder of alchemy, Hermes Trismegistus. Most secret societies adhered to this and similar myths, strongly advocating that true wisdom could only be found in the East. This kind of concept continues to hold sway even today, with many people being strongly convinced of India being the origin of all true and ultimate knowledge.

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[358] See the contributions to *Geography and Ethnography: Perceptions of the World in Pre-Modern Societies*, ed. Kurt A. Raaflaub and Richard J.A. Talbert. Ancient World: Comparative Histories (Chichester, UK, and Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010). See also Amit Ray, *Negotiating the Modern: Orientalism and Indianness in the Anglophone World*. Literary Criticism and Cultural Theory (New York: Routledge, 2007). Most recently, the contributors to *Western Visions of the Far East in a Transpacific Age, 1522–1657* (see note 249) have alerted us to many heretofore ignored European contacts with early modern China and other parts of the Far East.

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Altogether, then, we could accept Said's concept of Orientalism only if we limit it to the eighteenth to the twentieth centuries, if not also to the twenty-first century. The situation in the early modern world was certainly different, when Western Europe clearly experienced a deep sense of inferiority in comparison with the East, both considering the Ottoman Empire and the Far East. Coudert finally suggests that Europe's internecine strife during the fifteenth through seventeenth centuries led to considerable acrimony and mutual mockery, expressions of extensive feelings of inferiority and shortcomings compared to the neighbors. Virtually all travel writers who reflected on the East came back with unabashed admiration, if not awe, or rather with deep regrets about the backwardness of Europe. The experiences by the Jesuit missionaries in China, above all, and of the Dutch traders in Japan shed important light on the huge discrepancies between the highly sophisticated Eastern culture and the low developments in the West.

While most scholars working on the topic of the encounters between East and West in the premodern world focus primarily on reports, accounts, or narratives of all sorts, and then also on art works visualizing 'the Other' in many different ways, we must not forget that some of the highest levels of motivation to travel far to the East or any other foreign country can be found, apart from Jesuit or Franciscan missionaries, among merchants who were driven from the earliest time in antiquity and the Middle Ages to pursue their business wherever possible in order to achieve the highest possible profit.[359] Marco Polo immediately comes to our mind as one of the world's most famous merchant travelers, but he was neither the first nor the last, by far. Not by accident has Venice always played such a significant role both in international, especially East-West, trade, and as an intermediary between both worlds and cultures, as reflected by its architecture, music, literature, politics, military operations, religion, and other aspects. But we have also seen above how much Jewish merchants traveled globally already in the Middle Ages, and how much generally commercial interests motivated many

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359 Michael Gassert, *Kulturtransfer durch Fernhandelskaufleute: Stadt, Region und Fernhandel in der europäischen Geschichte; eine wirtschaftshistorische Untersuchung der Beziehungen zwischen wirtschaftlichen Vorgängen und kulturellen Entwicklungen anhand von Karten, 12. bis 16. Jahrhundert*. Europäische Hochschulschriften: Reihe 3, Geschichte und ihre Hilfswissenschaften, 915 (Frankfurt a. M. et al.: Peter Lang, 2001); see also the contributions to *The Mysterious and the Foreign in Early Modern England*, ed. Helen Ostovich, Mary V. Silcox, and Graham Roebuck (Newark, DE: University of Delaware Press, 2008). For an economic-historical perspective, see James D. Tracy, *The Rise of Merchant Empires: Long-Distance Trade in the Early Modern World, 1350–1750*. Studies in Comparative Early Modern History (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1990); for a global-historical perspective, see Michael Borgolte, "Kommunikation – Handel, Kunst und Wissenstausch," *Weltdeutungen und Weltreligionen 600 bis 1500*, ed. Johannes Fried and Ernst-Dieter Hehl. WBG Welt-Geschichte: Eine globale Geschichte von den Anfängen bis ins 21. Jahrhundert, III (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2010), 17–56.

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individuals to explore ever further territories to the East, later to the South, and finally to the West (the Americas).

Pascale Barthe here offers an insightful discussion of the French merchant traveler and author Jean-Baptiste Tavernier (1605–1689), whose outstanding travelogue *Les six voyages* was first published in 1676.[360] While scholars have looked already far and wide for specific examples illustrating the emergence of the ideologically driven attitude toward the Orient, commonly called Orientalism (Edward Said, 1978), Tavernier's account deserves really a much closer look in this context because with his report he helped to lay the foundation of Orientalism in France already during the late seventeenth century.[361] At the same time his travelogues were also translated into German, English, and Italian, so they enjoyed a considerable popularity far beyond the borders of France, both among the general and the learned readers.[362]

Most significantly, for Tavernier the Ottoman Empire was no longer a threat, but rather a nuisance slowing him down on his travels and business transactions further East, especially because of massive problems with corruption and thievery, both for the author perhaps a characteristic of the Orient altogether. However, as Barthe alerts us, once Tavernier had reached Persia, his perspective changed considerably to the positive, since he portrayed the land and the people in rather positive terms, but primarily because there he could do good business. Nevertheless, his strongly Eurocentric attitude dominates the entire account, especially since he identifies himself regularly, and by that token all Frenchmen, or even all Europeans, as more intelligent, more cunning, and more circumspect than the Turkish thieves and the Persian clients. After all, he presents himself as a smart and foresightful merchant who knows everything necessary about the products that he purchases for resale back in Europe, and he also claims to be so

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360 For a good introduction and overview, see the article in *Wikipedia* at: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Jean-Baptiste_Tavernier (last accessed on Dec. 13, 2012).

361 See the contributions to *Distant Lands and Diverse Cultures: The French Experience in Asia, 1600–1700*, ed. Glenn J. Ames and Ronald S. Love. Contributions in Comparative Colonial Studies, 45 (Westport, CT: Prager, 2003); Ellen R. Welch, *A Taste for the Foreign: Worldly Knowledge and Literary Pleasure in Early Modern French Fiction* (Newark, DE: University of Delaware Press, 2011).

362 *Reisen zu den Reichtümern Indiens: abenteuerliche Jahre beim Grossmogul, 1641–1667*. Translated from the French. A new edition, based on German editions from 1681, ed. Susanne Lausch and Felix Weisinger (Stuttgart: Thienemann, Edition Erdmann, 1984); *The Six Voyages of John Baptista Tavernier, A Noble Man of France Now Living, Through Turky into Persia and the East-Indies, Finished in the Year 1670*, trans. John Phillips (London: Printed for R.L. and M.P. and are to be sold by John Starkey . . . and Moses Pitt . . ., 1678); *Viaggi nella Tvrchia, nella Persia, e nel l'Indie fatti sei volte nello spatio de quaranta anni per tutte le strade, che si possono tenere per mare, e per terra, da Gio: Battista Tavernier, barone d'Avbonne; stampati in lingua franhese*, ed. ora tradotti da Giovanni Luetti (Rome: G. Corvo, 1682). The text was also translated into further languages already in the seventeenth century, such as Dutch, 1682, and Latin (1716–1730?).

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superior to other merchants because he has an 'insider' understanding of the cultural conditions in the areas where he purchases the special wool, and so knows how to operate successfully, commonly resorting to the necessary gift-exchange customs which are so crucial among those peoples in the East.

Barthe points out that Tavernier was fully aware of his own exploitation of the foreign market for his personal profit since he mentioned major complaints that were raised with the local ruler that the foreign merchant was depleting their country of all valuable goods, impoverishing them by cleaning up the market all for himself. In her reading of *Les six voyages*, Barthe concludes that the author recklessly resorted to outright hypocrisy in condemning the Ottoman robbers who threatened to steal his goods, while he himself basically 'robbed' the local people in Persia of their valuable wool, but this then on a much grander scale than what the Turkish robbers had intended to do.

Making elusive, i.e., phony claims about future exchange of French technology and expert workers for the processing of Persian wool (the raw material), which he would bring in, Tavernier managed to dupe all the relevant authorities in Persia and to export his merchandise securely back home to France for his own huge enrichment, without ever returning to the East and fulfilling his pledge of establishing a wool-treatment industry in the East. For Barthe this represents, quite rightly so, early forms of colonialism, capitalism, and, certainly, an ugly Orientalism *avant la lettre*. Perhaps in this special regard we can grasp specifically what made this travelogue so popular, since the author unabashedly presented himself as God's greatest gift to the Persians, whereas he was really exploiting them on a large scale. Combining the exotic with the mercantile, Tavernier captured the attention of his audiences back home, that is, actually all over Europe, by combining an Orientalizing strategy in his account with a pragmatic outline of how to colonize and abuse the local people in the Orient. Christian merchants were, after all, as he opined, along with most other European contemporaries, fully entitled to this colonist attitude, suggesting that the difference in religion justified those from the Latin West taking charge of the East without any concerns for ethics or morality. The same can probably also be claimed with respect to the attitude espoused by the Spaniards and other European groups operating in the New World.[363]

30. Conclusion and Outlook

Altogether, then, as a kind of unexpected and far-reaching conclusion of our findings so far, we might say that the modern world with its highly complex

[363] Leitch, *Mapping Ethnography* (see note 238), 147–76.

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system of interactions, cross-fertilizations, hybridizations, explorations, discoveries, and investigations is definitely rooted in the Middle Ages and the early modern age when already countless efforts and attempts were made to investigate what the foreign worlds might be like, and this from both sides, East and West. As much as modern history books convey a strong sense of open hostility and enmity separating both worlds, this book emphasizes in the strongest possible terms that we must look more carefully and closely at the constantly ongoing flow of cultural, spiritual, material, technological, medical, scientific, and philosophical exchanges which regularly influenced the construction of culture in the Occident and also the Orient. It would be highly worthwhile to explore further what the contacts among China, India, the Arabic world, and the Byzantine empire had been like, and then to find out in greater detail how much the Europeans profited from those. Chinese Buddhist monks certainly made their way to India and elsewhere already in the fifth century C.E., and we probably can assume that merchants traveled from the Far East to the Arabic world throughout the following centuries. But the example of the chess game, passed on from the Persians to the Arabs and then to the Europeans might be the most fitting symbol of how much identity and culture formation has always been predicated on the meeting with the foreign, and this both in the Middle Ages and the early modern age. Nevertheless, here I leave out this certainly important topic of contacts between China and the West, including the Muslim world for future research.[364]

Here I do not intend to ignore the endless slaughter, warfare, hostility, political oppression, demonization of 'the Other,' or the many bitter religious conflicts (Crusades, Jihad, pogroms against Jews, the Albigensian Crusade, etc.) both within Europe and at its borders with the Arabic world throughout time. Nevertheless, the crucial argument of this book consists of the thesis that we must not become prisoners of superficial, drama-oriented, hysterical historiography that gains its loudest supporters and audience from the right because it focuses on the most horrible, devastating events, developments, occurrences, and wars. Sensationalism is the worst benchmark for serious scholarship. For instance, as the contributions by Allison P. Coudert and Pascale Barthe, almost in a contradictory fashion, illustrate, the famous slogan of 'Orientalism' has been very productive in

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364 See the contributions to *Chess in the Middle Ages and Early Modern Age: A Fundamental Thought Paradigm of the Premodern World*, ed. Daniel E. O'Sullivan. Fundamentals of Medieval and Early Modern Culture, 10 (Berlin and New York: De Gruyter, 2012). As to Buddhist monks reaching out to India, see *Travels of Fah-Hian and Sung-Yung, Buddhist Pilgrims from China to India (400 A.D. and 518 A.D.),* trans. from the Chinese by Samuel Beal (1869; New York: Augustus M. Kelley, 1969); *The Great Chinese Travelers, an Anthology*, ed. Jeannette Mirsky (New York: Pantheon Books, 1964); Gabriele Foccardi, *The Chinese Travelers of the Ming Period* (Wiesbaden: O. Harrassowitz, 1986); Xiaofei Tian, *Visionary Journeys: Travel Writings from Early Medieval and Nineteenth-Century China*. Harvard-Yenching Institute Monograph Series, 78 (Cambridge, MA : Harvard University Asia Center; Distributed by Harvard University Press, 2011).

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redirecting our cultural sensitivities and in raising our awareness of how much our cultural-historical perceptions tend to be determined by blinding or fractured lenses.

In fact, by now we have to be much more careful in applying such labels and theoretical models, developed in light of conditions in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, to the study of the premodern world. Modern sociologists and anthropologists are often quite brilliant in synthesizing global developments and then in reaching, as I dare say, rather glib formulations that are quickly copied by the next generation of researchers, which then forces us to spend decades of research to deconstruct these modern myths which they have established and which unfortunately continue to cloud our full and complex understanding of conditions in the past.[365] This volume does not want to harmonize and level out important, critical differences, tensions, conflicts, and oppositions, but we should also not overdramatize them and see everything in light of a binary polarity. After all, despite all the hostility, lack of understanding, ignorance, stereotypes, fear, and basic human weakness, we are all part of the same world. There are many countries, continents, peoples, languages, and religions, but we all belong to one race, humanity.[366] There might be no more significant area of research in the field of the Humanities today than to investigate how East and West actually met each other and have interacted ever since to varying degrees. This issue has never lost its significance and will determine our future as well. In this regard the study of the relationship between East and West in the premodern time offers significant insights into various models how the representatives of both worlds can or should cooperate and find a constructive *modus vivendi*.

As productive as Said's concept of Orientalism has been, especially for the modern era, as misleading it might have been for our more discriminating understanding of the premodern era when the exchanges between East and West

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365 See, for example, Albrecht Classen, *The Medieval Chastity Belt: A Myth-Making Process*. The New Middle Ages (Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire, England, and New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007); as to the myth of a neglected childhood in the premodern world, see the contributions to *Childhood in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance: The Results of a Paradigm Shift in the History of Mentality*, ed. Albrecht Classen (Berlin and New York: de Gruyter, 2005); as to the myth of the changing concept of shame as a marker of modernity, see Albrecht Classen, "Naked Men in Medieval German Literature and Art: Anthropological, Cultural-Historical, and Mental-Historical Investigations," *Sexuality in the Middle Ages and Early Modern Times: New Approaches to a Fundamental Cultural-Historical and Literary-Anthropological Theme*, ed. Albrecht Classen. Fundamentals of Medieval and Early Modern Culture, 3 (Berlin and New York: de Gruyter, 2008), 143–69; see also the contributions to *Misconceptions about the Middle Ages*, ed. Stephen J. Harris and Bryon L. Grigsby. Routledge Studies in Medieval Religion and Culture, 7 (New York: Routledge, 2008). I have argued already before along these lines; see my Introduction and contribution to *Meeting the Foreign* (see note 15).

366 Albrecht Classen, "The Role of the Humanities Past and Present: Future Perspectives Based on Ancient Ideas: Reflections by a Medievalist," *Alfinge: Revista de Filología* 24 (2012): 9-30.

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ran rather deeply and the interest in the foreign worlds was surprisingly high, depending, of course, on the specific context.[367] Paying excessive attention to medieval and early modern bellicosity and jumping to the conclusion that during the twelfth century "a proto-racist shift [occurred] in Latin Europe"[368] almost seems to reflect a postmodern desire to paint already the high Middle Ages in such ideological terms, accusing medieval society of not having been as enlightened as modern scholars claim to be themselves.

Rather, we ought to understand the premodern world in light of the very strong impact which Christianity exerted and then realize the myriad of counter-movements. Despite this enormous religious pressure on the individual by means of creating profound *Angst*,[369]and despite the rampant demonization of Muslims as the absolute 'Other,' especially in Crusading epics, i.e., the *Chansons de geste* both in Old French and Middle High German, we still can and must discern intriguing forms of cross-fertilizations, mutual influences, curiosity, and general interest in the foreign. Even colonizers such as the Crusader Franks had to accommodate the indigenous population in the Holy Land, including the Jews and the Muslims, at least those among the rural population.[370]

Neither the Arab attack on Southwestern Europe in the eighth century nor the Crusades from the late eleventh through the late thirteenth century, nor the Turkish conquest of Constantinople in 1453, leading to centuries of Ottoman wars on the Balkans up to Hungary and Austria, represented absolute and finite historical events. Travel continued, trade continued, meetings of people continued to take place, and so the study of the foreign world as well. Poets, composers, musicians, architects, artists, scientists, medical researchers, geographers, and philosophers on both sides of the deep divide reached out to the other culture, the extent of which we still cannot completely fathom. The contributors to this volume offer a plethora of perspectives of those contacts between East and West in the premodern world and hope to illuminate historical conditions that were not simply determined by strategies of stereotyping and denigration.

After all, the attempts to reach out to the Islamic world has been declared as an important goal even for the Catholic Church, especially in the wake of *Vatican II*. The famous statements from October 28, 1965, contain this important section:

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367 See the contribution to this volume by Allison P. Coudert.

368 Miriam Eliav-Feldman, Benjamin Isaac, and Joseph Ziegler, ed., *The Origins of Racism in the West* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 22; here quoted from Frakes, *Vernacular and Latin Literary Discourses* (see note 41), 152.

369 Peter Dinzelbacher, *Angst im Mittelalter: Teufels-, Todes- und Gotteserfahrung: Mentalitätsgeschichte und Ikonographie* (Paderborn, Munich, et al.: Ferdinand Schöningh, 1996). See also Nancy Caciola, *Discerning Spirits: Divine and Demonic Possession in the Middle Ages*. Conjunctions of Religion & Power in the Medieval Past (Ithaca, NY, and London: Cornell University Press, 2003).

370 See the contribution to this volume by Alan V. Murray.

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> Upon the Moslems, too, the Church looks with esteem. They adore one God, living and enduring, merciful and all-powerful, Maker of heaven and earth and Speaker to men. They strive to submit wholeheartedly even to His inscrutable decrees, just as did Abraham, with whom the Islamic faith is pleased to associate itself. Though they do not acknowledge Jesus as God, they revere Him as a prophet. They also honor Mary, His virgin mother; at times they call on her, too, with devotion. . . .
> Although in the course of the centuries many quarrels and hostilities have arisen between Christians and Moslems, this most sacred Synod urges all to forget the past and to strive sincerely for mutual understanding. On behalf of all mankind, let them make common cause of safeguarding and fostering social justice, moral values, peace, and freedom.[371]

Significantly, this was not at all the first time that the Catholic Church has made an attempt to reach out to the other side in matters of faith. Sometime in 1076, Pope Gregory VII, the same one who fought so bitterly against the German Emperor Henry IV over the matter of investiture, addressed the Emir an-Nāṣīr, King of Mauritania and formulated quite amazing statements:

> For Almighty God who desires that all men shall be saved and that none shall perish, approves nothing more highly in us than this: that a man love his fellow man next to his God and do nothing to him which he would not that others should do to himself.
> This affection we and you owe to each other in a more peculiar way than to people of other races because we worship and confess the same God though in diverse forms and daily praise and adore him as the creator and ruler of this world. For, in the words of the Apostle, "He is our peace who hath made both one."[372]

Undoubtedly, Gregory did not extend peace to the Muslims, and he had no concept of tolerance, especially because this letter has to be read in the political context of his day, and also needs to be contrasted with his otherwise highly hostile attitude toward Islam in other parts of the known world. Nevertheless, Gregory's letter confirms at least that medieval authority figures could well imagine constructive relationships with representatives of other religions.[373]

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371 "Declaration on the Relationship of the Church to Non-Christian Religions," trans. Joseph Gallagher, *The Documents of Vatican II*, ed. Walter M. Abbot. An Angelus Book, 31185 (New York: Guild Press, 1966), 661–68; here 663; see also Waltz, "Muhammad and the Muslims" (see note 162), 108. See also Robert A. Burns, *Christianity, Islam, and the West* (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 2011); cf. the contributions to Christian Responses to Islam: Muslim-Christian Relations in the Modern World, ed. Anthony O'Mahony and Emma Loosley (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2008). The efforts of the new Pope Francis in 2013 to reach out to the Muslim world promisingly extend and support the dream of interfaith dialogue and ultimately tolerance even among the world religions.

372 *The Correspondence of Pope Gregory VII: Selected Letters from the Registrum*, trans. with an intro. by Ephraim Emerton (New York: Octagon Books, 1979), 94.

373 H. E. J. Cowdrey, *Pope Gregory VII: 1073–1085* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), 489–94; see also Tim Rayborn, *The Violent Pilgrimage: Christians, Muslims and Holy Conflicts, 850–1150* (Jefferson,

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Ironically, it was to take only nineteen years for Pope Urban II to call for a Crusade in 1095, thus taking on a most aggressive stance against the 'infidels.' The struggle to overcome ancient conflicts, misunderstandings, hostility, and hatred over ideological, religious issues continues, but perhaps this volume, with its focus on the premodern world, will contribute to this worthwhile and fundamental struggle to preserve humanity far into the future when difference will be accepted as enrichment and as something truly valuable.

NC, and London: McFarland & Company, 2013), 27–28.

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Acknowledgments

Concluding this 'Introduction,' it is my pleasure to express my thanks to the contributors for their wonderful pieces, their willingness to listen to my many comments and suggestions, and to revise their chapters. By exchanging our chapters among the entire group of scholar-authors, we were able to establish a most productive peer-review process. I am very grateful to my dear colleague Marilyn L. Sandidge, Westfield State University, MA, for her help in reviewing and proof-reading this long 'Introduction,' which will hopefully set the framework for future research on this most important topic and to provide much of the relevant information and understanding of the important players in the East-West relationship since the early Middle Ages.

The staff at De Gruyter in Berlin and Tübingen was, as usual, most helpful and supportive, so it was a pleasure working with them as in the past. While I was teaching a summer course in Cambridge (UK) for the Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies (ACMRS) in July/August 2012, I had the invaluable opportunity once again to consult the formidable holdings in the University Library there, and this thanks to ACMRS and to my colleague Paul N. Hartle, St. Catharine's College, Cambridge. Although it might be virtually impossible to beat the library in Cambridge, our own campus library in Tucson continues to amaze me because of its incredibly vast and comprehensive holdings. Whenever I needed more material, the staff at our Interlibrary Loan Office was very efficient and helpful.

I was essentially driven to carry out these investigations into the relationships between East and West during the premodern era and to bring in a large number of like-minded scholars from North America and Europe by the ultimate hope that despite all the differences, if not hostilities and tensions prevalent until today in some parts of the world, we will be able in the near future, in light of what has happened already in the past, to embrace the various cultures, languages, and religions, and to acknowledge difference as a positive value, enriching all of human life.

In this regard I also speak from a very personal perspective, and so happily dedicate this volume, once again, to my beloved wife Carolyn. She was born in Hawai'i, an amazing place in the middle of the Pacific Ocean where many different cultures, languages, and religions meet, intersect, and interact with each other in a more tolerant fashion than perhaps anywhere else in the world.

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Fig. 1: *Fortunatus*: Departure of Fortunatus's son Andalosia from Famagusta (p. 509)

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Fig. 2: From a manuscript copied by ʿAlī ibn Hasan al-Hūfî al-Qāsimī in Cairo in 1456, now included in the collection held at the Bodleian Library in Oxford. (Ms. Pococke 375, fol. 3v–4r): South is here on the top, hence Europe at the bottom

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Fig. 3: Picture of Saracens, by Erhard Reuwich, in Bernhard von Breydenbach, *Peregrinatio in terram sanctam*, 1486 (fol. 76r)

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Fig. 4: Ludovico de Varthema: King of Cambay (present-day Gujarat India), fifteenth century

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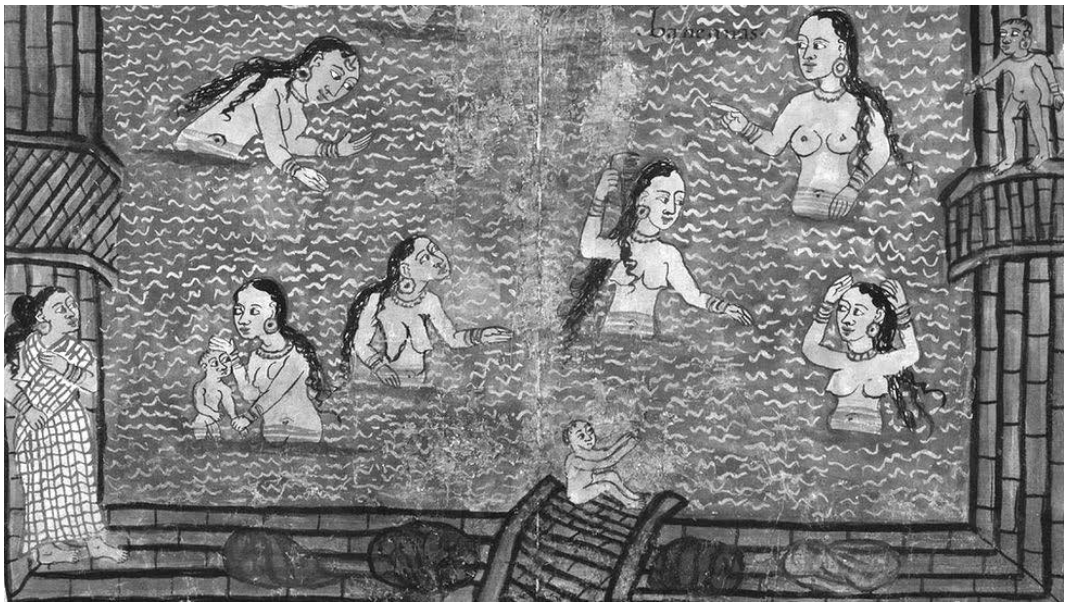


Fig. 5: Ludovico de Varthema, fifteenth century: The ladies of the Kingdom of Cambay (present-day Gujarat, India) washing themselves in a pool

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Chapter 1

Linda T. Darling
(The University of Arizona)

Mirrors for Princes in Europe and the Middle East: A Case of Historiographical Incommensurability

Mirrors for Princes, works reflecting the ideal ruler or giving advice on governance for a current or future king or minister, constitute a well-known literary tradition in both Europe and the Middle East.[1] Europeans wrote "some thousand" *Mirrors* and works of political thought and advice in both the medieval and early modern eras, and the volume of scholarship on them is immense compared to that on Middle Eastern *Mirrors*.[2] But rarely if ever have comparisons of these traditions been made across the East-West boundary. General articles on this topic in reference works such as the *Dictionary of the Middle Ages*, the *Lexikon des Mittelalters*, or the *Handbook of Medieval Studies* treat European and Middle Eastern *Mirrors for Princes* in separate articles, or in separate sections of the same article, and do not look for correspondences or contrasts.[3] Comparisons of individual works are also conspicuous by their absence. Recent years have seen a burgeoning

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1 This article was originally written with the support of the Institute of Historical Studies at the University of Texas at Austin. Abbreviated versions were presented at the conferences "Well-Connected Domains: Intersections of Asia and Europe in the Ottoman Empire," Heidelberg University, Heidelberg, Germany, Nov. 10–12, 2011, and "East Meets West: In the Middle Ages and Early Modern Time," 10th International Symposium on Medieval and Early Modern Studies, University of Arizona, May 3–6, 2012.

2 Allan H. Gilbert, *Machiavelli's* Prince *and Its Forerunners:* The Prince *as a Typical Book* de Regimine Principum (1938; New York: Barnes and Noble, 1968), 1.

3 "Mirror of Princes," *Dictionary of the Middle Ages*, ed. Joseph R. Strayer (New York: Scribner, ca.1982–ca.1989); *Lexikon des Mittelalters,* ed. Robert Auty et al. (Munich and Zurich: Artemis Verlag, 1977–1999), 4: 1041–58, 7: 2099–2106; "Mirrors for Princes (Western)," *Handbook of Medieval Studies*, ed. Albrecht Classen (Berlin and New York: de Gruyter, 2010), 1921–49; "Mirrors for Princes (Islamic)," in ibid., 1916–20.

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of scholarship on this literature in both fields, but its authors seem to be struggling against the limitations of existing work.

The *Mirrors* of East and West appear similar at first glance, and it is curious that they are not studied together and that scholars rarely if ever consider their influence on one another. This, in my view, is due in part to the absence of comparative studies of their history and production within which individual works might be located and contextualized. The purpose of this article is to begin the process of making such comparisons possible. Its subject is not the contents of individual works but a comparative history of their production and the ways in which they have been studied until now. It seeks to analyze not the thought in the *Mirrors* but the changes in their format and purpose. It does not attempt to be comprehensive but focuses on turns in the respective traditions of Mirror-writing and on moments of coincidence, contrast, or possible linkage between the two literatures.

As a Middle East historian, when I first attempted to make such a comparison I looked for a handy overview of the European Mirror literature in book or article form with which to compare the history of the Middle Eastern advice literature. But an initial review of scholarship on European *Mirrors* disclosed that the vast majority of it is devoted to the political thought discussed in the *Mirrors*. Numerous histories of political thought have been written, but virtually none of the production of the literature in which it is couched.[4] Another large segment of the scholarship investigates what the *Mirrors* say about families and gender, and there are also some studies of their contributions to education, literary development, and court culture. Few or no Europeanists, however, treat this literature as a cultural phenomenon in itself.[5] In contrast, scholars of Middle Eastern Studies see *Mirrors for Princes* primarily as a cultural phenomenon rather than as a mine of information on politics, court culture, gender, education, or anything else. Although the *Mirrors* have been used extensively in research on political thought in the Middle East, they have more often been treated as tools or

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4 For histories of political thought, see Jacques Krynen, *Idéal du prince et pouvoir royale en France à la fin du moyen age (1380–1440)* (Paris: Éditions A. & J. Picard, 1981); Quentin Skinner, *The Foundations of Modern Political Thought* (Cambridge, New York: Cambridge University Press, 1978); J. G. A. Pocock, *The Machiavellian Moment: Florentine Political Thought and the Atlantic Republican Tradition* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1975).

5 One essay that comes close, but like most such discussions covers only a limited period, is Jean-Philippe Genet, "Conclusion: La littérature au miroir du prince," *Le Prince au miroir de la littérature politique de l'Antiquité aux Lumières,* ed. Frédérique Lachaud and Lydwine Scordia (Mont-Saint-Aignan: Publications des universités de Rouen et du Havre, 2007), 405–23. Wilhelm Kleineke, *Englische Fürstenspiegel vom Policraticus Johanns von Salisbury bis zum Basilikon doron König Jakobs I.* Studien zur englischen Philologie, 90 (Halle a. d. S.: Max Niemeyer, 1937), does cover five centuries, but only one country, although it pays more attention to the production of the *Mirrors* than most studies do.

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weapons in political conflict, irrespective of what they may say.[6] As a result, scholars of this literature attempting to make comparisons that transcend political and cultural boundaries face a situation in which the historiographical or critical tradition has taken two extremely similar phenomena and rendered them incommensurable. Even the names given to these works point up the differences of emphasis in the scholarship; Middle Eastern scholarship calls these works "advice for kings," or advice literature, after the title of a famous mirror by al-Ghazālī (d.1111), *Nasīhat al-Mulūk* (Counsel for Kings), a name that emphasizes their practical use, while European scholarship emphasizes the ideas they contain by categorizing them as works of political thought.

An examination of the historiographical tradition of European *Mirrors* reveals that the vast majority of research on them confines itself to the literature of a single country and to a period of at most a century and a half, often much less.[7] It is nearly impossible to get an overview of the phenomenon as a whole. Dissertation demands, language limitations, and field divisions may be held to blame, but even the studies of European *Mirrors* themselves have been unacceptably distorted by the lack of a holistic view of the production of this literature. Many European *Mirrors* were written in Latin, which was known by people everywhere; learned society in medieval Europe was transnational, and so were the *Mirrors for Princes*, which were translated into multiple languages. Yet there is little comparative work even on the European *Mirrors*. There should also be efforts to link changes in the literature to what was going on in society both politically and socio-economically, but instead, most studies confine themselves to what is going on inside the text. Their concern is the development of European political theory, not the impact of that theory or literature on politics itself, although some attention to the impact of politics on theory occasionally appears in works on Machiavelli.

Still further, the historiographical or critical tradition has actually taken two possibly interlinked and mutually influencing phenomena and made their interrelationships invisible. In discussions of the history and origins of European

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6 Louise Marlow, "Surveying Recent Literature on the Arabic and Persian Mirrors for Princes Genre," *History Compass* 7.2 (2009): 523–38; Gustav Richter, *Studien zur Geschichte der älteren arabischen Fürstenspiegel*. Leipziger semitistische Studien, n. F., 3 (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1932); Charles de Fouchécour, *Moralia: Les notions morales dans la littérature persane du 3e/9e au 7e/13e siècle* (Paris: Éditions Recherche sur les Civilisations, 1986). The prolific work of Ann K. S. Lambton, focusing on the political thought in some of the *Mirrors*, forms an exception to this generalization.

7 There are a couple of exceptions; for example, Wilhelm Berges, *Die Fürstenspiegel des hohen und späten Mittelalters*. Schriften des Reichsinstituts für ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde (Monumenta Germaniae Historica), 2 (Leipzig: K. W. Hiersemann, 1938), treats two centuries and several countries; while Cary J. Nederman, *Lineages of European Political Thought: Explorations along the Medieval/Modern Divide from John of Salisbury to Hegel* (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 2009), ranges over several countries and eight centuries but is selective rather than comprehensive.

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Mirrors, the very word "Arabic" scarcely appears except in Dorothee Metlitzki's *The Matter of Araby in Medieval England*, in references to the famous collection of political fables, *Kalila and Dimna*, and the book of esoteric science and political advice, the *Secret of Secrets (Sirr al-Asrār)*.[8] The latter was written in Baghdad in the mid-tenth century and translated into Latin in Spain and Tripoli, spreading from there around all of Europe; the translation, however, has most often been treated as a Latin work. Even studies devoted to Spanish *Mirrors for Princes* do not discuss their possible ties or relations with the Arabic.[9] And this is very strange (as Lewis Carroll might have said) because it seems possible to imagine a post-Roman route of transmission of *Mirrors* from the Middle East through Muslim Spain parallel to that of the *Secret of Secrets*. Even stranger, many scholars refer explicitly to the *Mirrors* of the medieval Occident, implicitly drawing attention to those of the unmentioned/unmentionable Orient—while the study of scientific thought has no problem tracing the transmission of books and ideas from one culture to the other. Equally strange, European *Mirrors* do not appear in the scholarship on Middle Eastern advice literature.

This article takes a step toward overcoming these problems by presenting an intertwined narrative of Mirror production in both East and West. Much ink has been spilled in attempts to define *Mirrors for Princes* as a genre. "Genre" may not even be the correct word, as such works take many forms, and scholars dispute whether a genre can be constituted by purpose and content rather than by form. Similar kinds of political advice are given in many different literary genres, such as political philosophy, essays, histories, poetry and drama. The fact that the article on Western *Mirrors* in the *Handbook of Medieval Studies* begins with a discussion of the biblical book of *Deuteronomy* and states that part of it is "clearly a mirror"

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8 Dorothee Metlitzki, *The Matter of Araby in Medieval England* (New Haven, London: Yale University Press, 1977); Ernst J. Grube, ed., *A Mirror for Princes from India: Illustrated Versions of the Kalilah wa Dimnah, Anvar-i Suhayli, Iyar-i Danish, and Humayun Nameh* (Bombay: Marg Publications, 1991); 'Abdurrahmān Badawī, ed., *Fontes Graecae Doctrinarum Politicarum Islamicarum, Testamenta Graeca (Pseudo-)Platonis, et Secretum Secretorum (Pseudo-) Aristotelis.* Dirāsāt Islamiyya, 15 (Cairo: Matba'at Dār al-Kutub al-Misriyya, 1954); Robert Steele, ed., *Opera hactenus inedita Rogeri Baconi,* vol. v, *Secretum Secretorum,* English trans. Ismail Ali (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1920); on the spread of this work, see Metlitzki, *Matter of Araby*, 106–09.

9 See, for example, Maria Angeles Galino Carillo, *Los Tratados sobre educacion de principes (siglos XVI y XVII),* Instituto "San Jose de Calasanz" de Pedagogía (Publicaciones), ser. A, no. 11 (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Cientificas, 1948); Juan de Mariana, *The King and the Education of the King,* trans. George Albert Moore (Washington, DC: Country Dollar Press, 1948); Ronald W. Truman, *Spanish Treatises on Government, Society, and Religion in the Time of Philip II: The "de regimine principum" and Associated Traditions.* Brill's Studies in Intellectual History, 95 (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 1999). Marta Haro Cortés, *La Imagen del Poder Real a través de los Compendios de Castigos Castellanos del Siglo XIII.* Papers of the Medieval Hispanic Research Seminar, 4 (London : Department of Hispanic Studies, Queen Mary and Westfield College, 1996), does review Eastern *Mirrors* as well as the Western but does not relate them to the European Mirror tradition.

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suggests that the term *Mirror for Princes* refers less to a literary genre than to a subject matter. This article will therefore not attempt to define a *Mirror* "genre" or to decide which works belong to it and which do not. Scholars who have spent their working lives studying this literature disagree on the question, and this article adopts an inclusive approach.

Rather than making a detailed comparison of a few individual works taken out of context, or analyzing the thought in the works, the article traces in very broad strokes the respective historiographical traditions concerning European and Middle Eastern advice works and *Mirrors for Princes*, noting where they parallel each other and where they appear to be going in different directions. Looking synchronically as well as diachronically, it identifies some initial areas of similarity and difference between the political works of East and West and notes some points at which comparisons can start to be made. Its purpose is to lay out a general outline, a framework on which more detailed comparative research can be hung.

Origins of the *Mirror* Traditions of East and West

Mirrors for Princes are a very old phenomenon; the Middle Eastern and European traditions have a common source in the ancient *oikoumene*. There are Babylonian *Mirrors for Princes*, Indian, Persian (plus the books of kings, which should also be regarded as *Mirrors*), Greek, Roman, and Byzantine *Mirrors*.[10] European *Mirrors*

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[10] Babylonian: Franz Marius Theodor Böhl, *Der babylonische Fürstenspiegel.* Mitteilungen der Altorientalischen Gesellschaft, 9.3 (Leipzig: O. Harrassowitz, 1937). Indian: Kautalya, *Kautilya's Arthasastra*, trans. R. Shamasastry, 5th ed. (1915; Mysore: Sri Raguveer Print Press, 1956); Balram Srivastava, ed. and trans., *Barhaspatya Sutram = Aphorisms of Brhaspati on Indian Polity* (Delhi: Pratibha Prakashan, 1998); *Panchatantra: the Complete Version* (Calcutta: Rupa & Co., 1991); *The Panchatantra Reconstructed: An Attempt to Establish the Lost Original Sanskrit Text of the Most Famous of Indian Story-Collections on the Basis of the Principal Extant Versions*, 2 vols. American Oriental Series, 2–3 (1924; New York: Kraus Reprint Co., 1967). Pre-Islamic Persian: Mary Boyce, trans., *The Letter of Tansar.* Literary and Historical Texts from Iran, 1; Persian Heritage Series, 9; Serie orientale Roma, 38 (Rome: Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente, 1968; Firdawsī, *The Epic of the Kings: Shah-nama, the National Epic of Persia,* trans. Reuben Levy. UNESCO Collection of Representative Works; Persian Heritage Series, 3 (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1967); *Kalilah and Dimnah, or The Fables of Bidpai,* trans. I. G. N. Keith-Falconer, ed. William Wright (1885; Amsterdam: Philo Press, 1970); *Kalilah va Dimnah-i manzūm, ya, Paymānah-i pand* [The Verse Kalila and Dimna, or, The Path of Advice] ([Tehran]: Bunyad-i Farhang-i Irān, [1979]). Greek and Roman: Traute Adam, *Clementia Principis: Der Einfluss hellenistischer Fürstenspiegel auf den Versuch einer rechtlichen Fundierung des Principats durch Seneca.* Kieler Historische Studien, 11 (Stuttgart: E. Klett, 1970); Einar Már Jónsson, *Le miroir: Naissance d'un genre littéraire,* Histoire, 30 (Paris: Belles Lettres, 1995). Byzantine: Peter N. Bell, trans., *Three Political Voices from the Age of Justinian: Agapetus, "Advice to the Emperor"; Dialogue on Political Science; Paul the Silentiary, "Description of Hagia Sophia"*. Bibliothek der griechischen Literatur, 14; Abteilung Byzantinistik (Liverpool:

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begin almost as early as the Middle Eastern ones; there are Carolingian *Mirrors* from the ninth century and perhaps even from the eighth, depending on how they are defined.[11] Accounts of *Mirror* production in Europe trace the intellectual development they embody, but there is no coherent narrative of these works' own development in its political and social context. The story of *Mirror*-writing in the Muslim lands is better known.

In brief, Middle Eastern court secretaries of the eight century, besides translating and assimilating the Greek and Syriac tradition of Aristotle's advice to Alexander the Great, translated a considerable Persian corpus into Arabic later in the same century, together with what the Persians had already borrowed from India in pre-Islamic times. Original *Mirrors* by Muslims emerged with the eighth-century scribe Ibn al-Muqaffā'; they became politically important in the Seljuk period with the late eleventh-century authors Nizām al-Mulk and al-Ghazālī, after which the *ʿulamāʾ* contributed political *Mirrors* using both religious and secular sources; they took a philosophical form after the Mongol invasion with the thirteenth-century Ilkhanid writer al-Tūsī and the fifteenth-century Akkoyunlu author Dāvānī, who directly influenced the sixteenth-century Ottoman writer Kınalızâde; Ottoman advice works underwent a transformation in the seventeenth-century "time of troubles," becoming both topical and highly critical; and in the nineteenth century both old and new *Mirrors* contributed to the development of modern political thinking about limited government. There are more complications to the story, but that is the basic outline. There is no such unified narrative for Latin Europe.

The articles on *Mirrors* in works such as the *Lexikon des Mittelalters* and the *Handbook of Medieval Studies* trace the development of their political thought rather than their production. An approach to a standard narrative on the production of *Mirrors for Princes* in Europe appears in an article from the *Dictionary of the Middle Ages*, which, however, stops before the early modern period.[12] The *Dictionary* traces European *Mirrors* from Greek and Roman examples, and the *Handbook* from the Bible, to Augustine's fifth-century *The City of God*, a book that inaugurated a

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Liverpool University Press, 2009; Wilhelm Blum, ed., *Byzantinische Fürstenspiegel: Agapetos, Theophylakt von Ochrid, Thomas Magister*. Bibliothek der Griechischen Literatur, 14 (Stuttgart: Anton Hiersemann, 1981); Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus, *De administrando imperio,* ed. Gyula Moravcsik, trans. R. J. H. Jenkins, 2 vols. Magyar-görög tanulmányok, 29 (Budapest: Pázmány Péter Tudományegyetemi Görög Filológiai Intézet, 1949–1962).

11 Hans Hubert Anton, *Fürstenspiegel und Herrscherethos in der Karolingerzeit*. Bonner Historische Forschungen, 32 (Bonn: L. Rohrscheid, 1968); Jonas d'Orléans, *Le métier de roi (De institutione regia),* trans. Alain Dubreucq. Sources chrétiennes, 407 (Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1995); Rachel Stone, "Kings Are Different: Carolingian Mirrors for Princes and Lay Morality," *Le Prince au miroir de la littérature politique de l'Antiquité aux Lumières* (see note 5), 69–86; Wojciech Falkowski, "The Carolingian *Speculum Principis* — The Birth of a Genre," *Acta Poloniae Historica* 98 (2008): 5–27.

12 "Mirror of Princes," *Dictionary of the Middle Ages* (see note 3), 8: 434–36; "Mirrors for Princes (Western)," *Handbook of Medieval Studies* (see note 3), 1921–49.

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clerical tradition of advice to rulers on how to rule without committing so much sin as to condemn both king and kingdom. Works that followed this model contained not so much political as moral advice. Augustine also wrote a New Testament compilation called *Speculum* [Mirror], inaugurating the use of that metaphor in book titles. The image of the mirror, in the absence of studies of its use in antiquity, is usually attributed to the Bible, and most of its early uses were on books about religious topics.[13] The image began to be used in political literature in the Carolingian period, but the first mirror-titled book with a political focus was *Speculum regum* [The King's Mirror], written anonymously in Norway shortly before 1260.[14] The Carolingian advice works, by Alcuin, Jonas of Orléans, and Hincmar of Rheims, were primarily moral in emphasis and fit neatly into this paradigm; they explored the relations between church and king in general and ethical terms, emphasizing the king's role as the vicegerent of Christ for the earthly kingdom and his consequent need to practice the virtues.[15]

In contrast, the contemporary Persian courtier of the Abbasid dynasty, Ibn al-Muqaffāʿ (d. 756), wrote works in Arabic that were more directly political, concerned less with virtue than with success. Some were translations of pre-Islamic Persian political works like the "Sayings of Ardashir," the recommendations of the first Sasanian ruler; the *Letter of Tansar* and "Testament of Ardashir," replete with political advice; the *Book of the Crown*, a book of courtly etiquette with descriptions of the Sasanian court; and *Kalila and Dimna*, a collection of political fables based on the Indian *Panchatantra*. He also translated *The Book of Kings*, containing the histories of the Persian kings, and *Al-Adab al-Kabīr* (The Great Book of Etiquette), a book of advice for kings and courtiers detailing the principles of good government and courtly behavior, perhaps the closest parallel in his corpus to the Carolingian works. In addition, he wrote original compositions in Arabic, mainly works of political thought and advice, such as his *Risāla fī al-Sahāba* (Essay on Royal Companions) on the court and the army.[16] After Ibn al-Muqaffāʿ,

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13 Herbert Grabes, *The Mutable Glass: Mirror-Imagery in Titles and Texts of the Middle Ages and English Renaissance* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1973), 247.

14 Sverre Bagge, *The Political Thought of The King's Mirror*. Mediaeval Scandinavia supplements, 3 (Odense: Odense University Press, 1987). It was preceded by Gottfred of Viterbo's *Speculum Regum* of 1183, an ethical work written for the German Emperor Henry IV; see *Neue Deutsche Biographie*, ed. Historische Kommission bei der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften (Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 1964), 6: 676–77.

15 Orléans, *Le métier de roi* (see note 18), 59; Einar Már Jónsson, "La Situation du speculum regale dans la littérature occidentale," *Études germaniques* 40.4 (1987): 391–408; here 394–96.

16 Of his works we possess only portions, none of which indisputably belongs in its current form to Ibn al-Muqaffāʿ himself: Ibn al-Muqaffāʿ, *ʾAhd Ardashīr*, ed. Ihsan Abbas (Beirut: Dar Sader, 1967);"Al-Adab al-Kabīr," [The Great Book of Etiquette] in *Rasāʾil al-Bulaghāʾ* [Essays of Eloquence], ed. Muhammad Kurd Ali (Cairo: Dār al-Kutub al-ʿArabiyya al-Kubrá, 1913), 55–114; Jean Tardy, "Traduction d'*al-Adab al-Kabīr* d'Ibn al-Muqaffāʿ," *Annales Islamologiques* 27 (1993):

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Mirrors for Princes were for some time considered a scribal phenomenon, derived from the Sasanian tradition and perhaps not fully Islamic.

A different sort of work is represented by the Byzantine advice manual *De administrando imperio* (On the running of the empire), a practical guide produced by the Emperor Constantine VII around 950 for his dissolute son, which compiled current reports and documents from governors and administrators with data on the empire's foreign relations, geographical interconnections, and recent history and politics.[17] This work was paralleled by Arabic secretarial manuals containing advice on governance that was more administrative than political.[18] It was also contemporary with another Middle Eastern compilation, the *Secret of Secrets*, which may have begun as a political advice work but in its extant form also included information on history, science, philosophy, medicine, alchemy, and magic.[19]

Much of the so-called Greek and Hindu wisdom it contained was actually derived from works of Persian history and advice circulating in the ninth and tenth centuries, and it also owed a great deal to earlier pseudo-Greek material and Alexander romances as well as to Arabic sources and compilations.[20] The *Secret of*

181–223. Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ, "Risāla fī al-Sahāba," [Essay on the Companions] in *Rasāʾil al-Bulaghāʾ*, 120–31; Charles Pellat, trans., *Le livre de la couronne, attribué à Ǧahiz*, Collection UNESCO d'oeuvres représentatives (Paris: Société d'Édition "Les Belles Lettres", 1954). About him, see *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., s.v. Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ; Francesco Gabrieli, "L'opera di Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ," *Rivista degli studi orientali* 13 (1931–32): 197–247; J. D. Latham, "Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ and Early ʿAbbasid Prose," *Abbasid Belles-Lettres*, ed. J. Ashtiany, T. M. Johnstone, J. D. Latham, R. B. Serjeant, and G. R. Smith. The Cambridge History of Arabic Literature, 2 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 48–77. Mario Grignaschi, "Quelques spécimens de la littérature sassanide conservés dans les bibliothèques d'Istanbul," *Journal asiatique* 254 (1966): 1–142; Boyce, trans., *The Letter of Tansar* (see n. 10); *Kalilah and Dimnah, or The Fables of Bidpai* (see note. 10).

17 Constantine VII, *De administrando imperio* (see note 17), 9–10.

18 See C. E. Bosworth, "Administrative Literature," *Religion, Learning and Science in the 'Abbasid Period*, ed. M. J. L. Young, J. D. Latham and R. B. Serjeant, The Cambridge History of Arabic Literature, 3 (Cambridge, New York, et al.: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 155–67; here 156–60.

19 For a Sasanian compendium of the political, social, and natural sciences, see Marta Simidchieva, "*Siyāsat-nāme* Revisited: The Question of Authenticity," *Proceedings of the Second European Conference of Iranian Studies*, ed. Bert G. Fragner et al., Serie oriental Roma, 73 (Rome: Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente, 1995), 657–74; here 666, n. 8.

20 Badawī, ed., *Fontes Graecae* (see note 8); Steele, ed., *Opera* (see note 8). Some early translations of the *Sirr al-Asrār:* Moses Gaster, "The Hebrew Version of the 'Secretum Secretorum,' with an Introduction and an English Translation," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (1907): 879–912, (1908): 111–62, 1065–84; Robert Steele, ed., *Three Prose Versions of the Secreta Secretorum.* Early English Text Society, Extra Series, 74 (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., 1896); M. A. Manzalaoui, ed., *Secretum Secretorum: Nine English Versions*, vol. 1. Early English Text Society (Series), 276 (Oxford: Early English Text Society, 1997). The origins of the *Sirr* are studied by Mario Grignaschi in "Les 'Rasā'il ʿĀristātālīsa ilā-l-Iskandar' de Sālim Abū-l-ʿAlā' et l'activité culturelle à l'époque omayyade," *Bulletin des Études Orientales* 19 (1965–66): 7–83; Grignaschi, "Le roman épistolaire classique conservé dans la version arabe de Sālim Abū-l-ʿAlā'," *Le Muséon* 80 (1967): 211–64;

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Secrets was translated into Latin, Hebrew, Spanish, Middle High German, English, Russian, and other languages, and was utilized by the mystical Andalusian theologian Ibn al-ʿArabi (1165–1240) and edited by the English scientist Roger Bacon (*De regimine principum,* ca.1280).[21] The work had enormous influence: there are nearly one thousand extant manuscripts in European languages (in a period when one hundred was a large number), and many more in the Middle East.[22]

If, as scholars believe, this work was written in Baghdad around 950, it reached the Iberian Peninsula within two or three decades; the Circle of Justice, a political concept that first appeared in the form we know it in the *Secret of Secrets,* was quoted in Cordoba around 980 in a biography of Aristotle written by Ibn Juljul of Andalusia. The *Secret of Secrets* was also quoted in an eleventh-century collection of miscellanea from Cordoba and in a twelfth-century book of political advice from Tunisia. It was a source for the anthology *Los Bocados de Oro (Mujtar al-Hikam wa-Mahasin al-Kalim)* (Choice Wise Sayings and Fine Statements) by al-Mubashshir b. Fātik, written in Cairo around 1050 and then translated into Spanish, Latin, French, and English; in 1477 the last of these became the first book printed in England by the pioneer printer Caxton.[23]

Grignaschi, "La 'Siyâsatu-l-Âmmiyya' et l'influence iranienne sur la pensée politique islamique," *Monumentum H. S. Nyberg*. Acta Iranica, 4–7, ser. 2, vol. 3 (Leiden: Brill, 1975), 33–287; Grignaschi, "L'Origine et les métamorphoses du 'Sirr al-'asrār' *(Secretum Secretorum),*" *Archives d'histoire doctrinale et littéraire du moyen age* (1976): 7–112; and Grignaschi, "Remarques sur la formation et l'interpretation du *Sirr al-'asrār*," *Pseudo-Aristotle, The 'Secret of Secrets': Sources and Influences,* ed. W. F. Ryan and Charles B. Schmitt. Warburg Institute Surveys, 9 (London: Warburg Institute, 1982), 3–33. See also F. E. Peters, *Aristoteles Arabus: The Oriental Translations and Commentaries on the Aristotelian Corpus,*.Monographs on Mediterranean Antiquity (Leiden: Brill, 1968); Mahmoud Manzalaoui, "The Pseudo-Aristotelian *Kitāb Sirr al-Asrār:* Facts and Problems," *Oriens* 23.24 (1974): 147–257; and Shaul Shaked, "From Iran to Islam: Notes on Some Themes in Transmission," *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 4 (1984): 31–67; rpt. in Shaked, *From Zoroastrian Iran to Islam: Studies in Religious History and Intercultural Contacts*.Collected Studies Series, CS505 (Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 1995), VI.

21 Steven J. Williams, "Roger Bacon and the *Secret of Secrets*," *Roger Bacon and the Sciences: Commemorative Essays,* ed. Jeremiah Hackett.. Studien und Texte zur Geistesgeschichte des Mittelalters, 57 (Leiden, New York, and Cologne: Brill, 1997), 365–93.

22 Steven J. Williams, "The Pseudo-Aristotelian *Secret of Secrets* as a Didactic Text," *What Nature Does Not Teach: Didactic Literature in the Medieval and Early-Modern Periods,* ed. Juanita Feros Ruys. Disputatio, 15 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2008), 41–57; here 42.

23 Abū Dāwūd Sulaymān b. Hassān b. Juljul al-Andalūsī, *Les Générations des médecins et des sages (Tabaqāt al-ʾatibbā' wal-hukamā'),* ed. Fuʿad Sayyid. Textes et translations d'auteurs orientaux, 10 (Cairo: Imprimerie de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale, 1955); Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr al-Namarī, *Bahjat al-Majālis wa-Uns al-Mujlis* [The Splendor of Gatherings and the Intimacy of Intercourse], ed. Muhammad Mursī.al-Khawlī, 2 vols. Turāthuna (Cairo: Dār al-Kutub al-ʿArabī lil-abāʿa wa-al-Nashr, 1967): Abu Bakr Muhammad b. al-Hasan al-Murādī al-Hamarī, *Kitāb al-Siyāsa Aw al-Ishāra fī Tadbīr al-Imāra* [The Book of Politics, or, A Plan for the Regulation of Governance], ed. Sāmī al-Nasār (Casablanca: Dār al-Thiqāfa, 1981); Abū al-Wafā' al-Mubashshir b. Fātik, *Los Bocados de Oro (Mujtār al-Hikam wa-Mahāsin al-Kalim),* ed. ʿAbdurrahmān Badawī (Beirut: Arab Institute for

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Apart from these two highly influential works and the well-known *Kalila and Dimna*, however, we know very little about when and how Middle Eastern political advice literature affected the European tradition. A hint of its possible impact appears in the fact that Spain seems to have been particularly rich in *Mirrors for Princes*.[24] A Sicilian *Mirror* from the twelfth century marks another route of transmission.[25]

The *Mirrors* Flourish

A secular tradition of advice literature began (or restarted) in Western Europe in the twelfth century with the work of John of Salisbury (ca.1118–1180); there is some controversy over whether his *Policraticus* should be classified as a *Mirror*, but it is definitely a work of political thought and advice. John explained the duty of rulers not just to be good but to promote the common good and create a just society on earth, and he was explicitly critical of current conditions and behaviors.[26] Unlike earlier *Mirror*-writers, John attempted to reconcile classical and religious ideals, using examples from Cicero, Plato, and other Latin and Greek sources as well as the Bible and the Church fathers. This goal was similar to that of his near contemporary, the Spanish judge al-Turtūshī of Tortosa (1059–1126), whose *Mirror for Princes*, *Sirāj al-Mulūk* (The Flambeau of Kings) set forth theories of governance and the qualities of a successful ruler.

Al-Turtūshī maintained that although the religions of the ancients had been surpassed by God's revelation, their political principles remained valid. His workdescribed the exemplary king by combining traditional Islamic and ancient Persian concepts of rule, together with the sayings of an Indian sage and excerpts

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Research and Publishing, 1980); Ibn Fātik, *The Dictes and Sayings of the Philosophers: A Facsimile Reproduction of the First Book Printed in England by William Caxton, in 1477* (London: Elliot Stock, New York: J. W. Bouton, 1877); *The Dicts and Sayings of the Philosophers: The Translations Made by Stephen Scrope, William Worcester and an Anonymous Translator*, ed. Curt F. Bühler. Early English Text Society, Original Series, 211 (London: Oxford University Press, 1941).

24 See the works in note 9, plus Frank Tang, "Royal Misdemeanour: Princely Virtues and Criticism of the Ruler in Medieval Castile (Juan Gil de Zamora and Alvaro Palayo)," *Princely Virtues in the Middle Ages, 1200–1500,* ed. Istvan P. Bejczy and Cary J. Nederman. Disputatio, 9 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2007), 99–121; here 103; Genet, "Conclusion" (see note 5), 412.

25 Joseph A. Kechichian and R. Hrair Dekmejian, *The Just Prince: A Manual of Leadership, Including Sulwan al-Muta' fi 'Udwan al-Atba' (Consolation of the Ruler During the Hostility of Subjects) by Muhammad ibn Zafar al-Siqilli* (London: Saqi, 2003).

26 John of Salisbury, *Policraticus: Of the Frivolities of Courtiers and the Footprints of Philosophers,* ed. and trans. Cary J. Nederman. Cambridge Texts in the History of Political Thought (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1990), xxiii.

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from the *Secret of Secrets*.[27] The *Mirror* of al-Ghazālī, *Nasīhāt al-Mulūk* (Counsel for Kings), to which John's *Policraticus* should also be compared, embodied more fully the tension between the two traditions.[28] Al-Turtūshī's *Mirror* was much like al-Ghazālī's, and we know that al-Ghazālī's works were known in Spain, since his critique of philosophy, entitled *Tahāfut al-Falasifa* (The Incoherence of the Philosophers), was refuted in Spain in the 1180 work *Tahāfut al-Tahfut* (The Incoherence of the Incoherence) by Ibn Rushd (Averroës). Al-Turtūshī also wrote a refutation of al-Ghazālī, this time of his theological work *Ihyā' ʿUlūm al-Dīn* (The Revival of the Religious Sciences).[29] Nobody, however, has traced the influence of the *Counsel for Kings* any further than al-Turtūshī.

Another fruitful comparison would be between John's work and the *Siyasatnama* (The Book of Government) by Nizām al-Mulk, written around 1080.[30] Nizām al-Mulk's work is dedicated to the sultan and focuses specifically on advice about governance, starting, after praise of God, with God's institution of the ruler, detailing the various levels of his administration and how they should work, and explaining how the ruler should deal with several current political and social problems. John's work is dedicated to the king's minister (Thomas à Becket) and is much more general, beginning with the praise of letters, moving to a denunciation of magic, then to an exploration of vices and virtues; only the second half of the book deals with the nature of good rule and the ethics of kings and courtiers. In the absence of a detailed comparison of the political ideas in these two works, this survey of their organization reinforces the impression, gleaned from the comparison between the ninth-century works, that the European works on the

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27 Muhammad b. al-Walīd al-Turtūshī, *Flambeau of Kings (Sirāj al-Mulūk),* ed. Jaafar al-Bayati (London: Riad El-Rayyes, 1990). See also Steven J. Williams, *The Secret of Secrets: The Scholarly Career of a Pseudo-Aristotelian Text in the Latin Middle Ages* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2003).

28 Abū Hāmid Muhammad al-Ghazālī, *Ghazālī's Book of Counsel for Kings (Nasīhāt al-Mulūk),* trans. F. R. C. Bagley.University of Durham Publications (London: Oxford University Press, 1971). The book's two parts are so different that they are suspected of having been written by two different people, or the book may have resulted from combining two *Mirrors* into one; Linda T. Darling, *A History of Social Justice and Political Power in the Middle East: The Circle of Justice from Mesopotamia to Globalization* (London: Routledge, 2013), 93 and n. 48.

29 Averroës, *Averroes' Tahāfut al-Tahāfut (Incoherence of the Incoherence),* trans. Simon Van den Bergh. E. J. W. Gibb Memorial Series, n.s. 19 (London: The Trustees of the "E. J. W. Gibb Memorial", 1978); Frank Griffel, *Al-Ghazali's Philosophical Theology* (Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press, 2009), 64. Al-Turtūshī had also met Ibn al-ʿArabī and Nizām al-Mulk in Baghdad; Griffel, 64; Abdel Hakim Dawood, "A Comparative Study of Arabic and Persian Mirrors for Princes from the Second to the Sixth Century A.H," Ph.D. diss., University of London, 1965, 180–81.

30 Nizām al-Mulk, *The Book of Government or Rules for Kings: The Siyar al-Muluk or Siyasat-nama,* trans. Hubert Darke, 2nd ed. Persian Heritage Series, 32 (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1978). It is suggestive to find a similar combination of themes in a contemporary Byzantine *Mirror* of 1088 by Theophylaktos of Ochrid; Blum, ed., *Byzantinische Fürstenspiegel* (see note 17), 44.

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whole were more abstract and general than those by Middle Eastern writers, which were usually labeled "path" (*silk/sulūk* = *via*) or "advice" *(nasīhāt)* rather than "mirror" *(mir'at)*.

One must wonder whether the works of al-Ghazālī and Nizām al-Mulk, emerging not too long before the *Policraticus*, had anything to do with the change of direction in John of Salisbury's writing. John was educated in Paris and did not visit Spain, but he may have known people who had. He did (like his near contemporary, the scientist Adelard of Bath, famous for his translations of Euclid and al-Khwarazmī) go to Sicily, where he also could have encountered the Middle Eastern *Mirrors* or heard them discussed.[31] His visit took place just before or during the writing of the *Policraticus*, which appeared in 1159. Such links, or possibilities of links, should be further explored.

Influence from the Middle East eastward is more easily documented; although China did not have *Mirrors for Princes* as such but only commentaries on the classic works of Confucius and Mencius, the Indian tradition was tied to that of the Middle East. In the pre-Islamic period the Middle East had borrowed political advice literature from India, but the Muslims' arrival in the Indus Valley in 711 turned the cultural flow in the opposite direction. *Mirrors* written in medieval Muslim India closely resembled the Arabic and Persian *Mirrors*. From the twelfth century on, Middle Eastern recommendations of justice from the *Mirrors for Princes* appeared not only in Indian Muslim works but also in Telegu literature from the south of the subcontinent. India's most important political thinker of the fourteenth century, Ziya al-Dīn Baranī, clearly knew the Middle Eastern sources well, although he found their stress on justice misplaced; for him successful rule was based on power, while justice was merely its primary ornament (can we call him the Machiavelli of the subcontinent?).[32]

Twelfth-century European authors were not really inspired by John of Salisbury's example but continued the moral tradition of *Mirrors for Princes*; by the end of the twelfth century, however, they began writing in vernacular languages

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31 Metlitzki, *Matter of Araby* (see note 8), 8–9; Margaret Gibson, "Adelard of Bath," *Adelard of Bath: An English Scientist and Arabist of the Early Twelfth Century*, ed. Charles Burnett.Warburg Institute Surveys and Texts, 14 (London: Warburg Institute, 1987), 7–16; here 11–13; Louise Cochrane, *Adelard of Bath: The First English Scientist* (London: British Museum Press, 1994), 32–40.

32 Sunil Kumar, "The Value of the *Adab al-Mulūk* as a Historical Source: An Insight into the Ideals and Expectations of Islamic Society in the Middle Period (A. D. 945–1500)," *The Indian Economic and Social History Review* 22 (1985): 307–27; Phillip B. Wagoner, *Tidings of the King: A Translation and Ethnohistorical Analysis of the Rayavacakamu* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1993); Linda T. Darling, "'Do Justice, Do Justice, for That is Paradise': Middle Eastern Advice for Indian Muslim Rulers," *Comparative Studies on South Asia, Africa, and the Middle East* 22 (2002): 3–19, Barani at 6. Ziauddin Barani (1285–1357), *The Political Theory of the Delhi Sultanate (Including a Translation of Ziauddin Barani's "Fatawa-i Jahandari," circa 1358–9 A.D.)*, trans. Mohammad Habib and Afsar Umar Salim Khan (Allahabad: Kitab Mahal, n.d.).

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(Latin *Mirrors* made a comeback in the Renaissance). The thirteenth century, on the other hand, experienced an outburst in Europe of *Mirror* production, mostly in the vernacular, that did follow John's lead in emphasizing the political over the moral. Interestingly, the thirteenth century was a big period of *Mirror* production in the Middle East as well; these *Mirrors* were greater in number but not as outstanding or as influential as those of Nizām al-Mulk and al-Ghazālī from the eleventh century. There are many similarities between these works and the European ones, and it is astonishing to find no efforts to make comparisons or to trace relationships between them. While al-Ghazālī's *Counsel for Kings* had exemplified a contrast between the religious and the classical traditions, the thirteenth century in the Middle East was a period of reconciliation between the Islamic and the classical Greco-Persian traditions in works like the anonymous *Bahr al-Favā'id* (Sea of Precious Virtues) and Najm al-Dīn Rāzī's *The Path of God's Bondsmen from Origin to Return.*

The authors of such works, now mostly clerics as in Europe, were as likely as scribes trained in the Persian tradition to employ Sasanian models and nomadic metaphors intertwined with precedents from Scripture and history.[33] Many of these works were translated into Turkish in the following two centuries, an effort of vernacularization occurring a bit later than Europe's. This was also the point at which the word "mirror" may have appeared for the first time in the title of a Middle Eastern work, not a *Mirror for Princes* but a history called *Mir'at al-Zamān* (Mirror of the Times).[34]

In Europe the thirteenth century was a time of blending of the old moral tradition with a new reading of Aristotle in the *Mirrors* of Thomas Aquinus and Ægidius Colonna (Giles of Rome), both in the 1280s.[35] A similar blending with Aristotle had recently taken place in the Middle East with Nāsir al-Dīn Tūsī's *Akhlāq-i Nāsirī* (The Nasirean Ethics) in the 1260s.[36] Scholars discussing Aristotle's influence do refer to work being done in Muslim and Christian Spain, but they do

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33 Anonymous, *The Sea of Precious Virtues (Bahr al-Favā'id): A Medieval Islamic Mirror for Princes,* trans. Julie Scott Meisami (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1991); Najm al-Dīn Rāzī, *The Path of God's Bondsmen from Origin to Return,* trans. Hamid Algar (Delmar, NY: Caravan Books, 1982). Louise Marlow, "Kings, Prophets and the ʿUlamā' in Mediaeval Islamic Advice Literature," *Studia Islamica* 81 (1995): 101–20; here 112.

34 Sibt b. al-Jawzī, *Mir'at al-Zamān fī Tā'rīkh al-A ỵān* [Mirror of the Times on the History of the Elite] (Beirut: Dār al-Shurūq, 1985–).

35 "Mirrors of Princes," *Dictionary of the Middle Ages* (see note 3); Giles of Rome, *De regimine principum Libri III,* ed. Hieronymus Samaritanius (Aalen: Scientia Verlag, 1967); Charles F. Briggs, *Giles of Rome's* De regimine principum*: Reading and Writing Politics at Court and University, c.1275–c.1525.* UNESCO Collection of Representative Works, Persian Series (Cambridge, New York: Cambridge University Press, 1999).

36 Nasīr al-Dīn Tūsī (1201–1274), *The Nasirean Ethics,* trans. G. M. Wickens (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1964)

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not trace it or its influence outside the Iberian Peninsula. The trademark of Aristotelian influence was the division of governance into three fields: ethics, economics, and politics, or the governance of the individual, the household, and the realm, and Tūsī followed this model. His achievement started a Middle Eastern tradition of philosophical ethics in the Aristotelian mode.

Much work still needs to be done on this literature regarding its authors' views on the political relevance of Aristotle's concepts. One major difference between European and Middle Eastern works on politics in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries is that the Middle Easterners do not seem to have imagined the serious possibility of any kind of government other than monarchy; rather than trying to discover the best form of government, they struggled to make monarchy better. Given that in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries monarchies, rather than republics or empires, were coming to dominate Europe as well, this difference actually may have decreased over time. In both regions, the translation of this literature into various vernacular languages allowed for the adaptation of *Mirrors* to the specific circumstances of each time and place.[37]

Mirrors in the Early Modern Period

The fifteenth century poses something of a problem for this narrative. Most general works on *Mirrors* in medieval Europe seem to consider the fifteenth century part of the Renaissance and stop short, leaving its treatment to others. Scholars of Europe's early modern period, on the other hand, tend to consider that their work begins with Machiavelli in the early sixteenth century, often leaving the fifteenth century orphaned.[38] Given the situation that resulted in later years, the fifteenth-century *Mirror* tradition seems to have split into two separate strands. Many books with "Mirror" in their titles continued to be written, but few of them were political in nature. Conversely, many works of political thought apparently abandoned the *Mirror* for the *Treatise*, although there were a few notable exceptions, such as Christine of Pizan's *Book of the Body Politic* (1407), Thomas Hoccleve's *De regimine principum* (1410s), and John Skelton's *Speculum principis* (1486?).[39]

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37 Genet, "Conclusion" (see note 5), 411.

38 The article in the *Handbook of Medieval Studies* (see note 3) is a partial exception, since it ends with Machiavelli but does not discuss fifteenth-century authors or their works.

39 Christine de Pizan, *The Book of the Body Politic,* ed. and trans. Kate Langdon Forhan. Cambridge Texts in the History of Political Thought (Cambridge, New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994); Thomas Hoccleve, *The Regiment of Princes,* ed. Charles R. Blyth. Middle English Texts (Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications, 1999); F. M. Salter, "Skelton's Speculum Principis," *Speculum* 9 (1934): 25–37.

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Nobody but his mother presumed to give advice to the Mongol emperor Genghis Khan (d. 1227), but his descendants who ruled the Middle East in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries were barraged with criticism and advice in poetry and prose. The scribes and officials, mostly Persians, on whom the Mongols depended to administer the empire took it upon themselves to instruct the nomads from the steppe in proper sedentary governmental ethics and techniques. Their advice took quite a practical turn, producing numerous manuals of administrative practice as well as advice on governance. Tūsī began the tradition with a manual on taxation that included advice about how to insure fairness and to govern well. The introductions to works on history, astronomy, and many other subjects of interest to kings included advice to the rulers to whom these books were dedicated.[40] A more developed literature on politics emerged in the fifteenth century; besides political advice in histories, poetry, and manuals of instruction, more purely political works appeared, such as a work of ethics and politics in the Aristotelian style of Tūsī, *Akhlāq-i Muhsinī* (The Muhsinian Ethics) by Husayn Vā'iz Kāshifī (who also produced a famous version of *Kalila and Dimna*), a new version of Aristotle's advice to Alexander, and the numerous political works of Fazlullāh b. Rūzbihān Khunjī Isfahānī.[41]

Another Tūsī-style work of ethics, *Akhlāq-i Jalālī* (The Jalalian Ethics) by Jalāl al-Dīn Dāvānī (d. 1503), appeared in the late fifteenth-century Akkoyunlu realm in western Iran; to it Dāvānī added Aristotle's advice to Alexander and the Circle of Justice from the *Secret of Secrets*.[42] New political works were simultaneously

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40 M. Minovi and V. Minorsky, "Nasīr al-Dīn Tūsī on Finance," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 10 (1940–42): 755–89; Safī al-Dīn Muhammad b. ʿAlī b. Tabātaba (Ibn al-Tiqaqa), *Al Fakhri: On the Systems of Government and the Moslem Dynasties,* trans. C. E. J. Whitting (London: Luzac, 1947; rpt. Karachi: Indus Publications, 1977); Rashīd al-Dīn Tabīb, *Jamiʿu't-Tawarikh: Compendium of Chronicles,* trans. W. M. Thackston, 3 vols. Sources of Oriental Languages and Literatures, 45 (Cambridge, MA: 1998–1999).

41 Husayn Vā'iz Kashifi, *Akhlāq-i Muhsinī* [The Muhsinian Ethics], (Lucknow: Matbaa-yi Tij Kumar, 1957); *A Mirror for Princes from India*, ed. Ernst J. Grube (see note 8); Thomas W. Lentz and Glenn D. Lowry, *Timur and the Princely Vision: Persian Art and Culture in the Fifteenth Century* (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, and Los Angeles County Museum of Art, 1989); Fazlullāh b. Rūzbihān Khunjī Isfahānī, *Sulūk al-Mulūk* [Pathways of Kings] (Tehran: Shirkat-i Sihāmī-i Intishārāt-i Khvarazmī, 1984); Fazlullāh b. Rūzbihān, *Muslim Conduct of State, Based upon the Sulūk-ul-Mulūk of Fadl-Ullāh bin Rūzbihān Isfahānī,* trans. Muhammad Aslam (Lahore: University of Islamabad Press, 1974); Ann K. S. Lambton, "Changing Concepts of Authority in the Late Ninth-Fifteenth and Early Tenth-Sixteenth Centuries," *Islam and Power,* ed. Alexander S. Cudsi and Ali E. Hillal Dessouki (London: Croom Helm, 1981), 49–71.

42 Jalāl al-Dīn Muhammad Dāvānī, *Akhlāq-i Jalālī* [The Jalalian Ethics] (Lucknow: Matbaʿ-i Munshi Naval Kishur, 1866); Dāvānī, *The English Translation of "The Akhlak-i-Jalali," A Code of Morality in Persian,* trans. S. H. Deen (Lahore: Matba'-i Munshi Naval Kishur, 1939); or an older and less complete translation, *Practical Philosophy of the Muhammadan People,* trans. W. F. Thompson (London: Oriental Translation Fund, 1839).

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produced and older *Mirrors* copied in Cairo, the capital of the Mamluk realm; new works included *Āthār al-Uwal fi Tartīb al-Duwal* (The Principal Influences on the Progression of Dynasties) by al-ʿAbbāsī (d. 1310), dependent on Aristotle's advice to Alexander, and *Badā'iʿal-Silk fī Tabā'iʿal-Milk* (Marvellous Lines on the Nature of Authority) by Ibn al-Azraq (d. 1491), which drew on Ibn Khaldūn.[43]

The inception of Ottoman advice literature occurred in this period. The first original Anatolian advice work in Ottoman times seems to be Şeyhoğlu Mustafa's *Kenzü'l-Kübera* (Treasure of the Great), written in 1400 in the philosophical style and recently published for the first time.[44] Shortly thereafter (1411) there appeared an interesting work by Ahmedi, an epic poem on Alexander the Great, *Iskendernâme* (The Book of Alexander) with an epilogue on the first four Ottoman sultans. This epilogue has been regarded as a history, but it was actually more of a critique and work of political advice, depicting the ideal sultanate of Murad I and, in contrast, the reasons for his son Bayezid I's downfall at the hands of Timur in 1402.[45]

In the next three decades, besides an illustrated *Iskendernâme,* there appeared an original work of ethics in the Persian style, the anonymous and still unpublished *Kenzü's-Saʿâdet* (Treasure of Happiness), and another work combining the philosophical style with al-Ghazālī's *Counsel for Kings,* the *Mir'at al-Mulūk* (Mirror for Princes) by Amasi, possibly the first Middle Eastern advice work to use the mirror image in its title.[46] During the fifteenth century, *Mirrors for Princes* were also written in Persian farther east: Timurid *Mirrors*, Indian *Mirrors*, even Shaybanid *Mirrors* in Central Asia. The fifteenth-century European *Mirrors* in vernacular languages are said to have become more topical; no such general comparison has been made for the Middle Eastern *Mirrors* of this period.

Were any of the Middle Eastern *Mirrors* known in Europe outside Spain? Beyond *Kalila and Dimna,* the *Secret of Secrets*, and *Bocados de Oro,* I have not yet seen evidence of it, nor any evidence that the European *Mirrors* were known in the Middle East. If that remains the case, we would have to attribute the striking similarities between them to their common origins and trajectory, however

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43 Hasan b. 'Alī al-`Abbāsī, *Āthār al-Uwal fi Tartīb al-Duwal* [The Principal Influences on the Progression of Dynasties], (Beirut: Dār al-Jīl, 1989); Abū 'Abd Allāh b. al-Azraq, *Badā'iʿal-Silk fī Tab'iʿal-Milk* [Marvellous Lines on the Nature of Authority], ed. 'Alī Sāmī al-Nashār, 2 vols. (Baghdad: Wizārat al-I`lām, 1977–1978).

44 Şeyhoğlu Mustafa, *Kenzü'l-Küberâ ve Mehekkü'l-Ulemâ: Inceleme, Metin, Indeks* [Treasure of the Great and Touchstone of the Learned: Study, Text, Index], ed. Kemal Yavuz. Atatürk Kültür Merkezi Yayınları, 39 (Ankara: Atatürk Kültür, Dil ve Tarih Yüksek Kurumu, 1991).

45 Kemal Silay, "Ahmedī's History of the Ottoman Dynasty," *Journal of Turkish Studies* 16 (1992): 129–200.

46 The last two works are still unpublished at this writing. On their production see Darling, *History of Social Justice* (see note 36), 130–31.

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improbable that may be. The reasons for that common trajectory would certainly bear investigation. The coincidence of Amasi's title, *Mirror for Princes*, however, suggests that at least some information must have made its way across the cultural boundary. That should not be surprising, as it was a boundary that many people crossed every day, whether voluntarily or involuntarily. Digging a little deeper might enable us to identify mechanisms of contact of which we are currently unaware.

Although in the medieval period advice literature from Western Europe to India exhibited a great similarity in both form and content, that relative unity was broken up in the sixteenth century. *Mirrors* continued to be produced in all these areas for two centuries after 1500 before trailing off; in Europe they were completely gone after the early eighteenth century,[47] and in the Middle East their numbers were much reduced, though some were written or republished as late as the end of the nineteenth century. In India as well, they continued to flourish through the seventeenth century but diminished in the eighteenth. In Europe this dwindling of *Mirror* production has been attributed to two major changes: one, the rise of printing and the introduction of new literary genres, to which I will return below, and two, the dissipation or sharing of political power among multiple individuals and bodies of men. No longer was it sufficient to address a single holder of concentrated power with personal advice. Now new means had to be devised to affect the minds of the many who held power or might hold it in the future, each of whom could have only a relatively small impact on the course of government. In addition, the people writing treatises on political theory were no longer the intimates of kings; they were philosophers and academics, often personally removed from the halls of power and writing in a more abstract vein. Instead of Hoccleve we have Hobbes; in place of Machiavelli, Kant.

Did the Middle East follow the same trend? Not exactly, yet the trajectory of change appears to have been parallel. In the sixteenth century, works other than *Mirrors for Princes* were written for the Ottoman sultans. Süleyman the Magnificent in particular, since he was seen in a messianic light, could hardly be thought to need the standard advice drawn from pre-Islamic or early Islamic stories. When the grand vizier Lütfi Pasha (ca.1488–ca.1562) wrote from retirement, his *Âsafnâme* (Book of Asaph) departed from the style of the older *Mirrors* to address problems he knew from experience, ignoring the well-established technique of allusive anecdotes to present its advice forthrightly.[48] A precedent for this approach can be

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47 Monique Cottret, "L'*Institution d'un prince* de Jacques-Joseph Duguet (Leyde 1739): Le dernier miroir?," *Le Prince au miroir de la littérature politique de l'Antiquité aux Lumières* (see note 5), 393–403.

48 Lütfî Pâshâ, *Das Asafnâme des Lutfi Pascha,* ed. Rudolf Tschudi (Leipzig: W. Drugulin, 1910); Mübahat S. Kütükoğlu, "Lütfi Paşa Âsafnâmesi (Yeni Bir Metin Tesisi Denemesi)," [Lütfi Pasha's Book of Asaph (An Attempt at a New Foundation Text)] *Prof. Dr. Bekir Kütükoğlu'na Armağan*

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seen in the last part of Nizām al-Mulk's *Book of Government*, but that precedent had been ignored for centuries. The European writer famous for writing out of his experience and disregarding the niceties of the *Mirror* style is, of course, Machiavelli.[49] Although Machiavelli wrote *The Prince* in 1513, while Lütfi Pasha wrote his work in 1545, the two authors were doing somewhat the same thing stylistically. The content of their advice, however, differed. Machiavelli drew on the prior tradition of *Mirrors*, but his uniqueness lay in his proclamation that for the prince to be effective it was sometimes necessary for him not to be good. Lütfi Pasha would not go that far.

Lütfi Pasha's realism, however, may have affected the next major advice writer, Mustafa ʿÂlî (1541–1600). Mustafa ʿÂlî dared to go beyond anything Lütfi Pasha ever conceived of, becoming the real parallel to Machiavelli in opening new ground to advice literature, and in a way that had some parallels to the European situation.[50] He and a series of seventeenth-century Ottoman advice writers, like the European political thinkers of the same time, addressed a situation in which the sultan was no longer the only, or even the main, power holder; power was dispersed among a number of court figures.[51] Simply admonishing the ruler to be strong and good was no longer sufficient to make the state strong and good.

As Rifaat Abou-El-Haj has pointed out, the seventeenth-century advice works contained the critiques of one segment of the elite regarding another segment of the elite.[52] Elite politics, from being one aspect of the sultan's concern, became a whole field in itself, one dominated by the grand vizier rather than the sultan, which changed the character of the advice needed. Studying the advice works outside the context of Ottoman decline, as Abou-El-Haj recommended and Baki

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[Festschrift for Dr Bekir Kütükoğlu] (Istanbul: Edebiyat Fakültesi, 1991), 49–99.

49 Niccolo Machiavelli, *The Prince,* ed. Harvey Mansfield (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1985). This work was not published until 1532.

50 Mustafâ ʿÂlî, *Nushat al-Salatîn*, ed. and trans. A. Tietze, as *Mustafā ʿĀlī's Counsel for Sultans of 1581: Edition, Translation, Notes,* 2 vols. Philosophisch-Historische Klasse, 137, 158 (Vienna: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1979, 1982); Cornell H. Fleischer, *Bureaucrat and Intellectual in the Ottoman Empire: The Historian Mustafa Âli (1541–1600).* Princeton Studies on the Near East (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1986).

51 Ahmet Uğur, *Osmanlı Siyaset-Nameler* [Ottoman Political Texts], Bilim ve Kültür Eserleri Dizisi, 1139; Tarih Dizisi, 17 (Istanbul: Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı, 2001); Orhan M. Çolak, "İstanbul Kütüphanelerinde Bulunan Siyasetnâmeler Bibliyografyası" [A Bibliography of Political Texts Found in Istanbul Libraries], *Türkiye Araştırmaları Literatür Dergisi* [Journal of Turkey's Research Literature] 1.2 (2003): 339–78. For a study of these writers, unfortunately set in the context of the proverbial decline of the Ottoman Empire, see Bernard Lewis, "Ottoman Observers of Ottoman Decline," *Islamic Studies* 1 (1962): 71–87.

52 Rifaat ʿA. Abou-El-Haj, Formation of the Modern State: The Ottoman Empire, Sixteenth to Eighteenth Centuries. SUNY Series in the Social and Economic History of the Middle East (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 1991).

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Tezcan outlined, will allow us to be more specific about the changes they underwent in this period of elite competition.[53]

The second impetus to change, the rise of printing and the development of new genres, reinforced the bifurcation of the *Mirror* tradition in Europe. The further development of political thought took place in what were now called works of political thought by men like Bodin, Lipsius, Bellarmine, and Hobbes. The Ottoman seventeenth-century advice works were similarly no longer *Mirrors for Princes*, though they were still advice for kings. They might be considered as a parallel genre to European works of political thought, but unlike the European works, which were theoretical and philosophical, the Ottoman advice literature was topical and practical. The Ottomans did not produce works of political theory until later.

Actual *Mirrors* were still produced in Europe, but they addressed audiences other than the ruler or rulers. In the Middle Ages there had been non-political *Mirrors*, *Mirrors* for courtiers that advised them on aspects of their lives other than the political, especially family life and the subject of women. There were also *Mirrors* for monks, women, parents, and the average man. They drew on the ethical and economic side of Aristotle's discussion of governance, and they became the basis for an early modern *Mirror* literature on these topics and many others that is not paralleled in the Middle East. Or rather, its Middle Eastern parallel came not in *Mirrors* but in works of ethics *(akhlāq/ahlâk),* which flourished in the early modern period.[54] Most ethical works had a strong religious component, and therefore (like most other Islamic religious literature of the early modern period) they have not been much studied.

Although Europeans were apparently uninterested in Middle Eastern works of ethics, they were very interested in the political advice literature. Aside from the early chronicles, the works most frequently translated into European languages before the twentieth century belonged to the literature of advice. Many of the translations date from the nineteenth century, but some appeared as early as the seventeenth, and in that century European statesmen such as Mazarin and Colbert collected copies of such works.[55] At this point it is unknown whether European

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53 Baki Tezcan, *The Second Ottoman Empire: Political and Social Transformation in the Early Modern World.* Cambridge Studies in Islamic Civilization (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010).

54 Agâh Sırrı Levend, "Ümmet Çağında Ahlâk Kitaplarımız" [Our Ethics Books of the Islamic Period], *Türk Dili ve Araştırma Yıllığı Belleten* [Annual Bulletin of Turkish Language and Research] (1963): 167–94.

55 Douglas A. Howard, "Ottoman Historiography and the Literature of 'Decline' of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries," *Journal of Asian History* 22 (1988): 552–77; E. Blochet, *Catalogue des manuscrits turcs,* 2 vols. (Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale, 1932) ; see the acquisition notes on most entries. Cf. also Faruk Bilici, *Louis XIV et son projet de conquête d'Istanbul*. Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları, ser. 9, no. 11 (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 2004).

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writers of political thought were familiar with them, but some key political actors certainly were.

Conclusion

At this point, the conclusion to this preliminary investigation can only summarize the relationships between the histories of *Mirror*-writing in East and West. In the Middle Ages, the strong resemblances between European and Middle Eastern works certainly make it appear as if advice literature in the form of *Mirrors for Princes* was a transnational phenomenon, but actual contacts have yet to be traced. In the early modern period, in contrast, it does not look as if advice literature produced in these two cultures was related, although the trajectories of its development were not dissimilar, but we know there was transmission from the Middle East to the West and possibly in the other direction as well. This pattern of relationships implies an agenda for further research into the comparative history of *Mirror*-writing in the two regions.

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Chapter 2

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Reframing the Monstrous: Visions of Desire and a Unified Christendom in the Anglo-Saxon *Wonders of the East*

In the first act of William Shakespeare's *Othello*, the titular Moor, accused of employing "foul charms" in his courtship of Desdemona, defends himself before the Venetian Duke and court, insisting that "she loved me for the dangers I had passed" in the course of a military life.[1] He claims that the earliest stages of their relationship centered on a retelling of his worldly travels, of the

> . . . antres vast and deserts idle,
> Rough quarries, rocks, and hills whose heads touch heaven. . .
> And of the cannibals that each other eat,
> The Anthropophagi, and men whose heads
> Do grown beneath their shoulders. This to hear
> Would Desdemona seriously incline . . .[2]

This last "danger," the race of monstrous men known as the blemmyae, would have been immediately recognizable to Shakespeare's audience by description, if not necessarily by name; less than a decade before Othello's first performance, Sir Walter Raleigh wrote of such headless wonders in his immensely popular travel narrative, *The Discovery of Guiana*.[3] Even prior to Raleigh's writing, however, the

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1 William Shakespeare, *Othello*, ed Norman Sanders (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 77, 85.

2 Shakespeare, *Othello* (see note 1), 84.

3 Sir Walter Raleigh, *The Discovery of Guiana and the Journal of the Second Voyage thereto*, ed. Henry

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blemmyae were a popular figure of travel narratives from classical to early modern times, appearing in the works of Pliny the Elder, Augustine, Isidore of Seville, John Mandeville, and Marco Polo.

What is important here is not Shakespeare's familiarity with the conventional *mirabilia*, but rather his confidence in the idea that a thorough description of the world beyond Venice—and the boundless wonders that world contains—would indeed be enough to seduce Desdemona, or any woman for that matter. After all, upon hearing the story of Desdemona's seduction, the Duke concedes, "I think this tale would win my daughter too."[4] In *Othello*, of course, this seductiveness is ultimately a threat: Othello's stories are the first step in his violation of European endogamy, and his death (the result of his marriage to and distrust of Desdemona) has the potential to bring about the fall of the Venetian army to Turkish forces. Nevertheless, it seems that, for Shakespeare at least, monster stories and travel narratives are undeniably seductive genres, so much so that they have the potential to lure women like Desdemona away from the "wealthy curled darlings" of the (Western) world into the arms of the non-European (Eastern) Other.

Modern critics do not typically imagine a medieval audience being as seduced by stories of the Other as Desdemona seems to be. Indeed, the common narrative of medieval perceptions of the non-European—and especially of the East is one of animosity, a desire to separate and distinguish which, as many scholars believe, is fully realized in the descriptions of monstrous races and creatures.[5] This paper will look at one specific text to which this narrative of intrinsic animosity has often been attached—the genre-defying prose travel narrative and bestiary *The Wonders of the East*. Extant in three English manuscripts, the *Wonders* has been widely studied in relation to its most famous neighbor, *Beowulf*; both texts appear in British Library MS Vitellius A. xv (hereafter "Vitellius").

Little has been written, however, on the *Wonders* as a literary text in its own right, or as a historical document in its other two manuscript forms. Critical work which has been done in recent years, moreover, tends to lean toward a strangely anachronistic essentialism, assuming a universally intrinsic fear or pity of the Eastern wonders described. Dana Oswald has argued that monster narratives exist to "articulate and attempt to emphasize the Other's undeviating strangeness," a strangeness, she claims, which forced early readers to vandalize the sometimes explicit illustrations included with the text.[6] Greta Austin, on the other hand,

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Morley (London, Paris, et. al: Cassell & Co., 1887), 106–08.

4 Shakespeare, *Othello* (see note 1), 85.

5 Of course, not all scholars read medieval encounters with the East in this way. For an example of the type of reading I propose, see Albrecht Classen, "Foreigners in Konrad von Würzburg's *Partonopier und Meliur*," *Meeting the Foreign in the Middle Ages*, ed. id. (New York and London: Routledge, 2002), 226–48.

6 Dana M. Oswald, "The Indecent Bodies of The *Wonders of the East*," *Monsters, Gender and Sexuality*

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argues that the *Wonders* reveals a sort of pre-colonial evangelical desire, and imagines an audience interested in the East so that they may further understand "the order and diversity of those to whom God offers his salvific grace."[7]

While Oswald and Austin both offer intriguing readings of the *Wonders*, the fact is that both readings require a medieval audience which truly believes in the monsters being described. Asa Simon Mittman has gone so far as to say that, "it is very difficult to believe that such creatures were, for the Anglo-Saxons, 'alien yet real,' and yet we must."[8] I find it very difficult indeed to believe that *all* Anglo-Saxons readers/listeners would have interpreted the *Wonders* as an entirely factual text; indeed, I consider it difficult to believe that *most* of the audience would have read the text in this way, despite the frequent use of monsters in medieval patristic writings to allegorize evil and the appearance of monsters in much of the plastic arts, such as on capitols and as corbels. Even Augustine admits in *The City of God* that "it is not necessary to believe in all the races of men which are said to exist" in order to appreciate God's bounty.[9]

For the purposes of this chapter, I assume that the scribes copying and compiling *The Wonders of the East* did *not* believe in the creatures they described, and that they were very much aware of the symbolic significance and appeal of monsters in the worldview of their imagined audiences. In trying to understand the nature of that appeal, I will follow Jeffrey Jerome Cohen's theory of monsters as outlined in his 1996 article, "Seven Theses," in which he argues for "a method for reading cultures from the monsters they engender."[10] Although the creatures described in the *Wonders* were not imagined into being at the time of that text's writing, the fact that there are three extant versions of the text from the eleventh and twelfth centuries (about which see more below) suggests that Anglo-Saxon scribes certainly had monsters on the mind. These iterations of traditional monsters during those two centuries and beyond, moreover, differ in drastic and fascinating ways from their classical counterparts, suggesting a desire to shift or clarify the place of the monster in the medieval imagination.

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in Medieval English Literature, ed. eadem. Gender in the Middle Ages, 5 (Woodbridge: D. S. Brewer, 2010), 27–65; here 35.

7 Greta Austin, "Marvelous Peoples or Marvelous Races? Race and the Anglo-Saxon *Wonders of the East*," *Marvels, Monsters, and Miracles: Studies in the Medieval and Early Modern Imagination*, ed. Timoth S. Jones and David A. Sprunger (Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications, 2002), 25–51; here 43.

8 Asa Simon Mittman, *Maps and Monsters in Medieval England*. Studies in Medieval History and Culture (New York and London: Routledge, 2006), 66.

9 Augustine of Hippo, *The City of God Against the Pagans* (London: William Heinmann Ltd., 1965), 42.

10 Jeffrey Jerome Cohen, "Seven Theses," *Monster Theory: Reading Culture*, ed. id. (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1996), 3–25; here 3.

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Following Cohen's assertion that "monsters appear at times of crisis," I will argue that the illustrations and descriptions of monstrous creatures and races in *The Wonders of the East* reveals a desire for a sort of symbiotic relationship with the East based on emotional, linguistic, and sexual exchange. I will argue that the medieval English *Wonders of the East* imagines a world in which Englishmen gaze at and are gazed upon by their Eastern counterparts; a world in which the East is domesticated and also a domesticating force; a world, most significantly, in which the East is simultaneously the lover and beloved.

In its insistence on mutual curiosity and desire, my argument follows Albrecht Classen's assertion in the introduction to this volume that "Edward Said's theoretical model of "Orientalism" might not simply be transferrable to the Middle Ages and the early modern age."[11] Indeed, I read the *Wonders* as a tidy contradiction of Said's assertion that a "poet or scholar" writing about the East "is never concerned with the Orient except as the first cause of what he says."[12] The author of the *Wonders*, I will argue, is deeply invested in both the idea and the fact of the East, and in the idea of exchange between East and West. The imagined result of these pathways of exchange—this reciprocity—is a global Christendom which supersedes earthly borders, and in which international mercantile exchange is fully possible. The appeal of such a global Christendom to eleventh-century Anglo-Saxons cannot be underestimated. By describing and illustrating humanized monsters, hybrids, and monstrous humans, and by encouraging the reader to engage with the monsters depicted, the scribes and compilers of *The Wonders of the East* sought to collapse the distance between East and West in order to bring about this global Christian mercantile utopia.

In forming my argument, I will focus on a close reading of the illustrations and descriptions of three specific *Wonders*: the dog-headed cynocephali; the blemmyae, mentioned above; and a race of "fremfulle men" ("well-disposed people") encountered in the text by a fictionalized version of Alexander the Great.[13] I will also be examining *The Life of St. Christopher* and *The Letter of Alexander to Aristotle*, both of which appear alongside the *Wonders* in the Vitellius manuscript, and both of which differ in significant ways from their classical predecessors. By studying these texts, I hope to show, as stated above, that the scribes, illustrators, and compliers of the manuscripts in which the *Wonders* appeared were deeply curious about the Eastern world, and that their work in compiling the various manuscripts

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11 **Albrecht Classen, "*Introduction*," p.?**

12 Edward W. Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1978), 21.

13 R. D. Fulk, ed., *The Beowulf Manuscript*, Dumbarton Oaks Medieval Library, 3 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2010), 28. All translations are from this edition, unless otherwise noted. Any drastic differences between the text found in Vitellius and those found in Tiberius and Bodley will be noted.

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helped to imagine a future in which geographical distance did not necessitate cultural, economic, or religious animosity.

There are three extant versions of the text now known as *The Wonders of the East*: the eleventh-century Vitellius, mentioned above; British Library MS Cotton Tiberius B. v (eleventh century; hereafter referred to as "Tiberius"); and Oxford Bodleian Library Bodley 614 (ca. twelfth century; "Bodley"). Vitellius has the text only in Anglo-Saxon, Tiberius has Latin and Anglo-Saxon versions, and Bodley has only the Latin. Each was copied in England, and each is heavily illustrated. Much has been written about the relationship between the text and illustrations of the various manuscripts, but the evolution of the text in its Latin and Anglo-Saxon forms lies largely outside the scope of this paper.[14] For the sake of my argument, the important facts—as outlined by Ann Knock in her introduction to the facsimile edition of the Tiberius manuscript—are as follows. First, the Anglo-Saxon versions of the text found in Tiberius and Vitellius were produced independently of each other—translated from similar but discrete Latin versions, with the Tiberius Anglo-Saxon text being a direct translation of the Tiberius Latin. Secondly, the striking similarities between the illustrations in Bodley and Tiberius suggest a common exemplum, which both illustrators followed closely, albeit with some small differences. Knock's observations have two practical implications. Firstly, the similarities in theme between the Tiberius and Vitellius manuscripts as "whole books" *despite* their independent production suggests that the desire for closeness with the East which finds expression in both manuscripts was widespread (in England, at least) at the time of their production. Secondly, the knowledge of a common exemplum used to illustrate the Bodley and Tiberius manuscripts allows us to study the minute differences between those illustrations, and to consider the implications of details as seemingly insignificant as the direction of a glance.

It might seem strange for an ostensibly literary scholar to place so much emphasis on the illustrations accompanying a text, but the fact is that the detailed sketches appearing in the Tiberius and Vitellius *Wonders* are vastly more interesting than the words they accompany. *The Wonders of the East* is a far cry from the epistolary travel narratives which preceded it and from the early modern proto-novels which followed. Bereft of a narrator and lacking plot entirely, the *Wonders* can best be described as a catalogue of mildly interesting oddities, a list of strange people, places, and creatures found in the "East"—an all-encompassing space which the text of Wonders never really defines. The text contains no

[14] For a thorough examination of the sources used by the author of *Wonders* and the relationship between the various versions of the text, see the introduction to Paul Allen Gibbs, "Wonders of the East: A Critical Edition and Commentary," Ph.D. diss., Duke University, 1977.

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narrative framework, relying instead on a number of cheerfully imprecise geographical references (such as "on the way to Babylonia" and "east from there") and strangely specific spatial measurements (as in the ubiquitous references to *stadia* and leagues) to help situate the audience. It is, essentially, a compilation of thirty-six discrete passages which provide the reader with the location, appearance, and habits of the supposed wonders, often in frustratingly vague terms. A typical passage reads:

> Hascellentia hatte þaet land, þonne mon to Babilonia faerð, þaet is þonne ðaes laessan mil-gentaeles þe *stadia* hatte .ix. mila lang ond brad; þaet bugeð to Meda rice. Þaet land is eallum godum gefylled. Ðeos stow hafað naeddran; þa neaddran habbað twa heafdu; þara eagan scinað nihtes swa leohte swa blaec-ern.[15]
>
> [Hascellentia is the name of that country, when one is going to Babylon, which in length and breadth is nine of the smaller measures of distance called stades; it is subject to the kingdom of the Medes. That region is filled with all good things. This place has snakes; the snakes have two heads, of which the eyes shine at night as bright as a lamp.]

These are interesting bits of information certainly, but one suspects that a medieval audience looking for entertainment might be disappointed. The result of thirty-six sections like the one above, read (or heard) consecutively, is not, ultimately, wonder, but something closer to hypnosis. As the text plods ever eastward, the illustrations accompanying the Wonders provide a brief, joyous respite from the monotony. The illustrations also provide an opportunity for the audience to engage with the monsters described in a way that the terse, quite literally colorless text does not. Indeed, in many cases, the illustrations are the only tool available to the reader in forming a picture of the wonder being described. In each of the three manuscripts, the visual is privileged – a fact that, as I will argue, is vital to a thorough understanding of *The Wonders of the East*.

In studying the illustrations found in the three English versions of the *Wonders*, I have identified three broad patterns: first, that the illustrations present a vision of the East which is significantly more sympathetic and curious than the text they accompany or the literary/pictorial tradition from which they stem; second, that in those illustrations, the power and significance of eye contact and language is heavily stressed; and third, that the relationship between reader, wonder, and text can change drastically depending on the wonder's position within and beyond the illustration's frame. In order to understand how these patterns change the traditional reading of *The Wonders*, I will examine three paired sets of illustrations

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15 Fulk, *Beowulf* (see note 13), 19.

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and texts, examining creatures along a spectrum ranging from the fully monstrous to the fully human, with a human hybrid in between.

Let us begin our study of the *Wonders* with a creature which is fully monstrous, and relatively common in classical *mirabilia* – the dog-headed cynocephali. The text reads:

> Eac swycle þaer beoð cende healfhundingas, ða syndon hatene *conopoenas*. Hy habbað horses mana ond eoferes tuxas ond hunda heafdu, and heora oroð byð swycle fyres leg.[16]
>
> [Likewise, cynocephali are born there who are called *conopenae*. They have the mane of a horse and the tusks of a boar and dogs' heads, and their breath is like the blaze of a fire.]

This is the sort of classically monstrous body modern readers expect to see in books of monsters: a confused jumble of familiarly sinister yet mismatched pieces combined to form a beast more threatening than the sum of its parts. And yet if the monster described is conventional, the methods used to describe it are anything but that. The most immediately arresting aspect of this description is the Anglo-Saxon text's use of two separate names ("healfhundingas" and "conopoenas") to describe these creatures. The Latin text, positioned right above the Anglo-Saxon, adds a third: cenocephali – literally, dog-head. By providing three names for the same creature, the texts is engaging in an exercise in the domestication of the monstrous, as proposed by Jack Goody; by naming these monsters—an imitation, perhaps, of Adam's first task in Eden—the *Wonders* is able to exert Western dominance over the East, to tame it, and to bring it back to the category of the understood.[17]

Yet for all the text's apparent anxiety about defining and controlling the creature, the illustration accompanying this description is strangely non-threatening, for the beast pictured is not truly a "healfhunding" at all. Or, rather, it is not the "healfhunding" the text describes. For the illustration accompanying this passage depicts a dog's head attached to a body which is quite obviously human, the "eoferes tuxas," barely visible spikes on the elongated snout (Fig. 1). The "horses manna," moreover, barely reaches the creatures shoulders, and the rest of the body is entirely hairless. Most significantly, nearly half of the frame is taken up by a large flowering plant growing out of a dark black rock, from which the creature has plucked a single leaf. One of his human-like hands is curled, bringing the leaf to his lips; the other gestures toward the tree, as if inviting the

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16 Fulk, *Beowulf* (see note 13), 19.

17 Jack Goody, *The Domestication of the Savage Mind* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1977).

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reader to partake. The inclusion of such conspicuous gesticulation in each of the three manuscripts suggests a desire to explore the potential of non-verbal communication across linguistic boundaries—communication without the necessity of translation. Later travel narratives, such as the *Travels* of Sir John Mandeville and Marco Polo, would emphasize the importance of native translators to explorers of the East. However, this early English curiosity about the power of communication in its simplest non-verbal form suggests an intense desire for closeness which transcends the simple mercantile (read: economic) concerns of later writers.

What, then, is this creature trying to communicate by gesturing toward the tree? The simplest answer is that the gesture is designed to draw attention to the plant itself, and in doing so recall John 15:5—"I am the vine; you are the branches." Viewed through this Christian allegorical framework (with which any medieval audience would have been intimately familiar), the illustrated cynocephali takes on new significance as a humanized creature seeking the fruits of Christ's goodness in a harsh Eastern world. This desire for Christ is especially important when we consider the creature's remarkable resemblance to common medieval descriptions and illustrations of St. Christopher, the supposedly "dog-headed" saint whose *Life* appears alongside the *Wonders* in Vitellius, and whose hagiography is deeply concerned with the importance of language in evangelical efforts.

The first section of the Vitellius *Life of St. Christopher* was severely damaged in the infamous 1731 fire which partially destroyed the Cotton library, and so modern readers are left without any explicit description of Christopher's physical appearance, as such a description which would have conventionally appeared in the introduction to the *Life*. He is, however, described in the text as being "twelf faeðma lang" ("twelve fathoms tall"[18]), which allows us to assume that the Vitellius *Life* does indeed consider him to have a monstrous body. In the *Old-English Martyrology*, however, the saint's description begins:

> He haefda hundes heafod, ond his loccas waeron ofer gemet side, ond his Eagan scinon swa leohte swa morgensteorra, ond his teð waeron swa scearpe swa eofores tuxas.
>
> [He had the head of a dog, his locks were exceedingly thick, his eyes shown as brightly as the morning-star, and his teeth were as sharp as a boar's tusks.[19]]

This is the sort of description we might expect to see accompanying the illustration of the cynocephali described above: a decidedly human body with a few

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18 Fulk, *Beowulf* (see note 13), 3.

19 *An Old English Martyrology*, ed. George Herzfeld. Early English Text Society, 116 (London: Early English Text Society), 66–67.

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strange—but hardly horrific—wondrous attributes. I submit that the illustration of the cynocephali was designed as it was in a deliberate attempt to remind readers of the dog-headed Saint, and in doing so, to force readers to consider the possibility of Eastern salvation independent of Western influence. After all, Christopher is only able to preach the Gospel (and, in some versions of the *Life*, bring Christianity to the Greeks) after asking God to give him the power of human speech – a power, as we shall see, which the *Wonders* holds in high regard. If the dog-headed human Christopher is able to achieve salvation through the mastery of human speech, is it entirely unbelievable that the human-bodied cynocephali, capable of a rudimentary form of non-verbal language, would be able to do the same? It is important to note that this is not the sort of theological reading Mittman proposes; I see no traces of evangelical desire in this illustration, or the text it accompanies. Indeed, the cynocephali, standing in for St. Christopher, are not in need of evangelical efforts from the outside world. Rather, this section of the *Wonders* imagines a Christendom in which all God's creations are, like the dog-headed Saint, equally receptive to God's mercy, and equally able to be saved through the unifying power of speech.

Let us now return to the headless blemmyae, discussed above.. The description and illustration of these creatures appears on folio 82 recto of the manuscript, and, considering the creatures' popularity in classical *mirabilia*, is surprisingly brief:

> Đonne syndon oþere ealond suð from Brixonte, on þon beoð men acende buton heafdum, þa habbaþ on hyra breostum heora eagan ond muð. Hy seondon eahta fota lange ond eahta fota brade.[20]
>
> [Then there are other islands south of the Bryxontes on which there are born people without heads, who have their eyes and mouth on their chest. They are eight feet tall and eight feet wide.]

This passage, followed in the manuscript by a description of dragons, is decidedly tame. We are given no real reason to believe that these are dangerous men; indeed, nothing besides their anatomy is strange. We might even be tempted to move onto the next section, if not for the truly bizarre illustration which accompanies the text. As is so often the case in the *Wonders*, the illustration is far more interesting than the text itself.

The illustration, which takes up a large portion of the page in both Tiberius and Bodley, is, as is usually the case in medieval manuscripts, surrounded by a thick black frame (Fig. 2).[21] In both manuscripts, however, the creature cannot be

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[20] Fulk, *Beowulf* (see note 13), 23.

[21] The illustration in Vitellius is slightly smaller and much less visually appealing. My analysis is based on the illustrations in Tiberius and Bodley.

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contained by his frame. It isn't the creature's size which prohibits confinement; in fact, in both cases it seems as if he could fit nicely inside the box if he wished. But, in a clear act of will, the creature's hands reach behind the frame on either side, long fingers curling back around to grasp the edges. It's feet, too, hang halfway off the edge of the frame, as if it is mere moments away from stepping out of the tidy box provided and off of the page. This is a drastic departure from the images which precede it; in each of the previous depictions of the monstrous races in all three of the manuscripts, transgression of the enclosure is confined to a single extremity—toes edging over the frame, for example, or a finger pointing. If those creatures break the provided boundary, they do so only incidentally. In these illustrations, for the first time in either manuscripts, the wonder is demonstrably capable of leaving its frame altogether and entering into our world. Indeed he seems ready to do so. The frame has evolved from a solid boundary separating the reader from the wonder—as it is, without exception, in the Vitellius *Wonders*—into a fragile membrane, tenuously structured and fully permeable, through which we may touch the East and through which, perhaps more importantly, the Eastern world can reach back to us.

We would expect, then, for this to be a threatening image, and in some ways, it is. The focal point of the illustration is without a doubt, the monster's genitals, positioned as they are in the exact center of the frame, and drawn with a darker ink than the rest of the body. As the creature moves to step out of the frame, its hips are thrust forward, its genitalia pushed towards the reader/viewer. Bereft of the secondary sexual characteristics of breasts (its head, after all, grows where its breasts should be) and facial or body hair, the entirety of its sexual expression is concentrated below the waist in these uniquely hairy parts, which are presented, unabashedly, to the reader. Asa Simon Mittman and Susan M. Kim have written extensively and compellingly on the significance of the blemmyae's genitals as they appear in the Vitellius manuscript. Their argument, that the "Blemmyes both/and/neither/nor genitals . . . function not only as an acknowledgement of desire in the viewing of these wonders, but also as reminder that such desire . . . is dangerous to the bodies of wonders and viewers alike" is certainly valid in relation to the Vitellius blemmyae, but does not, indeed *cannot* apply to a figure as explicitly gendered as the Tiberius blemmyae.[22]

For the blemmye found in the Tiberius wonders is certainly gendered, and gendered male. A close examination of the illustration reveals a hastily drawn

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[22] Asa Simon Mittman and Susan M. Kim, "The Exposed Body and the Gendered *Blemmye*: Reading *the Wonders of the East*," *Sexuality in the Middle Ages and Early Modern Times: New Approaches to a Fundamental Cultural-Historical and Literary-Anthropological Theme*, ed. Albrecht Classen. Fundamentals of Medieval and Early Modern Culture, 3 (Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2008), 117–216.

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penis-like shape—a dark cylinder resting on the creature's thigh. It is drawn with a darker ink than the rest of the illustration (excluding, significantly, the eyes), but crudeness of the illustration is astonishing. This blemmye's penis is significantly smaller and less detailed than the only other penis which appears in the manuscript, on the lion-headed donestre. By comparison, the headless creature's genitalia seems downright minuscule; hardly the proportions we would expect from a monster eight feet tall and eight feet wide. And yet there it is, right in the middle of the page, dark and hairy and shamelessly displayed.

What are we to make of this blatant display of genitalia? How would medieval readers have understood such blatant sexuality? Would they, as Oswald suggests, be so threatened by the monster's genitalia so as to vandalize the page in order to erase or obscure the offending parts? Admittedly, manuscript evidence suggests that some reader, at some point, did feel the need to censor the illustration. But the very fact of the inclusion of the monster's genitalia in the Tiberius manuscripts *despite* any mention of it in the accompanying texts (or, as Mittman and Kim have shown, in the other manuscript traditions) suggests that the illustrator and compiler of Tiberius considered the genitalia a vital part of the illustration's composition.

I submit that the Tiberius blemmye's penis is positioned as it is in order to draw the viewer's gaze upward to the creature's "face," which is actually just his body. Here the blemmyae becomes not a creature *lacking* a head, but a creature whose "head and body coexist in space"—a deeply queer image.[23] And yet the creature's queerness is not threatening; indeed, his "literally embodied gaze"—a suggestive gaze which is returned by the curious reader and forms the crux of the viewer-wonder relationship.[24] The blemmye's gaze—and the queerness of its body—force the reader to consider his own place at the periphery of the established world. The English, after all, held a unique place in the medieval imagination at the western edge of civilization; indeed, the Hereford mappa mundi includes illustrations of dragons along the western coast of the Isles.

And what of the gaze? Let us consider for a moment the medieval understanding of sight. Suzannah Biernoff has argued that in the medieval imagination, the eye "is a vehicle of desire: a means of grasping, devouring, adhering to the objects of one's sensual appetites; and a spontaneous dilation of one's own senses in anticipation of the world's influx."[25] It would be easy to use this theory to suggest a pre-imperialist understanding of the East and suggest that the openness of the monster's gaze imagines an Eastern world which is willing to

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23 Mittman and Kim, "Exposed Body" (see note 22), 182.

24 Mittman and Kim, "Exposed Body" (see note 22), 89.

25 Suzannah Biernoff, *Sight and Embodiment in the Middle Ages*. The New Middle Ages (Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire, and New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2002), 59.

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accept an "influx" of Western influences. But it is that gaze, impossible to ignore, which forces the reader to stare back, to "dilate" him- or herself, and to be aware of his own vulnerability to the devouring gaze of the East. If the blemmyae's penetrating eyes does indeed act as a vehicle of desire, then the East becomes an active participant in the collapsing of borders—a far cry from the feminized, passive East imagined by Said. Indeed, as Mittman and Kim have noted, "the blemmye's gaze thus as the effect of embodying us." The blemmye's body then, as the embodied site of its gaze, is an extraordinarily powerful image. If the "visual ray" imagined by Augustine "is shaped by" the object it encounters, are we not equally shaped by our encounter with the blemmye's embodied gaze? Are we not equally embodied?

Are we not, moreover, sexualized by the blemmye's gaze? R. Howard Bloch has noted that early Patristic writings on virginity quote "almost to a man" the dictum found in Matthew 5.28 that, "Whosoever looketh on a woman to lust after her hath committed adultery," and use that passage as a starting point to speak on the connection between the gaze and erotic desire.[26] If "desire is engendered by, and indeed consists of, a look," then the embodied gaze of the Eastern monster acts as a figure for the desire omnipresent in the Eastern body for the Western body (audience) it gazes upon.[27] If, however, as Tertullian claims, "Seeing and being seen belong to the self same lust," then the illustrator responsible for the Tiberius blemmye (and its pervasive gaze) is complicit in his/her own objectification.[28] By allowing the blemmye to stare at—and therefore desire—the Western reader, the Tiberius illustrator is allowing his/her audience to become objects of desire, and to return that desire in their own gaze. In the illustration accompanying the description of the blemmye, then, I find no hint of threat; rather, this illustration acts as a chance to gaze upon and be gazed at by the East. It is a chance to change and be changed that is deemed non-threatening by the illustrator's depiction of the blemmye as stepping out of his cage. If this were indeed a threatening image, the wonder would be contained, as it is elsewhere. By allowing the blemmye to transgress his boundaries, the illustrator of the Tiberius *Wonders* is encouraging his audience to consider how we may be changed by the East.

Let us turn finally to an illustration which moves beyond hints of a relationship between east and west, and shows creatures of the two worlds united in one

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26 For a thorough exploration of early Patristic writings on the power of the gaze in virginity exempla, see R. Howard Bloch, "Chaucer's Maiden's Head: 'The Physician's Tale' and the Poetics of Virginity," *Representations* 28 (1989), 113–34; here 117.

27 Bloch, "Chaucer's Maiden's Head" (see note 26), 117.

28 Tertullian, "On the Veiling of Virgins," *The Ante-Nicene Fathers: T*ranslations of the Writings of the Fathers Down to A.D. 325, ed. Alexander Roberts and James Donaldson, 24 vols. (Buffalo, NY: C. Scribner's Sons, 1885) 4:34.

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frame. Most of the final passages of the Tiberius Wonders describe what Augustine called the "monstrous races"—men who are fully human, but who possess any number of characteristics which distinguish them from the western world. Some of these races are simply quirky – they eat raw flesh, or worship the sun; others, like the bearded women or black men living on a mountain of fire – are decidedly stranger. Unlike the wild beasts or the partially human hybrids who are frequently described as a threat to (western) mankind, few of these wondrous eastern races are ever shown in the illustrations to have interaction with the western world. A significant exception is the passage describing a race of men who met with the most Western man of all – Alexander the Great himself. The passage reads:

> Ðis man-cyn lyfað fela geara, ond hy syndan fremfulle menn. Gif hwilc mon to him cymð, þonne gifað hy him wif aer hy hine onweg laetan. Se Macedonisca Alexander, þa he him to com, þa waes he wundriende hyra menniscnesse. Ne wolde he hi cwellan ne him nan lað don.[29]
>
> [This race lives many years, and they are well-disposed people. If a man comes to visit them, they give him a woman before they let him go away. The Macedonian Alexander, when he visited them, was amazed at their humanity. He did not wish to kill them nor in any way do harm to them.]

Editors and translators of the *Wonders* have long disagreed about the meaning in context of the Anglo-Saxon "wundriende." In his critical edition of the Tiberius *Wonders*, Paul Allen Gibbs translates the word as "wonder"; appropriate, considering the title of the work, but, when used in the sense of "had doubts about," entirely inaccurate.[30] R. D. Fulk's use of "amazed" in his translation is much more accurate, for the sense here is one of astonishment, not doubt. For Alexander presented in the Tiberius *Wonders* has no scruples about killing those monstrous races he deems subhuman—a mere three passages earlier, he is described as killing a group of human hybrids for their "unclennesse."[31] If he had any doubt as to the nature of the generous men described above—if he did, in fact, "wonder" about their humanity—he would not hesitate to kill them. The sense of the passage, then, is one of astonishment, almost pleasure; Alexander (and, by proxy, the reader) is glad to have found such generous men among such truly monstrous marvels.

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29 Fulk, *Beowulf* (see note 13), 29.

30 Paul Allen Gibbs, "Wonders of the East: A Critical Edition and Commentary," Ph.D. diss., Duke University, 1977.

31 Fulk, *Beowulf* (see note 13), 29.

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And what of their generosity? The marriage of a Saracen princess to crusading knights was an active trope in the medieval imagination; in early Romances, it was often symbolic of Western dominance over the East, of colonization and, ultimately, conversion. There is a hint of violence in these romances, an inequity which depicts the East as powerless to resist Western advances, and which, as in the case of Konrad von Würzburg's Eastern heroine Meliur, can leave the East quite literally powerless.[32] This is not the sort of union we see in the text of the Wonders above. These women are gifts, to be sure, but they are gifts given willingly. The generosity Alexander so admires is, in fact, based on this willingness to give gifts.

In the illustration accompanying this section of the text in Tiberius, the woman being given seems to go willingly (Fig. 3). Of the four figures on the right of the frame, three are men. They wear tunics with tights and black shoes—the uniform, in Tiberius, of the western man. One of the men has his arm around the fourth figure, whose dress and long hair mark her as a woman. We cannot tell if the western man's embrace is protective or constricting, nor are we given any clue in the gifted woman's expression as to how she feels about her new master. But with his free arm, the visitor reaches toward the eastern woman, offering his hand. Her hand comes to meet his, and the two are caught in the moment just before contact. Their outstretched hands form a sort of circle between them, a physical representation of their new-found union. Her other hand, significantly, reaches out to touch the non-western man, as if for the last time. This is not a passive woman taken against her will, but a willing participant in cultural exchange. The circle formed by their outstretch hands hangs, significantly, just above the folds of fabric covering her womb and his pelvis. The message is clear: these people are united, and the goal of that union is to bear children.

Stories of Alexander's encounter with eastern wonders were extremely popular in the medieval era; the very fact of the genre known as the "Alexander Romance" can attest to this popularity. Bound with *The Wonders of the East* in the Vitellius manuscript is a copy of *The Letter of Alexander to Aristotle*, a specific version of the Alexander story which describes many of the same monstrous creatures and races as the *Wonders*. Both texts, for example, describe the *cynocephali*, the lakes of the sun and the moon, and a race of shaggy women. The Vitellius *Letter*, however, excludes the episode describing the "fremfulle men," and Alexander's reaction to their generosity. In fact, I find no Anglo-Saxon version of the *Letter* which does include this episode. There is, however, the near-contemporary Middle High German *Alexanderlied* of the Priest Lamprecht (ca. 1170–1190), which includes a

32 Classen, "Foreigners" (see note 5), 234.

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similar story in the section dedicated to "reproducing" Alexander's letter to his mother Olympias and Aristotle.

In Lamprecht's version of the letter, Alexander describes coming across "a host of lovely maidens" in a beautiful forest.[33] Enamored of the women, his men "pitched their tents in the forest" and "made [the maidens] our wives."[34] The pitching of tents and taking of wives in Lamprecht's telling suggests settlement—a choice to live in harmony with and within the East not wholly unlike the illustrated Eastern woman's choice to leave with her Western captor. Although no explicit reference is made to procreation, it would not be too much of a stretch to imagine an illustration accompanying Lamprecht's text depicting Eastern women and Western men lying together or otherwise signaling their union, as in the Tiberius illustration.

There are, however, two crucial differences between Lamprecht's version of Alexander's encounter and the version found in the Vitellius *Letter*. The most obvious is the lack of "fremfulle" men; there are no men to give away these women. Nevertheless, this willingness to leave is found in the illustration accompanying the Tiberius text. The most important difference, then, is the maidens' disappearance some months after the original encounter. Alexander writes that "at the end of this [summer] our happiness came to an end, for the flowers withered and the beautiful women died."[35] Mourning the loss of their wives only briefly, Alexander and his men leave the forest without any souvenir of their time with the maidens. This is a drastic change from the union suggested by the Tiberius illustration—by describing Eastern women returning to the West as gifts, the Tiberius *Wonders* is engaging in the sort of international trade in women which is only possible if both parties can benefit from close interactions. This trade in women also opens up the possibility of economic exchange; here, the second meaning of "fremfulle" as profitable or wealthy is appropriate; these generous men are wealthy, and willing to share their wealth in more ways than one.

The illustrated pair described above then, acts as the realization and extension of the relationship suggested by the blemmye's gaze; an explicit offer to procreate. As with the majority of the non-threatening wonders presented in *Tiberius*, this Eastern woman is easily contained within the frame of the illustration, firmly separated from the reader. So, significantly, is her western master. In the act of taking this woman, he ties himself to the East. The frame surrounding the

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33 J. W. Thomas, trans., *The Strassburg Alexander and the Munich Oswald: Pre-Courtly Adventure of the German Middle Ages.* Studies in German Literature, Linguistics and Culture, 44 (Columbia, SC: Camden House), 65

34 Thomas, *Strassburg Alexander* (see note 33), 67.

35 Thomas, *Strassburg Alexander* (see note 33), 67.

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illustration, then, serves not as a boundary separating the wonder from the reader, but as a figure for the far-reaching borders of Christendom, by which the pair is contained. United through Christianity (marriage is, after all, a sacrament, and would require her baptism) they are held in a liminal space, neither East nor West, but both (third space), and something else altogether. This is the full realization of the imagined global Christendom described above; a community of faith which transcends earthly borders.

It should be clear by now that *The Wonders of the East* is a vastly complicated text—one in which the simplistic narrative of intrinsic antagonism between East and West has no place. In studying just three of the thirty-six paired illustrations and texts, we have seen deep desire for interaction on a number of levels—linguistic, theological, sexual, economic, etc. The fact of the matter is that *The Wonders of the East*, and the accompanying illustrations, reveal a pattern of interactions which are downright modern in their complexity. By imagining a global Christendom, the *Wonders* anticipates the utopian travel narratives of Thomas More and others; by imagining a world in which economic exchange begins with the trade of women, it anticipates the mercantile interests of Mandeville and Marco Polo. This is a complicated work, dealing with complicated issues, and to say—as many have—that its overarching message is one of fear strikes me as erroneous. Jeffrey Jerome Cohen has argued that "fear of the monster is really a kind of desire."[36] *The Wonders of The East* acts as documentation of the moment when desire transcends fear, when England's need to feel close to the East—to feel accepted as a part of the periphery—exceeds its desire to alienate.

[36] Cohen, "Monster Culture" (see note 9), 16.

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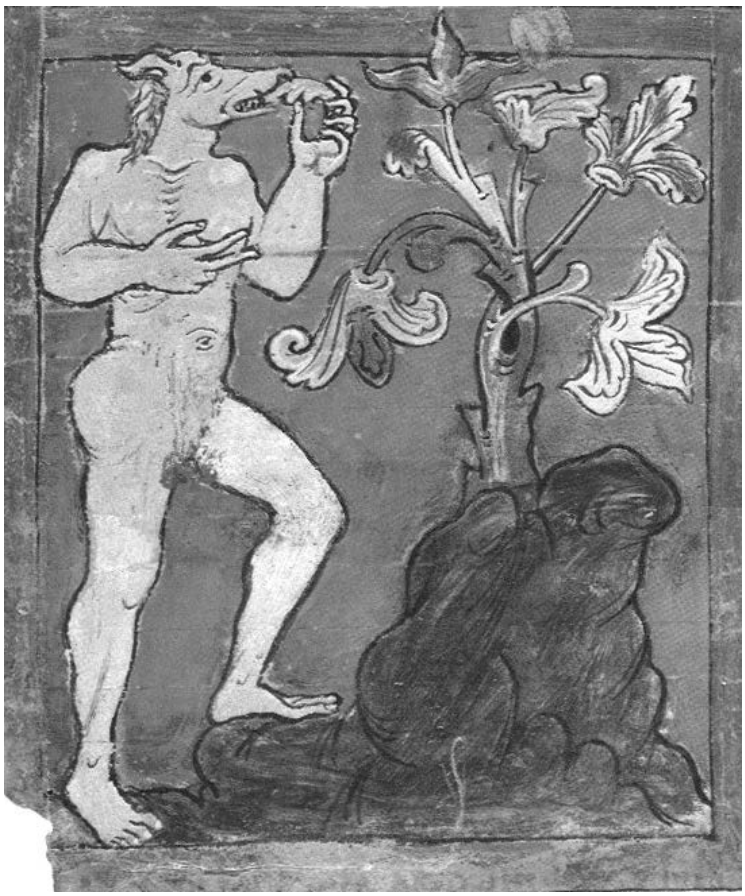


Fig. 1: The cynocephali. London, British Library Cotton Tiberius B.V., folio 80r

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Fig. 2: The blemmye. London, British Library Cotton Tiberius B.V., folio 82r

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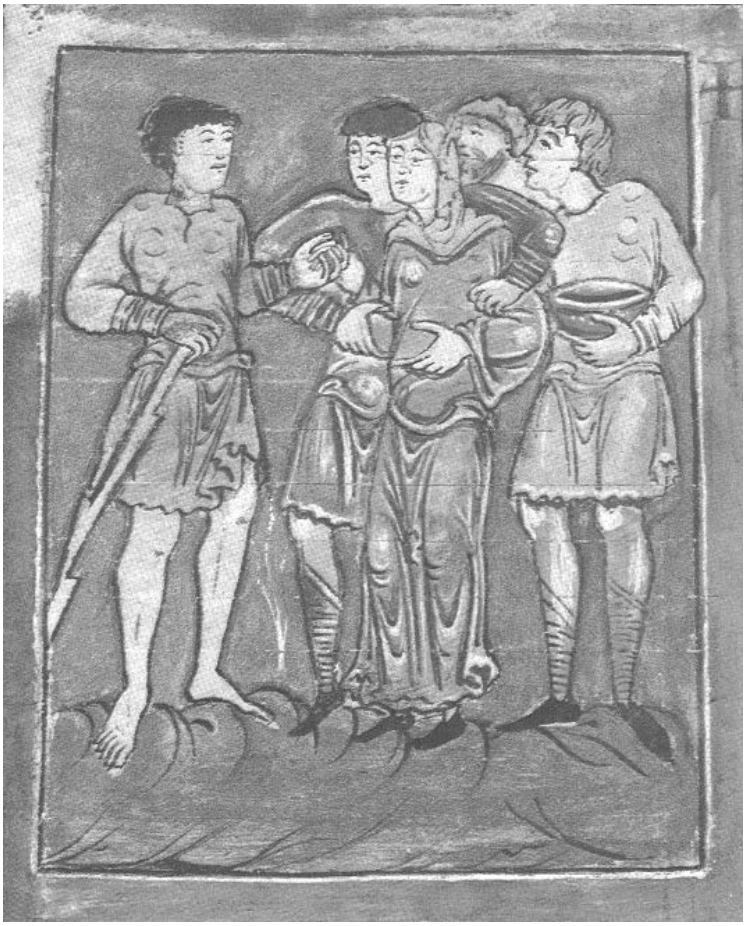


Fig. 3: The "fremfulle men." London, British Library Cotton Tiberius B.V., folio 86r.

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Chapter 3

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Byzantium between East and West: Competing Hellenisms in the *Alexiad* of Anna Komnene and her Contemporaries

Introduction

In recent years, the *Alexiad* of Anna Komnene (1083–ca. 1153) has undergone a much-needed re-assessment. Long held to be either Anna's merely edited version of her deceased husband's research notes and drafts, or the distorted production of an hysterical, bitter woman, under more careful scrutiny the work has been shown to be a valuable historical resource, authored by a highly educated and intelligent woman. The work requires careful and nuanced interpretation, however, considering both the context of the time when it was composed (mid to late 1140s), as well as its rhetorical features. The picture that has emerged in recent scholarship is of a carefully crafted work with a three-fold purpose (at least): a rehabilitation of her father Alexios I's (r. 1081–1118) memory on the one hand, a criticism of her nephew Manuel I's (r. 1143–80) policies on the other, and an overall depiction of what the ideal Byzantine ruler ought to be. In addition, her account of the Western crusaders provides valuable insight into East-West perceptions.

One aspect of this criticism has not received much attention, however. It is well known that emperor Manuel cultivated medicine and astrology at his court, and that he actually practiced medical treatment successfully. It is also well known that Anna included a medically informed and detailed account of her father's death in the *Alexiad*. What seems to have escaped notice is that she actually structures much of her narrative around a complex medical analogy that, together with the death account, support the two-fold purpose of the text.

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Furthermore, there was a contest over which form of Hellenism, i.e., revived Greek culture, would not only dominate the Byzantine court, but the whole of Christendom as well: a purely Greek Hellenism on the one hand, or some mixture of Greek, Arabic, and Latin Hellenism that was being imported from the West on the other. For the sake of this discussion, the former will be called "Eastern Hellenism," and the latter, "Western Hellenism." I shall demonstrate how the *Alexiad* was a strategic move in this contest. At the Byzantine court, this contest was part of an ideological struggle over which branch of the Komnenos family was most suited to rule. Tied up in this were Anna's and Manuel's fundamentally different attitudes toward the western Latins. Manuel is known for his openness to the Latins and their ways, while still asserting himself as their intellectual and ideological superior, one whom they ought to recognize as the rightful leader of the Christian world. Greek learning, and especially expertise in medical and astrological knowledge, were highly visible elements of that persona. Anna, on the other hand, presents her father as handling the Latins, who are unquestionably dangerous barbarians, with a more canny distrust, holding them and their culture at arm's length. As she makes clear on nearly every page, via her Atticizing language and frequent classical allusions, Greek learning rightfully belongs only to the sophisticated Byzantine culture.

I argue here that: 1) in the face of Emperor Manuel's flamboyant and public displays of medical knowledge, Anna asserts in the *Alexiad* her own medical competence and knowledge of natural philosophy to show that she, too, is fit to rule, perhaps, as a kind of "philosopher king." Implicit in her account is the assumption that the ideal ruler ought to have medical learning. And 2) even though Alexios is not known to have had any medical knowledge *per se*, Anna argues that he functioned as something far more important for the health of the Empire: he was a physician for the ills of state.

My argument shall proceed as follows: after reviewing the historical context for twelfth-century Byzantine intellectual life, including discussing the "flavors" of Hellenism, Anna's biography will be discussed briefly, with the most attention devoted to her abortive attempt to seize power after her father's death. Her subsequent career is then described, including the composition of the *Alexiad* as well as the intellectual circle she fostered. The career of Manuel is reviewed, with focus on his interests in medicine and astrology. In the main section of this article, the *Alexiad* itself is considered, in terms of the medical concepts that structure it, as well as the medical knowledge exhibited in Anna's description of her father's final illness and death.

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Hellenism in Twelfth-Century Byzantine Society

The Komnenian period was one of revival of Byzantine culture, continuing, in large measure, the revival begun under the previous Macedonian dynasty (867–1056), during which period the career of Michael Psellos (1018–ca.1078), the restorer of philosophy, was especially important. The intellectual activity of the Komnenian period, moreover, was significant enough to be labeled the "Third Sophistic" in a recent study of the period.[1] Central to that revival was a renaissance of interest in the intellectual legacy of classical antiquity, namely, "Hellenism", an emulation, to one degree or another, of ancient Greek writers and thinkers. This revival was, however, tempered with a religious dimension as well, a "purging" of the sins of court, such as astrology and immorality, in an effort to court the favors of heaven in order to ensure the survival of the Empire, which had been endangered by such, as it was thought. The heresy trials that occurred throughout, however, as well as the associated condemnations of specific Greek philosophical doctrines, indicate that not every aspect of Hellenism was tolerated. Nevertheless, astrology continued to be practiced, even, as I shall show, by an emperor (Manuel), moreover, an imperial princess, Anna Komnene, studied unapproved classical literature, against her parents' wishes. Thus, there were competing versions of Hellenism in Byzantium, which differed in their degree of compatibility with the Orthodox Christian establishment.

Greco-Arabic Translations and the Revival of Hellenism

An Arabic form of Hellenism developed in the eighth to ninth centuries in the Abbasid Caliphate, as a product of the translation movement that was then occurring in Baghdad. In effect, Arabic thinkers had translated much Greek philosophical literature, studied it carefully, and transformed it into a more useful form. While it is presently unclear precisely how this movement affected Byzantium, it does seem to have been a contributing factor spurring on the Macedonian Renaissance, both on an ideological level: "How can we allow the infidel to outdo us with our own legacy?", as well as on a practical level, by providing a market for Greek manuscripts, some copying effort of which seems to have been directed toward patrons in the Caliphate.[2] D. Gutas has observed a

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1 Anthony Kaldellis, *Hellenism in Byzantium: The Transformation of Greek Identity and the Reception of the Classical Tradition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), Chapter 5, i.e., 225–316.

2 Dimitri Gutas, *Greek Thought, Arabic Culture: The Graeco-Arabic Translation Movement in Baghdad and Early 'Abbasid Society (2nd–4th/8th–10th centuries)* (London and New York: Routledge, 1998), 175–86.

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correlation between the earliest extant Greek minuscule manuscripts and the earliest Greek texts translated into Arabic, which is probably not mere coincidence.

An important question is how much did Islamic intellectual activities affect Byzantium, and by what means? While there were Arabs in Byzantium, as traders and diplomats, the evidence for their involvement as intermediaries is slim and underexplored, unlike that of the later Palaiologan period.[3] Other more promising leads are found in the imperial embassies that had direct exchanges between Constantinople and Baghdad.[4] Another feature of the rivalry between Baghdad and Constantinople is that embellished accounts of such exchanges exaggerate the intellectual level of the Byzantines, suggesting that they were agitated by the situation, since Baghdad and what it represented as a creative center of intellectual life seems to have excited their envy.

We are on firmer ground with well-documented cases of influence and exchange. For example, Symeon Seth (fl. 2nd half of the eleventh century) was a conduit for some ideas from the East, including astrological ideas.[5] Seth was from Antioch, and had a career as a translator from Arabic to Greek, translating the *Kalila wa-Dimna* story,[6] and also authoring a manual of diet for Emperor Michael Doukas (r. 1071–78), which includes material derived from Arabic.[7] He is said to have traveled to Egypt to observe an eclipse (1058). However that may have been, by the twelfth century, Hellenism was a live issue for Byzantine intellectuals. There is a smattering of evidence suggesting that astronomical ideas from the Islamic world had entered the Byzantine intellectual world even before the career of Michael Psellos.[8]

The peculiarly Arabic Hellenism that developed in Baghdad was more than simply a translation of Greek treatises into Arabic. Rather, it was an original

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3 Maria Mavroudi, "Exchanges with Arabic Writers during the Late Byzantine Period," *Byzantium, Faith and Power (1261–1557): Perspectives on Late Byzantine Art and Culture*, ed. S. T. Brooks (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art; New Haven, NJ: Yale University Press, 2006), 62–75.

4 Some of these exchanges are discussed in: Paul Magdalino, "The Road to Baghdad in the Thought-World of Ninth-Century Byzantium," *Byzantium in the Ninth Century: Dead or Alive?*, ed. L. Brubaker (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1998), 195–213.

5 According to *Alexiad*, 6.7: Anna Comnena, *Annae Comnenae Alexias*, ed. A. Kambylis and D.R. Reinsch, vol. XL.1, Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae. Series Berolinensis, (Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2001), 181–82. English translation: Anna Komnene, *The Alexiad*, trans. E. R. A. Sewter; rev. Peter Frankopan, revised ed. Penguin Classics (London: Penguin, 2009), 164–65.

6 Simeon Seth, *Stephanites und Ichnelates: Überlieferungsgeschichte und Text*, trans. Lars Olof Sjöberg (Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1962).

7 Marc Émile Prosper Louis Brunet, *Siméon Seth, médecin de l'empereur Michel Doucas; sa vie, son oeuvre. Première traduction en français du traité 'Recueil des propriétés des aliments par ordre alphabétique'* (Bordeaux : Delmas, 1939).

8 Nigel G. Wilson, *Scholars of Byzantium*, Revised ed. (London and Cambridge, MA: Duckworth and Medieval Academy of America, 1996), 165.

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creation out of existing materials. The Arab thinker al-Kindī (d. ca. 873) has been credited with discovering philosophy and founding an original, Arabic, school out of the texts that were being discovered and translated. He could not have been part of an ancient philosophical tradition—Peripatetic, Epicurean, Stoic, or Academic, since these schools had all died out in late antiquity. Instead, modeling his approach after that taken by Euclid in his presentation of geometrical concepts, he assembled whatever pieces of the Greek tradition suited his research needs.[9] A polymath with universal interests, however, al-Kindī's thought went into decline within a century of his death, when Aristotle's texts appeared in Baghdad. Nevertheless, the groundwork that he laid made Arabic Aristotelianism as well as the whole Arabic scientific and philosophical enterprise possible.

The career of al-Kindī finds a curious parallel in the figure of the Byzantine Michael Psellos. A product of the Macedonian Renaissance, Psellos towers over his contemporaries in the breadth of his philosophical understanding, and in his vast corpus of works on varied subjects. In his own assessment of his achievement of reviving the pursuit of philosophy in Byzantium, he says that "I found philosophy only after it had breathed its last," and that "I alone revived it with my own powers, having found no worthwhile teachers."[10] (This self-assesssment was no idle boast, but is supported by the extent and character of his surviving writings). So, even though there may have been a linguistic continuity between the Byzantines and the ancient Greek philosophical schools, these traditions had also died out there as well. Psellos, in "re-inventing" philosophy could not have avoided creating something new, which suited his own interests and the needs of the time. The whole notion of what is involved in reviving an intellectual tradition from scratch has been underexplored as yet. This issue is highly significant in Anna's career, as I shall show later, since she fostered the rebirth of Aristotelian studies in Byzantium, and possibly also, through contact with James of Venice, of Western Europe.

The complexity of conflicting Hellenisms became even more complicated with the increased presence of the Latins in the Empire, and especially with Manuel I's personal interest and involvement with them. The West had been undergoing a classical revival of its own already for a few centuries, and was in the midst of another, the Twelfth-Century Renaissance. An extension of the political rivalry between Rome and Constantinople, there was developing an intellectual rivalry

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9 Dimitri Gutas, "Geometry and the Rebirth of Philosophy in Arabic with al-Kindi," *Words, Texts and Concepts Cruising the Mediterranean Sea: Studies on the Sources, Contents and Influences of Islamic Civilization and Arabic Philosophy and Science*, ed. R. Arnzen and J. Thielmann (Leuven: Peeters, 2004), 195–209; here 195. See also: Gutas, "Origins in Baghdad," *The Cambridge History of Medieval Philosophy*, ed. Robert Pasnau (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 11–25.

10 Psellos, *Chronographia* 6.7, quoted in: Kaldellis, *Hellenism* (see note 1), 193.

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between East and West, most apparent between the multi-ethnic court of the Norman Sicily of Roger II (r. 1130–1154), and the Byzantium of Manuel I. The fact that the Latin revival was being most recently fueled by Arabic influences from Spain and Sicily meant that their Hellenism was developing in a different direction from that of Byzantium, namely, perpetuating the radical changes that Islamic thinkers had introduced. This seems to be most apparent in the discipline of astrology, which had been completely reshaped under Arabic influence during the ninth century.[11] As a result, the Latins wielded yet another form of Hellenism, one that, in its original Arabic form, claimed priority over the Byzantine form, due to the volatile political circumstances and rivalry between Byzantium and the Caliphate during the eighth-ninth centuries.[12]

The contest over Hellenism, its proper form, and who has the "right" to it extends back at least to the period of the Greco-Arabic translations. The caliphs and their intellectuals recognized much of great value in the Hellenistic legacy, and came to consider its fruit as the proper possession of the world of Islam. After all, the Byzantines who had long neglected this legacy, were a defeated people, having lost two thirds of their territory to the armies of Islam, and it was only a matter of time before some Muslim prince would capture Constantinople, putting an end to the Christian Empire, and fulfilling the Prophet Muhammad's prophecy and promise.[13] Things naturally looked different from the Byzantine point of view. The legacy of Hellenism had always been theirs, and how was it that the upstart, infidel Arabs have been so successful with it? There was a felt need to find out what the Muslims were up to, but discreetly.

Moreover, the Latins presented yet another opponent in this contest. A new and vigorous rival from the West, this western Latin Hellenism had been formatively shaped by the Arab enlightenment. While our knowledge of the relationship between Arabic and Byzantine thought is still murky, there is no doubt that the influx and study of Arabic versions of Greek texts revolutionized western Latin thought, making it a powerful tool in the hands of Latin thinkers, more dynamic and fresh in some ways than the Hellenism of Byzantium.

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11 Paul Magdalino, "The Porphyrogenita and the Astrologers: A Commentary on *Alexiad* VI.7.1–7," *Porphyrogenita: Essays on the History and Literature of Byzantium and the Latin East in Honor of Julian Chrysostomides*, ed. Charalambos Dendrinos, Jonathan Harris, Judith Herrin, and Eirene Harvalia-Crook (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003), 30–31.

12 Dimitri Gutas, *Greek Thought* (see note 2), 83–95.

13 Discussed at length in: Nadia Maria El Chaikh, *Byzantium as Viewed by the Arabs* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2004); see, e.g., 43–45.

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The Challenging Eleventh Century

In spite of the contributions of Michael Psellos and others to the Byzantine intellectual revival, the political and military reverses of the eleventh century threatened to bring the Empire to an early end. Furthermore, the antagonistic response of the Church (as well as of the Komnenos regime) to Psellos's Neoplatonizing, as typified by the 1082 trial and condemnation of John Italos (ca. 1025–after 1082), one of his students, seems to have encouraged intellectuals to pursue the more earth-centered Aristotelianism. This latter school of philosophy, being fundamentally empirical in orientation, had more in common with ancient Greek medicine, and may have been an encouraging factor in the re-cultivation of medical science as well as for the dramatic shift in Byzantine attitudes toward physicians.[14] At the beginning of the period, physicians are routinely lampooned in literature, and their greed and incompetence are emphasized. However, by the time of Manuel's reign and Anna's composition of the *Alexiad*, the occupation of a physician has become a respected profession. It must be remembered, however, that Aristotelianism, too, contained elements that were contrary to Church dogma, that would eventually need to be dealt with. In fact, as discussed below, such a project of reconciling Aristotle with Christian theology was undertaken by Byzantine intellectuals under Anna's sponsorship, which anticipated the project of Thomas Aquinas by a century.

The New Model of Government

With the usurpation of Alexios Komnenos in 1081, however, there came a new model of imperial government, to which can be attributed much of his success in revitalizing the Empire, but which can also be understood as sowing the seeds of the later unraveling of those gains during the late twelfth century.[15] Alexios came to rely on members of his extended family to assist in ruling, from his mother, to his wife, and all his varied male relations. In effect, he created a family franchise in which virtually any member of the imperial family might feel that he (or she)

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14 Alexander P. Kazhdan and Ann Wharton Epstein, *Change in Byzantine Culture in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries* (1985; Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London: University of California Press, 1990), 154–56; see also Alexander Kazhdan, "The Image of the Medical Doctor in Byzantine Literature of the Tenth to Twelfth Centuries," *Symposium on Byzantine Medicine*, ed. John Scarborough. Dumbarton Oaks Papers (Washington, DC: 1984), 50–51.

15 See Paul Magdalino, "The Empire of the Komnenoi (1118–1204)," *The Cambridge History of the Byzantine Empire c.500–1492*, ed. Jonathan Shepard (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 657–63.

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had as much right to the throne as any other. While this seemed to work under Alexios, under his successors, however, it spawned rivals and rebellions, the most devastating of which was the seizure of the throne and murder of Manuel's young son, Alexios II in 1183 by a member of a collateral branch of the Komnenos family, Andronikos I (r. 1183–1185). Anna's own attempt to seize the throne after her father's death is an important part of my present story.

Anna Komnene: Birth and Education

As her history shows, Anna was a careful student of the ancient Greek historians, especially Thucydides, as well of Homer, as liberal quotes from the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* throughout show. Her first statement about her education occurs in the first paragraph of the book, where she identifies herself as a *πορφυρογεννητή* ("purple-born"), and mentions her thorough knowledge of Greek, rhetoric, Aristotle, Plato, and the traditional Quadrivium of the higher sciences (arithmetic, harmonic theory, geometry, and astronomy).[16]

Several facts about Anna's life contributed to her rivalry with her brother and nephew. She was born on December 2, 1083, not long after her father had usurped the Imperial throne. She was thus a *πορφυρογεννητή*, a title assumed by imperial children born in the purple-stoned chamber of the palace. This designation was sometimes used as an additional token of legitimacy to rule, or as a claim on the throne. Being born after one's father was firmly on the throne suggested both stability and hope that the dynasty would continue. It even provided a sense of having been preordained. Anna describes the chamber in connection with relating the story of her own birth.[17] Alexios, as a usurper with questionable legitimacy, was himself keen to use every available token of legitimacy.[18]

Anna's funeral oration, delivered by George Tornikes, a twelfth-century intellectual and Metropolitan of Ephesus, only recently brought to light, relates that Anna's parents encouraged her interests in Greek learning—to a point. She was forbidden to study grammar and rhetoric, subjects thought to corrupt the youth, because they were taught via passages drawn from pagan Greek literature, much of whose ethos (e.g., the immoral behavior of the Olympian deities) was not

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16 *Alexiad*, 15.7 (see note 3), trans. 455; ed. 484–85.

17 *Alexiad*, 6.8 (see note 3), trans. 167; ed. 183–84. See also Book 2, Ch. 21 of Constantine VII Porphrygenitos, *De Ceremoniis Aulae Byzantinae*, ed. Johann Jacob Reiske, Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae (Bonn: Weber, 1829), 615–19, for a description of the ceremonies accompanying the birth of a *porphyrogennetos* child.

18 Judith Herrin, *Byzantium: The Surprising Life of a Medieval Empire* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2008), 232–34.

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what a Christian girl ought to be exposed to.[19] Nevertheless, Anna managed to study these forbidden subjects with palace eunuchs on the sly, and acquired more than a merely superficial understanding of medical theory. Choniates describes her as "ardently devoted to philosophy, the queen of all sciences, and educated in every field."[20]

In the context of lamenting the decline of classical studies, which for her were grammar, poetics, and history—all men do now is play draughts and gamble—she described how she had studied rhetoric, history, poetry and philosophy.[21] She scorned the learning of these skills through the then popular method of *schedography*, or the study and imitation of short excerpts drawn from the classical corpus. This was a quick (but superficial) way to acquire the essential elements of a classical education, and to appear educated, and secure a job in the imperial administration. Anna insisted, rather, that works be read in their entirety.

Betrothals and Marriage

An imperial female, Anna was a political tool of her father's as he sought to strengthen his own legitimacy and to extend his family's influence in the state. So, as a young girl, she was betrothed to Constantine Doukas (ca.1074–ca.1095), a representative of one of the most powerful families in the Empire, and she was sent to his home to be raised by his mother, Maria of Alania (ca.1050–after 1103), a former empress. Constantine, himself a *πορφυρογεννητός*, son of the previous emperor, Michael VII Doukas (r. 1071–1078), was also a political tool, representing a legitimizing link to the previous dynasty, and had been betrothed to other politically desirable women before Anna. Since Alexios had no male heirs at that time, Constantine was crowned as Caesar—the heir designate. Thus, at least the regime could continue via a smooth transition, in the event of Alexios's premature death. In 1087, however, a son, John, was born, and so the need for Constantine evaporated, and he vanished from the record—perhaps he died young, before any actual marriage had been formalized between him and Anna. Ten years later (1097), Anna was actually married to another eligible young man, Nikephoros Bryennios, a descendant of his namesake, the former *doux* of Dyrrachion, who had

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19 Robert Browning, "An Unpublished Funeral Oration on Anna Comnena," *Aristotle Transformed: The Ancient Commentators and their Influence*, ed. Richard Sorabji (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1990), 404–05.

20 Niketas Choniates, *Nicetae Choniatae historia, pars prior*, vol. 11.1, Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae. Series Berolinensis, ed. J. van Dieten (Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1975), 10. English translation: Niketas Choniates, *O City of Byzantium, Annals of Niketas Choniates*, trans. Harry J. Magoulias (Detroit, MI: Wayne State University Press, 1984), 8.

21 *Alexiad*, 15.7 (see note 3), trans. 455; ed. 484–85.

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revolted against Michael VII a generation earlier, and had been defeated and blinded by Alexios himself.[22] This marriage appears to have been another measure by Alexios to neutralize a potential threat.

The Succession from Alexios

The historian, Niketas Choniates (ca. 1155–1215/16), reports that Alexios had no intention that anyone other than his son, John, should succeed him, in spite of Empress Eirene's overt favor for Anna's husband, Bryennios.[23] What kingdom allows the throne to pass to an elder daughter, when there's a perfectly capable son? Such a practice had never been followed in the Roman Empire since its beginning. Furthermore, Alexios wrote a poetic handbook of statecraft for John, but we know of nothing similar prepared for Anna.[24] Evidently, Alexios had given the succession much thought, and it didn't include Anna or her husband, although the latter held the title Caesar, normally reserved for an emperor in training.

The Attempted Coup

Anna had tremendous self-confidence. Apparently, she felt that her whole life she had been prepared to succeed her mother as empress, as wife to a strong leader, who had been chosen by her father. She was, after all, Alexios's oldest child, and of all his children, she resembled him most closely.[25] She came from a family of powerful women, and had been named after her paternal grandmother, Anna Dalassene, whose political maneuverings had brought her family to power in the first place.[26] She was a *πορφυρογεννητή*. She also had a first rate classical education, and she could hardly have failed to learn from Plato's *Republic* about the philosopher king. Anna seems to have fancied herself as the philosopher and her husband as the talented orator, and a popular general—a formidable ruling pair. She was far more learned than her brother. However, as Alexios knew, it

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22 *Alexiad* 1.6 (see note 3), trans. 23–24; ed. 27.

23 Choniates, *Historia* (see note 20), trans. 5; ed. 5.

24 P. Maas, "Die Musen des Kaisers Alexius I," *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 22 (1913): 348–59. See the discussion in: Paul Magdalino, *The Empire of Manuel Komnenos 1143–1180* (1993; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002)., 27–30.

25 As she says: *Alexiad*, 6.8 (see note 3), trans. 167; ed. 184.

26 *Alexiad* 2.2 (see note 3), trans. 52–53; ed. 57–58; and 2.5, trans. 59–60; ed. 65–66. See also Barbara Hill, "Actions Speak Louder Than Words: Anna Komnene's Attempted Usurpation," *Anna Komnene and Her Times*, ed. Thalia Gouma-Peterson (New York and London: Garland Publishing, Inc., 2000), 50.

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requires more than book-learning to rule an empire, and it was John, who actually succeeded in securing the throne.

While Alexios lay dying, the question of who would succeed him seems to have remained unsettled. The view of Choniates was that Alexios had intended John to be his heir all along, and that Anna and her mother were rebelling against his wishes. Choniates states that Alexios had given John the tokens of succession, the red buskins, and had permitted him to be acclaimed as co-emperor. Empress Eirene Doukaina, however, supported her daughter and her son-in-law, the Caesar, and systematically attempted to undermine John with Alexios—who, according to Choniates, feigned to listen, but deliberately ignored her advice.[27] This report, however, seems difficult to take at face value, since Alexios is known to have relied heavily on her support and counsel throughout his reign. Indeed, when his health began to fail some years before his death (ca.1112), Eirene assumed some of the responsibility of ruling. The empress contrasted the superior qualities of Bryennios with their son John. Choniates claims that when Alexios had enough of this, he chided her, citing earlier Roman precedent: When did any Roman emperor set aside a perfectly good son for a son-in-law?[28] Choniates called Alexios a dissembler: no one ever knew his true intentions, and the circumstances around the succession bear this up.

While Alexios lay dying (August, 1118), John began to gather the support of his extended relatives, as his father had done in gaining and maintaining power. Choniates describes how John, while visiting his stricken father on his deathbed and pretending to embrace him, secretly slipped the signet ring from his father's hand.[29] John then hurried to the Great Palace, the center of imperial government, to secure his position, where he remained barred in for several days. He thereby missed the funeral of his father, in spite of his mother's order for him to be present.[30]

During the first year of John's reign, a number of his relatives, organized by his sister Anna, revolted in favor of the Caesar Bryennios. They planned to murder John while he was encamped outside the city walls. Bryennios, however, stalled, and the zeal of the conspirators withered, and so the revolt died. The rebels were not maimed nor flagellated—the usual punishment for insurrection—but their property was seized, though most had it restored before long. As a woman, Anna could not lead the rebellion outside of the women's quarters, and without Bryennios as agent, her masterminded plot failed. According to Choniates, Anna was so angry with her husband for not leading the revolt that she publicly called

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27 Choniates, *Historia* (see note 20), trans. 5; ed. 5.
28 Choniates, *Historia* (see note 20), trans. 5; ed. 5–6.
29 Choniates, *Historia* (see note 20), trans. 6; ed. 6.
30 Choniates, *Historia* (see note 20), trans. 6–7; ed. 8.

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him an obscene word for the female genitals—implying that he acted like a woman, and she wondered why she hadn't been born with the male organ instead of him.[31]

As for Anna, John had collected all of her wealth and clothes, and was about to give it away to his friend, the Turkish-born Grand Domestic John Axouch. John is reported to have observed that Nature had reversed things, so that he now had the upper hand over his know-it-all scheming sister. But Axouch refused to accept the gift, and persuaded him to forgive Anna, and restore the property.[32] Bryennios remained faithful to the emperor until his death (1137). Anna, however, no doubt perceived as dangerous for her learning and unwomanly character, was confined, along with her mother, under house arrest in the Kecharitomene Monastery on the edge of the city, which had been founded by her mother. Eirene had built apartments there for the use of imperial women. This must have been a terrible punishment for a woman accustomed to the intellectual and political excitements of court life. Her access to visitors was limited—she complains in the *Alexiad* how mean her brother and nephew were to her. She blames John for wearing out her husband on military campaigns that led to his final lethal illness, probably cancer.[33]

The historian Choniates's assessment is that women simply do not have what is needed to rule, which he illustrated in his account: the man who uses all of his connections (mostly outside of the palace: the army, the crowd, extended family) to secure power—here, John—is naturally more fit to rule. In contrast, women, cloistered in palaces and homes by nature, cannot secure the necessary support outside palace walls, and so must rely on men.

Anna's Later Career: Aristotle as an Ideological Weapon

As far as we know, Anna remained in confinement for the rest of her life. Although she complains of her situation in the *Alexiad*, she was permitted to have visitors. Moreover, according to the evidence in her eulogy, she cultivated a circle of intellectuals who revived Aristotelian studies.[34] The eulogist reports that she continued her own studies, which Browning suggests involved specialists to guide her reading and possibly also to provide lectures, and that she organized and

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31 Choniates, *Historia* (see note 20), trans. 8; 10. Note my corrected translation. No condition of *penis captivus* is referred to in this passage.

32 Choniates, *Historia* (see note 20), trans. 8; ed. 11.

33 *Alexiad*, Prologue (see note 5), trans. 5–7; ed. 8–10.

34 Browning, "Unpublished Funeral Oration" (see note 19), 399–400; see also Wilson, *Scholars* (see note 8), 181–84.

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probably patronized other scholars, such as Michael of Ephesus, who prepared commentaries on Aristotle's treatises, with emphasis on the treatises for which there were no surviving ancient commentaries.

Browning notes that the tradition of commenting on Aristotle ceased with Stephanus of Alexandria in the sixth century, not to be resumed until the eleventh/twelfth century, with the efforts of scholars such as Eustratios, Metropolitan of Nicaea (who had been a pupil of Psellos's pupil, John Italos), and Michael of Ephesus (both fl. early twelfth century). Most of the late antique commentaries were devoted to the logical works of the *Organon*. So, the focus of Anna's circle was on the *Rhetoric*, the *Politics*, and the zoological and anthropological treatises, which had no commentaries, a fact suggesting that they had been neglected in Late Antiquity and early Byzantium.

In the preface to Eustratios's commentary to the *Nicomachean Ethics*, he credits a powerful imperial female patron, though unnamed. Browning speculates that Anna was meant. Eustratios had been disgraced in 1117, and so two fellow exiles from Byzantine society worked together on a project to advance natural philosophy.[35] Anna was evidently a tough taskmaster: the eulogist reports that Michael of Ephesus complained that he lost his eyesight because she kept him up all night writing by candlelight.[36] Browning also supposes, quite plausibly, that James of Venice (fl. ca. 1136–1150) had contact with Anna's circle in the 1130s, where he learned of the *Physics* and the *De sophisticis elenchis*, which he later translated into Latin.[37]

This James was an extremely important conduit of Aristotelian logical treatises, the *logica nova* ("new logic") that completed the *Organon*.[38] Of the texts that he acquired and translated from Greek, the *Posterior Analytics* was the most influential, and helped to shape the radical developments in European logic and science after the twelfth century. So, in effect, Anna's circle helped spur on the development of Aristotle studies in Western Europe.

In recent years, James of Venice was at the center of an attempt to show that medieval Europe owed nothing to the Arabo-Islamic civilization for its knowledge of Aristotle and Greek learning in general.[39] According to S. Gouguenheim in a controversial book, on the basis of no evidence, James was the head translator of a vast Greco-Latin translation effort, centered at Mont-Saint-Michel in northern France. He further asserts that the intellectual development of Western Europe

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35 Browning, "Unpublished Funeral Oration" (see note 19), 400.

36 Browning, "Unpublished Funeral Oration" (see note 19), 406.

37 Browning, "Unpublished Funeral Oration" (see note 19), 401.

38 Lorenzo Minio-Paluello, "Jacobus Veneticus Grecus: Canonist and Translator of Aristotle," *Traditio* 8 (1952): 265–304.

39 Sylvain Gouguenheim, *Aristote au Mont-Saint-Michel: Les racines grecques de l'Europe chrétienne*, L'Univers Historique (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 2008).

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would have occurred in essentially the same way had Europe been completely cut off from Islamic civilization. This thesis, against which numerous counterexamples could be given, is completely false, and flies in the face of much recent scholarship that proves the opposite. Panned by his French colleagues, who exposed Gouguenheim's motivations as being determined by present French political issues, the book also garnered negative scholarly reviews.[40] The passions that this book has sparked, both for and against its fantastic thesis, show how questions of influence across East and West can generate more than a cloistered scholarly interest.

Even though he questions the value of the eulogist's account of Anna's philosophy, Browning summarizes her basic philosophical position.[41] Her circle sought to adapt ancient philosophy (sc. Plato and Aristotle) to make it compatible with Christian doctrine. She favored Aristotle, but did not accept his doctrine of the uncreated cosmos. She borrowed some ideas from Plato, such as the tripartite soul, but rejected, of course, the transmigration of souls. In effect, Anna and her circle were attempting a Thomist project a century earlier than Aquinas.

More relevant to the present study, however, is that Anna wrote the *Alexiad*, a masterpiece with a complex purpose, as noted earlier. The details will be discussed in the final section of this article.

Manuel Komnenos (r. 1143–1280)

Manuel was born on November 28, 1118, several months after the death of his grandfather, Alexios. As the youngest son of John II (r. 1118–1143), his ascension to the purple was not a foregone conclusion. Not long before John's death, however, his two oldest sons suddenly died in quick succession. Manuel was proclaimed emperor in Cilicia while his elder brother Isaac was still alive, and so he had to rush to Constantinople to secure his succession. John supposedly said on his deathbed that Manuel would make a better emperor, moreover, that it had been foretold that he would rule.[42]

Manuel developed a reputation as a Latinophile. He was the son of a Hungarian mother, and betrothed, and later married a German imperial princess, which must have contributed to this interest in peoples to the West. He employed foreigners in his armies, and, more than any previous Emperor, used dynastic marriage

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40 See Steven J. Livesey, Review of: *Sylvain Gouguenheim. Aristote au Mont-Saint-Michel: Les racines grecques de l'Europe chrétienne*. L'Univers Historique (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 2008), *Isis* 100.3 (2009): 648–50, for instance.

41 Browning, "Unpublished Funeral Oration" (see note 19), 401–02.

42 Choniates, *Historia* (see note 20), trans. 26; ed. 45–46.

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alliances with non-Byzantine ruling families as policy. He even employed many Turks in his army and administration, and negotiated with the Turkish Sultan of Rum, Kilij Arslan II (r. 1156–1192). An apt characterization of his attitude is this: he dealt with Westerners with a confidence in Byzantine superiority, and failed to realize how powerful and dangerous they really were.[43] Nevertheless, he had a broad intellect, and was capable in philosophy and theology, and enjoyed participating in debates in these subjects.[44]

Manuel's reign has been characterized as decadent and as an expression of an empire in decline, based mainly on the perspective presented by Niketas Choniates, who found both his fascination with astrology and his sensuality—not to mention his inappropriate familiarity with western barbarians—to have been a great liabilities.[45] As P. Magdalino has argued, however, this view is inaccurate, and biased by the fact that the Empire did in fact decline and fall to the Latins in the generation after Manuel's death. On the contrary, Manuel's reign was one of great brilliance, and represented an apogee of Byzantine civilization in many ways, in particular, of intellectual activity.[46] Since the focus of this article is on Anna and the *Alexiad*, I cover only the main points of Manuel's reign.

In Manuel's career, Hellenism was used as a tool of diplomacy. Inheriting a relatively stable and wealthy state from his father and grandfather, Manuel cultivated the ancient sciences, especially astrology and medicine, and employed them as part of the persona he presented to foreign rulers, especially the Latin rulers of the West. This was part of a contest of "cultural one-upmanship", especially with the Norman Kingdom of Sicily. In particular, Roger II (r.1130–1154) cultivated the ancient sciences at his court, and, moreover, was aided by Arab scholars.[47] Manuel exported books to and sought knowledge from other princes, in P. Magdalino's expression, to "blind" his adversaries "by science."[48] For example, a diplomatic gift of Ptolemy's *Almagest* was sent from Manuel to the court at Palermo (ca. 1160). These were calculated hegemonic measures to show his superiority to them. To the Normans of Sicily the message was: dabble in Arab science, but know that the best astronomy and medicine is to be found in Constantinople. Furthermore, why would the emperor of Byzantium be interested in asking Henry II of England (r. 1154–1189) about such an out of the way place as

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43 Warren Treadgold, *A History of the Byzantine State and Society* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1997), 638.

44 Choniates, *Historia* (see note 20), trans. 30; ed. 50–51; and trans. 120–23; ed. 212–19.

45 Choniates, *Historia* (see note 20), trans. 32; ed. 54.

46 A brilliant reassessment of his reign: Magdalino, *The Empire of Manuel Komnenos* (see note 24)..

47 Hubert Houben, *Roger II of Sicily: A Ruler between East and West*, trans. Graham A. Loud and Diane Milburn, Cambridge Medieval Textbooks (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 98–113.

48 Magdalino, *The Empire of Manuel Komnenos* (see note 24), 379; and Magdalino, "Porphyrogenita" (see note 11), 28–31.

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Wales, except to exhibit himself as the most inquisitive (sc. "scientific") ruler in Christendom?[49] Manuel's embassies to the West have been characterized as mutual exchanges of knowledge, even as attempts to remove the obstacles between East and West.[50] I prefer P. Magdalino's reading, however, namely, that these embassies were viewed by the Byzantines as asymmetrical exchanges, since I don't believe that Manuel thought he might find much useful knowledge in the West.

In medicine, Manuel possessed considerable expertise and delighted to practice healing foreign rulers and dignitaries, among them Baldwin III of Jerusalem (r. 1143–1163) and Conrad III of Germany (r. 1138–1152). The fact that no less a person than the Emperor could practice medicine shows that the image of the physician in Byzantine culture had already shifted from "bungling or unscrupulous quacks" to that of a highly respected profession.[51] The fact that Emperor Manuel practiced medicine and exhibited a profound medical knowledge shows that medicine was no longer the domain of the "rude mechanicals."[52] This can also be observed in the *Alexiad*, where in the final death scene, Anna describes the professional class of physicians attending her father, even though she disagrees with their diagnoses and prescriptions. Manuel set Baldwin's broken arm after a fall from a horse in 1159. He personally administered to Conrad, who fell ill on the Second Crusade, after inviting him to convalesce in Constantinople. Manuel was even observed to apply bloodletting and to prescribed medications when the professional physicians were absent. To be able to do this required a deep understanding of medical principles, for example, to know what simples, or basic elements, to combine into a drug for specific ailments, as well as when to let blood (usually determined by recourse to astrology) and how much.

Astrology was also a keen interest of Manuel's. He wrote a defense of astrology, to prove that it was compatible with Christian doctrine,[53] in response to a letter from an anonymous monk who had accused Manuel of heresy for his interest in astrology. His defense sets forth some of the standard arguments in support of the Art.[54] He was aware of the parallels between the two ancient disciplines of astrology and medicine, and appealed to their shared conjectural character in his

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49 Magdalino, *Empire of Manuel Komnenos* (see note 24), 379.

50 Charles Homer Haskins, *Studies in the History of Mediaeval Science* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1924), 194–95.

51 Kazhdan and Epstein, *Change in Byzantine Culture* (see note 14), 155.

52 See Magdalino, *Empire of Manuel Komnenos* (see note 24), 361.

53 Manuel's defense: *Imperatoris Manuel Comneni et Michael Glycae disputatio*, in Franz Cumont, and Franz Boll, eds. *Catalogus Codicum Astrologorum Graecorum*. Vol. V.1 (Brussels: Henri Lamertin, 1904), 108–25. Glykas's response is on pages 125–40.

54 Demetra George, "Manuel I Komnenos and Michael Glycas: A Twelfth-Century Defence and Refutation of Astrology," *Culture and Cosmos* 5.1 (2001): 3–48; here 25.

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defense. The Emperor's position was attacked by Michael Glykas, a theologian who seems to have previously suffered punishment at Manuel's hand for sedition.

The emperor's defense begins by differentiating between two kinds of astrology: 1) a kind that takes the stars as intelligent and living beings, who can be entreated through prayers and amulets. This kind, Manuel affirms, is rightly to be condemned as a form of idolatry. And, 2) a kind that takes the stars to have been created by God, and to serve as messengers and signs of his will and mysteries. This, according to Manuel, was given by God to mankind for our benefit, and ought to be cultivated.[55]

Manuel also argues that, because medicine and astrology are related, and both are conjectural arts—i.e., they rely on a certain amount of guessing,[56] then neither art should be faulted if it occasionally leads to undesirable or incorrect results. Glykas mocks this reasoning: arguing that while medicine is a rational, empirical science, astrology is irrational and unscientific, citing Hippocrates and Galen in support.[57]

It is in the arena of medicine that the rivalry between Anna and her brother's family was further developed. Manuel attempted to present himself in every possible way the model prince, the proper heir of his grandfather Alexios's legacy. Possessing knowledge of medicine and the expertise to practice healing was only one of the visible manifestations of this. The king as healer is a motif with ancient origins, even taking on a religious dimension in the intellectually less sophisticated West of the early Middle Ages.[58] To have personally treated Western rulers during the Second Crusade was a highly visible statement of the superiority of Byzantine civilization and of its enlightened emperor.

The *Alexiad*: Opening

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55 Demetra George. "Manuel I Komnenos and Michael Glykas: A Twelfth-Century Defense and Refutation of Astrology," M.A. Thesis," University of Oregon, 2000, Chap. 2, 2–4.

56 A standard comparison since antiquity. See George,"Manuel I Komnenos (see note 57), Chap. 2, 13.

57 George,"Manuel I Komnenos '" (see note 57), 24. Glykas appears not have been familiar with Galen's *De diebus decretoriis*, which advances astrological arguments in connection with soundly scientific medical prognosis. See Galen, *De diebus decretoriis, from Greek into Arabic: A Critical Edition, with Translation and Commentary, and Historical Introduction of Ḥunayn ibn Isḥāq, Kitāb ʾayyām al-buḥrān*, Medicine in the Medieval Mediterranean, ed. and trans. Glen M. Cooper (London: Ashgate, 2011). Galen's treatise was the subject of a centuries-long debate over the validity of astrology, which began in the twelfth century and extended into the Renaissance. See Concetta Pennuto, "The Debate on Critical Days in Renaissance Italy," *Astro-Medicine: Astrology and Medicine, East and West*, ed. Anna Akasoy, Charles Burnett, and Ronit Yoeli-Tlalim (Florence: Sismel - Edizione del Galluzzo, 2008), 75–98.

58 Marc Bloch, *The Royal Touch*, trans. J. E. Anderson (New York: Dorset Press, 1989).

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Now that I have described the context of the mid-twelfth century contest of Hellenisms between branches of the Komnenos family, I move to present the heart of my article, namely, the details of Anna's arguments as set forth in her epic biography of her father.

The opening of the work sets forth Anna's reasons for writing this lengthy biography of her father. In a classicizing sentiment, she notes that, were it not for the "science of history" the stream of time would bear all things off to oblivion.[59] She notes, in particular, how important it is that the great deeds of her father not be forgotten. Yet, it has recently been argued that Alexios's memory was not likely to fade: his successors kept it alive to bolster their own legitimacy.[60] The fact that Alexios's memory was contested territory in the 1140s further supports the argument that the *Alexiad*, which was completed at that time, was a move in that contest.

Anna proceeds by describing the genesis of her project. Her husband had been requested by Empress Eirene to write a history of the Komnenian period. The result was his *Materials for a History*, covering the rise to power of the Komnenos family, 1057–1081, which was unfinished at the time of his death.[61] Anna conceived of her project as picking up where Bryennios had left off. The relationship between his project and the *Alexiad* has been the subject of debate in recent years. Did Anna plagiarize his notes and sketches for the history of her father's reign? Or (more likely, in my view) did she merely rely on some of his notes for events that she could not have witnessed, such as battles, but the further research, via interviews of participants, and, above all, the writing is hers?[62]

Throughout her narrative, she tells readers how she feels about specific persons, events, or policies. As such, she pioneered a new kind of writing: prose with an unconcealed subjectivity. Edward Gibbon, not one for less than the masculine, objective history, denigrated her work as the rantings of an emotional woman.[63]

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59 *Alexiad*, Prologue (see note 5), trans. 3; ed. 5.

60 Paul Magdalino, "The Pen of the Aunt: Echoes of the Mid-Twelfth Century in the *Alexiad*," *Anna Komnene and her Times*, ed. Thalia Gouma-Peterson (New York and London: Garland Publishing, 2000), 15–43,17; also Paul Stephenson, "Anna Comnena's *Alexiad* as a Source for the Second Crusade?," *Journal of Medieval History* 29 (2003): 41–54; here 45.

61 Nicephorus Bryennius, *Nicéphore Bryennios histoire: introduction, texte, traduction et notes, ed. Paul Gautier* (Brussels: Byzantion, 1975).

62 For a discussion of the authorship question, see: James Howard-Johnston, "Anna Komnene and the *Alexiad*," *Alexios I Komnenos*, ed. Margaret Mullett and Dion Smythe (Holywood, Northern Ireland: Priory Press, 1996), 260–302.

63 Edward Gibbon, *The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, ed. J. B. Bury with an Introduction by W. E. H. Lecky, 12 vols. (1776; New York: Fred de Fau and Co.,1906), vol. 8 (Chapter 48): 287 "Yet, instead of the simplicity of style and narrative which wins our belief, an elaborate affectation of rhetoric and science betrays in every page the vanity of a female author." See also: Ellen Quandahl, and Susan C. Jarratt, ""To Recall Him … Will be a Subject of

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The Epic Dimension

The *Alexiad* self-consciously evokes the epics of Homer: How could the story of the salvation of the Roman Empire from barbarian hordes during her father's reign not be epic? Anna frequently quotes Homer, and her title recalls the *Iliad*. Character development is similar to Homer's, and her battle descriptions remind us of the same. Alexios is heroic like Achilles, though far less destructive. His deeds are larger than life—his life's mission and his labors were to save God's chosen people, the Orthodox Greek Roman Christian Empire from its enemies. Instead of the fall of the city Troy, as in the Homeric stories, the *Alexiad* depicts the salvation of a city (Constantinople), although expressing fear that current imperial policies would lead to more trials. And so, in addition to extolling her father's deeds, the work is a critique of the imperial policies of her nephew, Manuel, at the time it was written, near the end of her life in the late 1140s.[64]

The *Alexiad* as a Critique of Alexios's Successors

Historians have questioned the historical value of the *Alexiad* for several reasons, including that it was written by a less than objective woman, and is colored by emotion, but also because her chronology is incorrect in some places and her descriptions of some key events, such as her oft-quoted description of the arrival of the crusaders during the First Crusade, are inaccurate. However, it has recently been shown that Anna's treatment of several subjects, including the arrival of the crusaders, reflects the concerns of the time when she was writing her book, in the 1140s rather than the 1090s.[65] Her description fits the circumstances of the Second Crusade, which had passed through Constantinople in the 1140s, rather than the First. Her description of those events was an implicit criticism of how Manuel had handled the later crusaders.[66] Moreover, she emphasizes her father's condemnation of astrology, his keen distrust of the western "Kelts" (i.e. the French and German crusaders), and his Christian virtues as a vehicle to criticize the reign of her nephew, Manuel. Manuel was notorious to many Byzantines for his favor toward western barbarians, foreign brides, and giving away too many princesses

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Lamentation": Anna Comnena as Rhetorical Historiographer," *Rhetorica: A Journal of the History of Rhetoric* 26.3 (2008): 301–35; here 308.

64 Magdalino, "Pen of the Aunt" (see note 62), 15–16.

65 Paul Stephenson, "Anna Comnena's *Alexiad* as a Source for the Second Crusade?," *Journal of Medieval History* 29 (2003): 41–54; here 42–44.

66 Stephenson, "Anna Comnena's *Alexiad*" (see note 67), 44; 53.

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in political marriages to westerners, his obsession with astrology, and his many mistresses. Some of these vices—the love for astrology, condemned by the Church, and the West-loving in particular—were later blamed, by Choniates and others, for provoking the divine judgment that fell on the Empire, resulting in its tragic capture and sack by the Venetian-led crusaders during the ill-fated Fourth Crusade in 1204.

In an extended passage, Anna provides an overview of the history of astrology, a practice of which she disapproves. The occasion was to relate how an astrologer, named Seth, had foretold the death of the Empire's archenemy, the Norman Robert Guiscard (d. 1085). She makes a digression, where she states that the art of divination by astrology was a recent invention, not having existed in the ancient world. She claims that the rules and concepts of this form of astrology were a recent invention. This is, of course, mistaken, since we now know that horoscopic astrology was developed in Hellenistic Egypt from elements that were much older.[67] P. Magdalino interprets Anna's "divination" as "oracular" astrology, connected with forecasting the deaths of rulers and the futures of dynasties. This form of astrology was associated with Sassanian Persia, and had been mingled with Greek astrological ideas during the creative period of the Greco-Arabic translations, especially though the writings of Abū Ma'shar, to whom I next turn.[68]

Rather than dismiss Anna's account completely, there is some truth in it: the kind of astrology that was being studied and practiced in her day had been thoroughly revolutionized by the Arabic writings of Abū Ma'shar, the ninth century astrologer (Latin: Albumasar; Byzantine: Apomasar). The difference is significant enough to be noticed when one compares the most "scientific" treatise of astrology from antiquity, namely, the *Tetrabiblos* of Ptolemy, with the system developed by Abū Ma'shar in his *Great Introduction to Judicial Astrology*.[69] Abū Ma'shar had integrated all of the ancient sciences into his system, and treated astrology as an Aristotelian "Master Science."[70] A Master Science embraces all other disciplines in a special way: 1) all other sciences are but preparatory for it (propaedeutic), e.g. astronomy provides the planetary positions, but is incapable, within its own terms, to explain what the configurations mean in terms of natural

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67 Glen M. Cooper, "Astrology: The Science of Signs in the Heavens," *The Oxford Handbook to Science and Medicine in the Classical World*, ed. Paul T. Keyser and John Scarborough (Oxford: Oxford University Press, Forthcoming).

68 Magdalino, "Porphyrogenita" (see note 11), 17–19.

69 I.e., *Kitāb al-Madkhal al-kabīr ʿalā ʿilm aḥkām al-nujūm*. Abū Ma'shar al-Balkhī [Albumasar], *Liber introductorii maioris ad scientiam judicorum astrorum*, ed. R. Lemay (Naples: Istituto Universitario Orientale, 1995–1996). Ptolemy, *Tetrabiblos*, trans. F. E. Robbins, vol. 435. Loeb Classical Library. Rpt. (1940; Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1980).

70 Peter Adamson, "Abū Maʿshar, al-Kindī and the Philosophical Defense of Astrology," *Recherches de Théologie et Philosophie Médiévales* 69. 2 (2001): 245–70; here 247–49.

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philosophy—for which astrology is both necessary and superior to astronomy; and 2) it offers proofs of the basic principles that are merely assumed in the lower sciences. Aristotle saw a progression here: we accept some of the principles assumed in the lower sciences tentatively, until we move to the master science, from which vantage point we can survey them all and see how the whole system fits together. Metaphysics was for Aristotle the Master Science, which includes both material and non-material substances and their changes. For Abū Ma'shar, medicine and astrology are most closely related: he even states that astrology is the principle (*awwal, awwaliyya*) of medicine, suggesting that medicine is a form of *applied astrology*.

Anna claims to have learned the rudiments of astrology as part of her education, but only in order to refute it. She notes that astrology was very popular in the period before the reign of her father, who exerted much effort to eradicate it, and to promote the real sciences. She mentions Seth—perhaps the same person as Symeon Seth discussed earlier—and a few others by name, some with connections to the Arab world. Faith in the stars she calls "simple-minded". It is easy to see in this passage a criticism of Manuel, who, according to Choniates, was as devoted to the art of astrology as any ruler could be.

The Controlling Medical Analogy of the *Alexiad*

Anna shows her knowledge of Greek humoral medicine via a grand medical analogy that structures large portions of her narrative in the *Alexiad*. As far as I know, this feature has not been noticed before. She invokes the ancient analogy of the "body politic", and considers the factors that make it ill, or keep it healthy, as well as the symptoms of its internal illnesses. This not only shows her own knowledge of ancient Greek medicine, but also implies that she expected a sophisticated grasp of ancient medical and political concepts from her readers.

The analogy is as follows: the Empire is likened to a body, with social and political factors taken to be causes of health or illness. A disruption in the state is described in terms of a physical illness. Restoring social or political order is described in terms of medical therapy. This ancient bodily political analogy was expressed most eloquently in Plato's *Republic*, where it serves the rhetorical and analytical function of allowing the elements of his ideal state to be examined more closely.[71] Anna would also have noted the frequent discussion of medicine and

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[71] Plato, *Republic*, 368e–369b; 434d in: Plato, *Plato's Republic*, trans. G. M. A. Grube (1974; Indianapolis, IN: Hackett Publishing Company, 1987), 38–39; 99. Plato's tripartite division of the soul into a rational, spirited, and appetitive part, corresponds in the body to the head, chest, and abdomen and sex organs, respectively, and in the state to the guardians ("philosopher kings"),

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physicians in the context of the political philosophy being developed there, as well as the notion of the Guardian or "philosopher king", in whose care the state is to be placed.

In Anna's case, the Empire is afflicted from within and without by dangerous enemies, both military as well as ideological. Alexios, with his superior understanding of the art of imperial statecraft on the one hand, and Destiny on the other, was the "physician", under whose care the state could be "cured", i.e. restored to order and set once again on a firm foundation. Largely successful in defeating imperial enemies within and outside the Empire, the final tragedy is that Alexios, who has spent his whole life in the service of his people, is finally brought down by an actual illness, exacerbated by the misguided efforts of incompetent physicians. By including a description of his final illness, Anna, whose biography to that point has assumed heroic dimensions, adds the tragic element: the Great Man is brought low. She senses the incongruity herself, when she states that by so doing, she transgresses the laws of history.[72] Nevertheless, the tragic is appropriate in a classical context, since classical tragedy concerned larger than life figures, such as the Alexios of the *Alexiad*.

This political- medical analogy is presented immediately before we are introduced to the Norman Robert Guiscard (d.1085) who along with his son Bohemond of Taranto (d. 1111), are long-term threats to the health of the Empire—Anna classifies Robert as an "incurable disease."[73] In accord with Greek medical theory, Anna observes that diseases can have two broad classes of causes: external and internal. While the latter are more dangerous, because they threaten the internal organs, the dangers of the former are impossible to control, precisely because they are external (and, she adds, are brought on by Fate—a strange comment for one who believes astrology is foolish). Guiscard and his son are external afflictions, whereas Basil the Bogomil (and other rebels within the Empire, such as Roussel, Basilakios, and all pretenders to the throne from within the Empire) are internal afflictions.

The proper form of treatment for these afflictions in the long tradition of Greek medicine is: for the former, one must try to remove the external factor. This Alexios does through warfare against the Normans, and other barbarians. For the latter, the physician must induce the patient's body to purge the affliction as quickly as possible, in order to minimize internal damage. Alexios seeks to neutralize these threats either via military action or through negotiations, showing clemency to most rebels, if repentant. No such mercy, however, is extended to Basil the heretic, who, in spite of Alexios's personal efforts (Anna emphasizes)

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the soldiers, and the farmers and laborers, respectively.

72 *Alexiad* 15.11 (see note 5), trans. 463–64; ed. 494.

73 *Alexiad* 1.10 (see note 5), trans. 29–30; ed. 34–35.

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refuses to recant his heresy, and so is consigned to the flames.[74] The medical analogy is applicable at this level also: since fiery fevers prepare the body to expel the diseased substance, purgation of heresy from the state by burning the unrepentant heretic would seem to be the most appropriate procedure. If this were not so, and the death of the heretic was the primary objective, then why not simply decapitate or execute him in some less ritualistic manner than by burning?

Alexios was not completely without involvement in medical matters, as shown by the attention he gave to restoring and re-founding of the noted Orphanage (*orphanotropheion*), which had facilities to care for the elderly and infirm.[75] His son, John II, continued the family tradition of medical charity. In the Pantokrator Monastery, which he founded, he included hospital facilities, which are described in its foundation charter. His facility was a sophisticated healing institution, the largest in the Empire.[76]

The Death of Alexios: Anna's Critique of the Physicians

I now turn to Anna's account of her father's final illness and death, which is one of the most detailed medical descriptions in medieval literature. In this account, Anna simultaneously exhibits her own medical knowledge, and demonstrates the incompetence of the physicians entrusted with her father's care. She provides a systematic account of the progress of the illness, sometimes noting the day counted from the beginning on which changes occur, in a manner similar to the Hippocratic *Epidemics*, the treatise which began the Greek tradition of tracking the day-to-day progress of illnesses. Only one of the physicians, Nicholas Kallikles (fl. mid-twelfth century), was truly competent in her view.[77] He correctly surmised Alexios's condition as well as the proper treatment, but his views were voted down.

Alexios's final decline began about a year and a half after he had returned from his final military campaigns (around February, 1118). A violent wind blasted Constantinople, which caused a shift in Alexios's humors, causing them to settle in his shoulder and neck.[78] According to Greek medical theory, dramatic

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74 *Alexiad* 15.9 (see note 5), trans. 459–63; ed. 489–93.

75 *Alexiad*, 15.7 (see note 5), trans. 454–56; ed. 481–85.

76 Kazhdan and Epstein, *Change in Byzantine Culture* (see note 14), 156–57; Timothy S. Miller, *The Birth of the Hospital in the Byzantine Empire* (Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1997), 9, 14.

77 Kallikles was also an important poet, and some scholars think he authored the *Timarion*, the famous anonymous satirical work. Kazhdan and Epstein, *Change in Byzantine Culture* (see note 14), 139. For the *Timarion*, see Kaldellis, *Hellenism* (see note 1), 277–83.

78 *Alexiad* 15.11 (see note 5), trans. 464; ed. 494.

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meteorological changes tended to affect the internal states of patients. Although Anna doesn't mention astrology, astrological influences were thought to be of the same order as the weather in influencing patients. As already noted, Anna's attitude toward astrology was dismissive, and forms one of the points of criticism of her nephew, Manuel.

The danger in Alexios's situation was thought to arise from the humors being concentrated in an unnatural manner, in one part of his body. The humors were elemental fluids—blood, phlegm, yellow bile, and black bile—the mixture and flow of which were used to explain illness and health, and to indicate strategies of therapy. The natural condition of a human body is for humors to flow through and out of the body without obstruction. Concentration of humors indicated an obstruction of some kind, and the possibility that the humors would putrefy and begin to destroy vital tissue that they contact. Therefore, the proper therapy was to evacuate the humors before damage could occur, and this could be done either by draining, or by encouraging the body to concoct ("cook") the bad humors and expel them as sediment in the urine, or in the excrement, or perspiration, or via some other bodily secretion. This process could be encouraged, when urgent, through emetic or cathartic drugs, which expelled dangerous humors through vomiting. This expulsive event was called a "crisis."[79]

Anna was noted for her medical knowledge, the rudiments of which she obtained as part of her classical education.[80] For this reason, her mother, Empress Eirene, appointed her as a medical liaison between the doctors' council and the imperial family, to interpret the doctors' diagnoses and deliberations.[81] Although she was not allowed to participate in the decision-making, nor to diagnose nor prescribe anything, she was permitted to prepare meals for, and feed her father.[82]

Kallikles was the only one of the doctors who noticed the danger Alexios was in from the concentration of humors. Either he had himself observed a swelling on Alexios, or the Emperor had complained of pain there. Kallikles knew that the humors must be evacuated immediately. As noted earlier, drugs were used to hasten the expulsion of the accumulated humors. The proper order of treatment, according to the Hippocratic school and recommended also by Galen, was diet first, then drugs, and only after these methods fail, to resort to surgery, such as

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79 For detailed discussion of the medical concept of "crisis," see: Galen, *De diebus decretoriis,* ed. Cooper, Commentary (see note 59), 390–94.

80 George Tornikes, "14. Éloge d'Anne Comnène: Discours sur la mort de la Porphyrogénète, Kyra Anne la Kaisarissa," *Georges et Dèmètrios Tornikès. Lettres et Discours*. Introduction, Texte, Analyses, Traduction et Notes par Jean Darrouzès. Le Monde Byzantin (Paris: Éditions du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1970), 220–323; here 307. See also: Browning, "Unpublished Funeral Oration" (see note 19), 396.

81 *Alexiad*, 15.11 (see note 5), trans. 464-65; ed. 494.

82 *Alexiad*, 15.11 (see note 5), trans. 468; ed. 497-98.

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bleeding, and if that fails, cautery.[83] Sometimes regulating the patient's nourishment was sufficient to induce a beneficial crisis. In the present situation, however, Kallikles surmised that more urgent measures must be taken. However, the imperial patient had never taken drugs. Purgatives could be traumatic on the patient, so, without knowing what effect they might have on Alexios, the council of doctors decided it best to avoid them. Kallikles's warning that if the humors were not immediately evacuated by drugs, the diseased material might flow into one of the vital organs, such as the heart, and begin to destroy it, was ignored.

To the great relief of everyone, the illness apparently vanished after an expected number of days. Anna alludes to the ancient medical scheme of the critical days, according to which specific kinds of illnesses have expected "lifespans", and their character, whether acute or chronic, as well as whether they will end in recovery or death, can be inferred from how the illness changes on specific days, measured from its beginning. This scheme is again referred to near the end of the account, when Anna notes that Alexios died the eleventh day of the illness.[84] However, this was a false recovery, and Kallikles's diagnosis was vindicated, since six months later the illness returned in a deadly form (August, 1118). The first symptoms of the final illness appeared in the chest: the dangerous humors had moved from the shoulders to the chest cavity, as Kallikles had predicted. Alexios felt a heaviness in his chest, and difficulty breathing.

Alexios was no ordinary privileged patient, for whose diseases one could blame an unhealthy lifestyle, such as too much of the wrong sorts of food, and lack of physical exercise. Too much of the wrong kinds of foods could produce a plethora of bad humors, and lack of activity could hinder the free flow of the humors, so important for maintaining good health. He lived the simple, almost ascetic, lifestyle of a soldier. The ancient doctors counseled their patients to maintain a regimen that would tend to produce an ideal balanced body in a balanced lifestyle. Anna observes that stress and worry can also damage a patient's health, and Alexios has spent his life in perpetual stress over the affairs of state.[85] Indeed, Anna attributes an earlier serious illness of Alexios to the stress caused by the innumerable "Kelts" who were "invading" the Empire.[86] Alexios certainly had the financial means to follow a healthy regimen, supervised by any number of the best doctors in the Empire. But he did not, which was his sacrifice for his people, for

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83 Hippocrates, *Aphorisms*, 7.87, *Hippocrates Volume IV: Loeb Classical Library*, ed. W. H. S. Jones (1931; Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1992), 216–17. I am grateful to Faith Wallis who pointed this out to me.

84 For day eleven, see Galen, *De diebus decretoriis*, ed. Cooper, K 793 (see note 59), 138–39; and Commentary, 413; 423.

85 See Galen, *De diebus decretoriis*, ed. Cooper, K 826 (see note 59), 198–99; and Commentary, 434.

86 *Alexiad*, 14.4 (see note 5), trans. 410–11; ed. 438–40.

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that would have meant, in his mind, neglecting the dire emergencies of state with which he was constantly faced.

As the illness progressed, Alexios's breathing became extremely difficult. Moreover, he could not recline on his side on account of pain there, and so had to remain upright. No remedy, including bleeding, was to any avail. Bloodletting was a common form of surgery to affect the disposition of the humors. Since blood was the most accessible humor to drain, physicians thought that by altering the humoral balance, the other humors would respond, causing the dangerous plethora to dissipate.[87]

When bleeding failed, the physicians resorted to pepper as a kind of purgative.[88] Pepper was thought to provoke a small artificial crisis, via sweating, which might expel the diseased humors. The result was hopeful, as some of the symptoms temporarily lessened. This improved condition lasted only three to four days, after which the painful symptoms returned. Anna explained that the pepper actually made his condition worse, by not only failing to expel the corrupt humors, but dispersing them into the spaces in his arteries, where, lurking, they remained a danger to him.

The next symptoms to appear were swelling of the abdomen and lower extremities, accompanied by fever. The doctors attacked the swelling first, through cautery, but to no avail. To attempt to dissipate a concentration of humors with hot irons suggests desperate measures.[89] Furthermore, this measure must have horrified Anna, since the hot iron was often used to put out the eyes of pretenders to the throne, to render them unfit to rule, as a "kinder" measure than execution. She describes several episodes of blinding in the *Alexiad*.[90]

Soon the swelling spread to his mouth and throat, so that the patient could not swallow without difficulty. Anna was entrusted with feeding him, one of the only medical tasks available to a woman, even one of Anna's learning. After eleven days, the patient died. The eleventh day was a critical day on which one might expect to see changes in the illness that would lead either to recovery or to death. Although Alexios suffered diarrhea, a typical critical symptom, which often

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87 See Peter Brain's useful study: *Galen on Bloodletting: A Study of the Origins, Development and Validity of His Opinions, with a Translation of the Three Works* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986).

88 Galen, *On the Properties of Foodstuffs (De alimentorum facultatibus)*, trans. Owen Powell (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 38; Galen, "De alimentorum facultatibus," *Opera Omnia*, vol. 6, ed. C. G. Kühn (Leipzig: Carl Cnobloch, 1823), 453–748; here 477.

89 Joelle Jouanna-Bouchet, "La Cautérisation dans la Médecine Antique: Étude sur le Vocabulaire, les Instruments et les Techniques dans la Littérature Latine," *Galenos* 1 (2007): 87–111.

90 *Alexiad* 1.3 (see note 5), trans. 14–15; ed. 16–17; 9.9, trans. 257; ed. 279. See: John Lascaratos, and S. Marketos, "The Penalty of Blinding During Byzantine Times. Medical Remarks," *Documenta Ophthalmologica* 81.1 (1992): 133–44.

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indicated that a beneficial crisis was occurring, he died. The patient was so weakened by the illness that he could not survive a crisis, even if he had experienced one.

Conclusion

In contrast to Manuel's very public displays of his medical knowledge, Anna expressed her medical knowledge, both in the fabric of her history, as well as in the extended description and analysis of her father's final illness. Manuel's displays were not without a political message to foreign rulers, namely, that the best medicine is to be found in Constantinople. Neither is Anna's account without a political dimension. In her case, she is culminating the persona that she has been developing of herself for fifteen books as one educated in ancient Greek culture and conversant in philosophy. She does this, I believe, as a way to strengthen her claim to the throne, even though it was thwarted by her brother John, thirty years earlier, and by this point she could have had no hope of ever achieving imperial power. Implicit in her account, however, is her belief that a ruler educated in philosophy (and history) is superior to one who is not, even if that ruler is a woman. The Eastern Hellenism she validates looks primarily to the classical Greek past, unadulterated by foreign (sc. barbarian) influences. Her attitude toward importations from Arabic is generally dismissive. Manuel, on the other hand, finds use in elements of a Western Hellenism, namely, the Latinized Greco-Arabic tradition. He, too, uses his knowledge of this tradition, especially in medicine and astrology, to present himself as an ideal Roman emperor, one to whom all barbarian rulers owe obeisance. Anna creates the persona of her father in the *Alexiad* with a similar purpose, showing that her ideal ruler maintains a proper distance from the barbarians. Unfortunately for Anna, the contest went to the faction with political savvy, connections, and gender on its side, which, ironically, is just what Alexios would have wanted. Unfortunately for Manuel and the Empire, his excessive familiarity with the Latins contributed to the downfall of his dynasty and Byzantium itself, or so it would seem.

This article has examined contrasting Byzantine Hellenisms primarily in the medical context. No doubt, through further and deeper examination of the *Alexiad* and by comparing it with other aspects of Manuel's career, as well as with other contemporary Byzantine intellectuals, it might be possible to refine and extend the thesis formulated here. However, for the moment it seems quite clear that Anna's display of medical knowledge represents both her concept of the ideal ruler, as well as her claim to be the legitimate heir of her father.

The fate of Anna's Eastern Hellenism, on the other hand, was not what she might have wished. Western Hellenism was a more vigorous and versatile tool,

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and eventually proved itself to be the more progressive and enduring. What both the Arabic Hellenism of Baghdad, and the Arabo-Latin (Western) Hellenism of Toledo and Palermo demonstrate are the advantages of allowing the best of foreign influences to mingle freely in intellectual discourse. This is just what Anna wanted to avoid: can there be anything good that could come from the barbarians of either West or East? And the growing hostility between East and West merely intensified the intellectual xenophobia of Byzantine culture. In the West, the tremendous intellectual achievements of Thomas Aquinas, reconciling reason and faith for his age, were made possible by the amalgamation of all strands of thought that may have either originated in the ancient Greek tradition, or were inspired by it, such as the creative outpouring of Arabic thought that he relied upon. Eventually the *Summa* of Thomas was translated into Greek, in the fourteenth century by Demetrius Kydones (1324–1398), but by that point Byzantium was losing the race.

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Chapter 4

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Franks and Indigenous Communities in Palestine and Syria (1099–1187): A Hierarchical Model of Social Interaction in the Principalities of Outremer

One of the most important scenes of the encounter between East and West in the Middle Ages was Outremer, that "land beyond the sea" stretching from northern Syria and Upper Mesopotamia to southern Palestine, where four Western principalities were established in the wake of the First Crusade (1096–1099): from north to south, the county of Edessa, the principality of Antioch, the county of Tripoli, and the kingdom of Jerusalem. From their foundation until their final extinction in 1291 these territories were ruled by French-speaking members of the Latin Church, who were descended from the original conquerors and from subsequent waves of immigration from Western Europe. Although the four polities of Outremer are often referred to in modern historical writing as the "Crusader States," this term is misleading. While the modern term "crusader" is, strictly speaking, anachronistic in a twelfth-century context, most scholars accept it as a pragmatic and useful definition of someone who took a vow to fight for the Christian faith in an enterprise which had been defined and approved by the papacy, with the objective of gaining a spiritual reward.

This definition means that only the initial, conquering generation and some later immigrants were actually crusaders; from around 1130 onwards, the vast majority of the inhabitants of European descent had themselves been born in the East. A more accurate name would be that used by the Western settlers themselves, namely the Old French ethnonym *Francs* (rendered in Latin as *Franci*), or in modern English, "Franks." This name was not the result of a transference of the ethnic name for the contemporary French; rather, it seems to have been adopted as a collective designation by the settlers themselves, who originated from many

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different parts of Europe, from the names given to them by Byzantines and Muslims, who for centuries had lumped all Western Christians together as *Frangoi* in Greek and *al-Ifranj* in Arabic.[1]

The Franks of Outremer ruled over a complex array of native communities belonging to the three great monotheistic faiths, each of which comprised diverse elements. Firstly, there were those belonging to various Eastern Christian churches: the Melkites (or Greek Orthodox), the Jacobites (or Syrian Orthodox), the Armenian Orthodox, and the Maronites. Secondly, there were the two main branches of the Judaic tradition in the Near East, that is the Jews and the Samaritans. Thirdly, there were Muslims of various Sunnī and Shī'ite sects, both settled and nomadic. The aim of this essay is firstly to survey the main historical theories concerning the nature of the relationship between the conquerors and their indigenous subjects, and secondly to provide a descriptive model of this relationship which can accommodate the results of recent research.

1. Previous Historical Models: Integration versus Segregation

Up until the end of the Second World War, the prevailing interpretation of the society of Outremer was that promulgated by French historians such as Emmanuel-Guillaume Rey (1837–1916), Louis Madelin (1871–1956) and René Grousset (1885–1952) and others; similar views were advanced by the British antiquarian Claude Reignier Conder (1868–1909). Since the period of these writers' activity coincided with the greatest expansion of the French and British colonial empires, it is scarcely surprising that they regarded the rule of the medieval Franks as being both benevolent and beneficial. In the period after the First World War, such interpretations also served as a historical precedent and ideological justification for the acquisition of colonies and mandated territories by France and Britain in Greater Syria and Palestine. Thus Conder drew direct parallels between the medieval period and his own day:

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[1] Michel Balard, "*Gesta Dei per Francos*: L'usage du mot 'Francs' dans les chroniques de la Première Croisade," *Clovis: Histoire & mémoire*, ed. Michel Rouche (Paris: Presses de l'Université de Paris-Sorbonne, 1997), 473–84; Alan V. Murray, "Ethnic Identity in the Crusader States: The Frankish Race and the Settlement of Outremer," *Concepts of National Identity in the Middle Ages*, ed. Simon Forde, Lesley Johnson and Alan V. Murray (Leeds: Leeds Studies in English, 1995), 59–73; Peter Thorau, "Die fremden Franken – al-faranǧ al-gurubā': Kreuzfahrer und Kreuzzüge aus arabischer Sicht," *Saladin und die Kreuzfahrer*, ed. Alfried Wieczorek, Mamoun Fansa, and Harald Meller. Publikationen der Reiss-Engelhorn-Museen, 17 (Mannheim: Reiss-Engelhorn-Museen, 2005), 115–25. On the diversity of the crusade host, see Alan V. Murray, "National Identity, Language and Conflict in the Crusades to the Holy Land, 1096–1192," *The Crusades and the Near East*, ed. Conor Kostick (London: Routledge, 2011), 107–30.

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> In our own times we see perhaps the first signs of a new awakening; and the tide sets once more from Europe to the shores of Acre and to the Nile. For more than thirty years the old County of Tripoli and Seigneurie of Beirut have now been ruled by Christians. Cyprus has passed to the nation which conquered it under Richard Lion Heart; and Englishmen have done what St. Louis failed to do in Egypt. Tunis has fallen to the race of that great Christian monarch; and the commerce of the West, in Syria and Asia Minor, presses once more upon the Turkish Empire. The Holy Land is fuller of pilgrims to-day than it ever was in the best times of Latin rule; and even Damascus cannot resist the inroads of Western enterprise. A happier time may be in store for Syria than it has known as yet; but we must not forget that much of what we now enjoy is due to the brave and wise rulers who founded the kingdom of Jerusalem, and to the men of science and learning who taught to them the secrets of the East, and preserved the fruits of earlier human thought and labour, during centuries when all was dark in Europe. The Crusades were no wild raids on Palestine, resulting only in misery and destruction. The kingdom of Jerusalem was the model of just and moderate rule, such as we boast to have given to India, under somewhat similar conditions; but the benefits of these two stirring centuries have as yet been mainly enjoyed in the West, and a debt due by the Frank has still to be paid in the East.[2]

For Conder and his French counterparts, the society of Outremer was characterized by an integration of natives and newcomers. Their views were summarized by another British historian, Raymond Charles ("Otto") Smail (1913–1986): "the Latin states, it is said, were peopled by a cosmopolitan yet integrated society in which the various racial and religious elements were happily blended, and which had an inner life and strength of its own."[3]

However, Smail himself was unconvinced by such arguments, concluding that "the basic feature of the Latin states was the imposition of a numerically small military aristocracy over the mass of the native population. This ruling class exploited the subject peoples economically by means of social arrangements which they found in existence, and which were akin to those they had known in Europe. Otherwise they made little difference to the daily life of the Syrians."[4] While Smail rejected the earlier integrationist model as early as 1956, his arguments formed only part of a larger work dealing primarily with the history of warfare in the twelfth-century Levant. The most influential treatment of the question was provided by the Israeli historian Joshua Prawer (1917–1990), who in 1972 argued

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2 Claude R. Conder, *The Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem, 1099–1291 A.D.* (London: Palestine Exploration Fund, 1897), 427–28.

3 R. C. Smail, *Crusading Warfare (1097–1193)* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1956), 42. For a more expanded statement of this "integrationist" model as well as detailed references, see Ronnie Ellenblum, *Frankish Rural Settlement in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 3–5, 284.

4 Smail, *Crusading Warfare* (see note 3), 62–63.

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that the crusades "are the opening chapter of European expansion and foreshadow all later colonial movements." Yet his interpretation of this case of colonialism was quite different from that of the earlier integrationist views, and dismissed these as "wishful thinking, a deliberate attempt to prove the viability of contemporary colonial situations in North Africa and the Near East."[5]

Born in Poland, Prawer migrated to Palestine while it was administered under the British mandate and became active as a scholar in the newly-founded state of Israel; his interpretations might thus be described as *post-colonial*, in contrast to those of the integrationist school of the colonial period. In the concluding chapter of his study of 1972, Prawer postulated three possible solutions for the pattern of co-existence which might prevail between conquerors and indigenous peoples: "a purely Latin Christian society, an eventual mixed Roman and oriental-Christian society, or a mixed European and oriental (Moslem and Christian) society."[6] He immediately dismissed the first as impractical on the grounds that it would have required the unrealistic expulsion of the entire native population and replacement by immigrants. He scarcely discussed the second, but concluded by judging the kingdom of Jerusalem as a mixed European and oriental society, on the main grounds that the conquerors relied on native Christians and Muslims alike as a labour force. He argued, however, that its salient feature was a social gulf between conquerors on the one side and all of the conquered peoples on the other, which encompassed the rejection of each side by the other and the absence of any assimilation between the two. This "dual society," as he terms it, was characterized by "non-integration, or more exactly *Apartheid*," in which "native Christians were treated no better than Moslems, Jews or Samaritans."[7]

In the subsequent study of the history of Outremer and the crusades in general, the segregationist model propounded by Prawer largely superseded the earlier integrationist interpretations.[8] Yet while his works show a vast range of scholarship and erudition, significant objections can be raised to some of his interpretations, even on the basis of evidence which he presented himself. The Franks made no systematic efforts to convert their subject Muslim populations, even if some individuals voluntarily accepted Christianity.[9] This contrasts with the

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5 Joshua Prawer, *The Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem: European Colonialism in the Middle Ages* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1972), 469, 512. See also Prawer, *Crusader Institutions* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1980).

6 Prawer, *The Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem* (see note 5), 504.

7 Prawer, *The Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem* (see note 5), 524, 510.

8 See, for example, Hans Eberhard Mayer, *Geschichte der Kreuzzüge*, 10th ed. (1960; Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 2005), 191: "die große Trennungslinie verlief nicht wie sonst zwischen adlig und nichtadlig, sondern zwischen Franken und Nichtfranken" (the major dividing line ran not, as elsewhere, between noble and non-noble, but between Franks and non-Franks).

9 Benjamin Z. Kedar, *Crusade and Mission: European Approaches Towards the Muslims* (Princeton:

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attitude displayed by the Franks toward the regional church organizations. At the time of the conquest, the Franks took the decision to treat the Melkite Church as a branch and integral part of the Latin Church, and essentially took over its institutions.

Of course this was a form of ecclesiastical aggrandizement by which the Franks were able to secure control of the bishoprics, the main shrine churches, and considerable urban and rural property. Yet it must be remembered that many of the Melkite bishoprics were vacant at the time of the conquest, and a church organization had to be built up for the newly established principalities. At a lower level, the Melkites were left in possession of numerous parish churches and monasteries, even within the city of Jerusalem itself.[10] One could interpret the actions of the Franks less cynically as being in the spirit of the aims of the crusade as articulated by Pope Urban II, who in his recruitment activities had stressed the liberation of the Christians of the East as much as the recovery of the Holy Places. Yet the Latin Church was also concerned to seek accommodations with the non-Chalcedonian churches which had long broken with the Byzantine and Roman traditions. In 1184 a union was achieved with the Maronite Church of the Lebanon, while further efforts were made later to bring about union with other churches.[11]

Princeton University Press, 1984), 57–83. For examples of how some medieval poets viewed the Muslims, see John Tolan, John Tolan, "Saracens and *Ifranj*: Rivalries, Emulation, and Convergences," John Tolan, Henry Laurens, and Gilles Veinstein, with a foreword by John L. Esposito, *Europe and the Islamic World* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2012), 9–107; here100–05.

10 Prawer, *The Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem* (see note 5), 220–26: Bernard Hamilton, *The Latin Church in the Crusader States: The Secular Church* (London: Variorum, 1980); Hamilton, "The Latin Church in the Crusader States," *East and West in the Crusader States: Context – Contacts – Confrontations*, ed. Krijnie Ciggaar, Adelbert Davids and Herman Teule. Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta, 75 (Leuven: Peeters, 1996), 1–20; Andrew Jotischky, "Greek Orthodox and Latin Monasticism around Mar Saba under Crusader Rule," *The Sabaite Heritage in the Orthodox Church from the Fifth Century to the Present*, ed. Joseph Patrich. Orientalia Lovaniensia, 98 (Leuven: Peeters and Department Oosterse Studies, Leuven, 2001), 85–96; Johannes Pahlitzsch and Daniel Baraz, "Christian Communities in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem, 1099–1187 CE," *Christians and Christianity in the Holy Land: From the Origins to the Latin Kingdoms*, ed. Ora Limor and Guy G. Stroumsa. Cultural Encounters in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages, 5 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2006), 205–38. The religious term "Melkite" derives from Syriac *malkā* and Arabic *malik*, meaning "king," i.e., the Byzantine emperor, and is used in this study in the medieval sense which related to the Greek Orthodox Church. Confusingly, in the modern period the term relates to the Greek-Catholic rite, which is in full communion with the Roman Catholic Church but retains its Greek liturgy and usages. See Sidney H. Griffith, "The Church of Jerusalem and the 'Melkites': The Making of an 'Arab Orthodox' Identity in the World of Islam (750–1050 CE)," *Christians and Christianity in the Holy Land* (see above), 175–204.

11 Prawer, *The Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem* (see note 5), 508–9; Rudolf Hiestand, "Die Integration der Maroniten in die römische Kirche: Zum ältesten Zeugnis der päpstlichen Kanzlei (12. Jahrh.)," *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 54 (1988): 119–52.

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These contrasting attitudes displayed toward Muslims and native Christians in the sphere of religion do not suggest that the Franks treated all Eastern communities indifferently.

Since the publication of Prawer's work some important studies have appeared which raise significant doubts about the accuracy of his model of a "dual society." One such doubt relates to the character of the Frankish settlement. Prawer argued that "almost the entire Frankish population was concentrated in the cities," although he also highlighted the existence of some newly founded Frankish villages in the countryside.[12] However, in a detailed study of Frankish rural settlement, Ronnie Ellenblum adduces an array of archaeological and topographical evidence alongside written sources to show that in many areas of the kingdom of Jerusalem – and far more than were discussed by Prawer – Franks lived side by side with Syrian Christians, with both groups often making use of shared facilities such as churches.[13] He perceptively states that the earlier "French model would have been far more acceptable had its proponents claimed that the 'Franco-Syrian' society consisted only of Franks and Eastern Christians and did not include the Muslim component of the population." He concludes that his own findings point to a synthesis between this older, integrationist model and the more recent, segregationist model propounded by Smail and Prawer.[14]

In the same year as the publication of Ellenblum's book, Kedar argued along similar lines in a study of relations between Latins and Eastern Christians: "the Franks indeed were liberators who turned into the rulers of the Oriental Christians they had come to liberate – but they were rulers who felt relatively at ease among their Oriental Christian subjects and maintained manifold relations with them."[15] Both of these judgements argue for a degree of accommodation between Franks and native Christians which was rather fundamentally different to that shown by the conquerors towards their Muslim subjects.

Since Prawer's work was largely concerned with the kingdom of Jerusalem, he paid less attention to the society of the three more northerly Frankish principalities; this in itself is a weakness in any wider interpretation of "colonial" society given that these areas contained a larger proportion of native Christians than Palestine, and that they clearly belonged to the same wider political and cultural milieu in the twelfth century. This lacuna was met with the publication of a study by Christopher McEvitt which concentrates on relations between Franks

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12 Prawer, *The Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem* (see note 5), 66–67, 82–84.

13 Ellenblum, *Frankish Rural Settlement in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem* (see note 3), 119–44, 213–33.

14 Ellenblum, *Frankish Rural Settlement in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem* (see note 3), 284–85.

15 Benjamin Z. Kedar, "Latins and Oriental Christians in the Frankish Levant, 1099–1291," *Sharing the Sacred: Religious Contacts and Conflicts in the Holy Land, First-Fifteenth Centuries CE*, ed. Aryeh Kofsky and Guy G. Stroumsa (Jerusalem: Yad Izhak Ben-Zvi, 1998), 209–22; here 221.

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and Eastern Christians in the county of Edessa and the principality of Antioch. He, too, concludes that the segregationist model was flawed, presenting an alternative which he calls "rough tolerance," explaining this term thus:

> I use the term "tolerance" because the practices of rough tolerance allowed the coexistence of diverse religious and ethnic communities without the legal or social structures of control or domination that were emerging in contemporary Latin Europe; it was "rough" because political power rested largely in the hands of the new Frankish aristocracy, who employed it against indigenous communities as they felt necessary.[16]

McEvitt adduces numerous examples of tolerance on the part of the Franks, to such an extent that one wonders whether the description "rough" is really an appropriate qualifier for a society which allowed "the easy flow of persons and practices across social and religious boundaries."[17] One could actually argue that the range of religious and social interactions described by him indicates a relationship which was more benevolent and cooperative than a fundamentally oppressive regime on the part of the Frankish rulers.

The interpretations of Ellenblum, Kedar, and McEvitt all agree that the Franks' relationships with Eastern Christians were far fuller and more positive than with the Muslims, which suggests that neither the integrationist nor the segregationalist model can be regarded as satisfactory. I would argue that we need a new model which not only can accommodate the findings of these scholars, but which will provide a more nuanced and accurate interpretation which can be applied to all of the principalities of Outremer in the period 1099–1187. As previous models have been primarily concerned with the attitudes and policies of the Franks, this essay will start by asking how they perceived and classified the natives of the countries that they ruled. One important point made by McEvitt is that much of what is often argued about the legal status of native communities derives from the writings of thirteenth-century Frankish jurists, which reflect a rather different political and social reality from those of the previous century.[18] For this reason the following discussion will confine itself to evidence and conditions from the period before 1187, concentrating on pragmatic issues of interaction: the distribution of populations in a spatial sense, the diverse social structures, and arrangements of the native communities as a factor in their interactions with the Franks, and the extent to which these communities were active participants in the maintenance of Frankish rule.

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16 Christopher McEvitt, *The Crusades and the Christian World of the East: Rough Tolerance*. The Middle Ages Series (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008), esp. 21–26.

17 McEvitt, *The Crusades and the Christian World of the East* (see note 16), 23.

18 McEvitt, *The Crusades and the Christian World of the East* (see note 16), 138–42.

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2. Frankish Perceptions of Indigenous Identity

Modern historians have largely taken the view that the essential component in the identity of communities in the Near East was religious affiliation, and this was undoubtedly one of the most important criteria for the native peoples themselves. However, the Franks did not simply distinguish between Christians, Muslims, or Jews, but made further distinctions between individual communities within these larger categories. This phenomenon can be illustrated by a few examples from Western sources. Describing how the army of the First Crusade approached the town of Bethlehem in 1099, the chronicler Fulcher of Chartres states that "when the Christians who dwelt there, Greeks and Syrians, discovered that the Franks had arrived, they were completely overcome with joy. However, at first they did not know who these people were and thought they might be Turks or Arabs."[19]

Similarly, William of Tyre describes how King Baldwin II of Jerusalem attempted to secure provision of the food supplies for his capital: "Moreover, to the Syrians, Greeks, Armenians, and all men of whatever nation, even to the Saracens, he gave the free privilege of carrying into the Holy City without tax wheat, barley, and any kind of pulse."[20] Such examples show Christian Greeks, Syrians, and Armenians, as well as Muslim Arabs and Turks, each distinguished as a separate nation (Lat. *natio*) or race (*gens*). Up to the twelfth century, writers in Western Europe tended to use the word "Saracens" as a blanket term for all Muslims, whether Arabs, Berbers or Turks.[21] However, narrative and documentary sources written in Outremer had a more precise and informed usage. The *Saraceni* (Saracens) are distinguished from the Turks, who formed the ruling caste of hostile external polities such as Damascus and Aleppo, but the term is not simply a

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19 Fulcher of Chartres, *Fulcheri Carnotensis Historia Hierosolymitana (1095–1127),* ed. Heinrich Hagenmeyer (Heidelberg: Winter, 1913), I.25, 278–79: "Quod cum Christiani, qui inibi conversabantur, comperirent, Graeci videlicet et Syri, Francos illuc advenisse, gravisi sunt gaudio magno valde. Ignorabant tamen primitus quae gens essent, putantes eos vel Turcos vel Arabes esse."

20 Guillaume de Tyr, *Chronique,* ed. Robert B. C. Huygens. 2 vols. Corpus Christianorum, Continuatio Mediaevalis 63–63A (Turnhout: Brepols, 1986), XII.15, 565: "Dedit etiam Surianis, Grecis, Armenis et harum cuiuslibet nationum hominibus, Sarracenis etiam nichilominus, liberam potestatem sine exactione aliqua inferendi in sanctam civitatem triticum, ordeum et quodlibet genus leguminis, modii etiam et ponderis remisit mercedem consuetudinariam." Translation taken from William of Tyre, *A History of Deeds Done beyond the Sea*, trans. Emily Atwater Babcock and August C. Krey. 2 vols. Records of Civilization: Sources and Studies, 35 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1941), 538.

21 Irhad Shahid, *Rome and the Arabs: A Prolegomenon to the Study of Byzantium and the Arabs* (Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks Library and Collection, 1984), 123–41; Alexios Savvides, "Some Notes on the Terms *Agarenoi*, *Ismaelitai* and *Sarakenoi* in Byzantine Sources," *Byzantion: Revue internationale des études byzantines* 67 (1997): 182–208; John V. Tolan, *Saracens: Islam in the Medieval European Imagination* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002), esp. 10–20.

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synonym for Arabs, as the Saracens are also distinguished from other speakers of Arabic. For example, a charter of King Baldwin III of Jerusalem confirming an exchange of fiefs in 1161 refers to "Syrian and Saracen villeins" (*cum omnibus villanis Surianis sive Saracenis*) living in Transjordan.[22] This and other sources also distinguish between Saracens and Bedouins (*Beduini*), that is the nomads who lived on the frontiers of Frankish territory, who are regarded as a separate people. The name *Saraceni* can thus be seen to apply to the settled, Arabic-speaking population in contrast to the Christian Syrians and the Muslim nomads as well as to the Turks.[23] The Franks were also aware that many of the urban populations contained Jews, noting that they sometimes fought alongside the Saracens when the Franks attacked their cities.[24]

The Franks themselves retained the French language for the duration of their settlement, and relatively few of them felt the need to learn Arabic or other indigenous tongues.[25] Since language was a key marker of difference between the rulers and the ruled, it is scarcely surprising that within the broader categories of Christians and Muslims, the Franks accorded greater weight to language than precise religious affiliation as a badge of identity. The Latin name *Suriani* (or *Syri*) is consistently applied to all native Christians who spoke Arabic or Syriac in everyday life, although they may have used Greek or Syriac as liturgical languages. The Syrians were distributed widely, but belonged to three different confessions. Melkite Syrians were largely found in the kingdom of Jerusalem. Jacobites were most numerous in the county of Edessa, but they also formed minorities in the principality of Antioch and in Palestine.[26] The Maronites were

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22 *Die Urkunden der lateinischen Könige von Jerusalem*, ed. Hans Eberhard Mayer. 4 vols. Monumenta Germaniae Historica: Diplomata Regum Latinorum Hierosolymitanorum (Hanover: Hahnsche Buchhandlung, 2010), no. 263.

23 Albert of Aachen, *Historia Ierosolimitana: History of the Journey to Jerusalem*, ed. and trans. Susan B. Edgington. 2 vols. Oxford Medieval Texts (Oxford: Clarendon, 2007), 834–36, 858, 874; Benjamin Z. Kedar, "The Tractatus de locis et statu sancte terre," *The Crusades and Their Sources: Essays presented to Bernard Hamilton*, ed. John France and William W. Zajac (Aldershot, Hampshire, and Brookfield, VT: Ashgate, 1998), 111–33; here 131.

24 Albert of Aachen, *Historia Ierosolimitana* (see note 23), 518: "quibus Iudei ciues, commixtis Sarracenorum turmis."

25 Laura Minervini, "Les contacts entre indigènes et croisés dans l'Orient latin: Le rôle des drogmans," *Romanica Arabica: Festschrift für Reinhold Kontzi zum siebzigsten Geburtstag*, ed. Jens Lüdtke (Tübingen: Narr, 1996), 57–62; Minervini, "La lingua franca mediterranea: Plurilinguismo, multilinguismo, pidginizzazione sulle coste del Mediterraneo tra Tardo Medioevo e prima età moderna," *Medioevo Romanzo* 20 (1996): 231–301, esp. pp. 247–49; Cyril Aslanov, "Languages in Contact in the Latin East: Acre and Cyprus," *Crusades* 1 (2002): 155–81. Arabic and Armenian sources tend to remark explicitly on individual Franks' knowledge of Eastern languages, suggesting that this was an unusual phenomenon.

26 Dorothea Weltecke, "The Syriac Orthodox in the Principality of Antioch during the Crusader Period," *East and West in the Medieval Eastern Mediterranean, I: Antioch from the Byzantine Reconquest*

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confined to the county of Tripoli and the northern frontier areas of the kingdom of Jerusalem, roughly corresponding to the modern Lebanon.[27]

However, the identity of the Syrians as Arabic- or Syriac-speaking Christians was more significant to the Franks than their confessional allegiance. Similarly, the "Greeks" (*Graeci*), mostly found in the principality of Antioch, belonged to the Melkite Church like large numbers of the Syrians, but are invariably distinguished from the latter in Frankish usage on the basis of their language. Finally, the Franks regarded the Armenians as a single people even though a minority of them, especially those who had traditions of Byzantine service, belonged to the Melkite Church rather than the separated Armenian Orthodox Church which had the allegiance of the majority.[28] At times when the Latin Church had dealings with the Eastern churches it was clear that it would need to be aware of the precise theological and liturgical differences between them; similarly, guides written for Western pilgrims were often keen to explain the religious diversity of the region and above all the city of Jerusalem.[29] Such texts understandably make a greater number of distinctions, but the sheer frequency of the ethno-linguistic terminology found in narrative and documentary sources suggests that it more readily reflected the prevailing perceptions of the Franks. Since Ellenblum, Kedar, and McEvitt agree that the Franks treated all Eastern Christians better than all of their Muslim subjects, can we develop their findings to take account of this more differentiated classification which the Franks themselves employed?

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until the End of the Crusader Principality, ed. Krijnie Ciggaar and Michael Metcalf. Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta, 147 (Leuven: Peeters, 2006), 95–124; Prawer, *The Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem*, 227–29 (see note 5); Prawer, "Social Classes in the Crusader States: The Minorities," *A History of the Crusades*, ed. Kenneth M. Setton et al., 6 vols (Madison: University of Wisconson Press, 1969–1989), 5: 59–116; McEvitt, *The Crusades and the Christian World of the East* (see note 16), 8–9, 31–35, 107–10, 122–26.

27 Kamal S. Salibi, "The Maronites of Lebanon under Frankish and Mamluk Rule (1099–1516)," *Arabica* 4 (1957): 280–303.

28 Viada A. Arutjunova-Fidanjan, "The Ethno-Confessional Self-Awareness of Armenian Chalcedonians," *Revue des études arméniennes* n.s. 21 (1988–1989): 345–63; Arutjunova-Fidanjan, "Етно-конфессиональное самосознание армяно-византийской знати в XI–XII веках,", *Елита и етнос Средневековья*, ed. Adelaida A. Svanidze (Moscow: Institut Vseobshchei Istorii, 1995), 178–88.

29 See, for example, example, the texts given in *Saewulf, Iohannes Wirziburgensis & Theodericus, Peregrinationes tres*, ed. Robert B. C. Huygens (Turnhout: Brepols, 1995); *Jerusalem Pilgrimage, 1099–1185*, ed. and trans. John Wilkinson, Joyce Hill and W. F. Ryan, Works Issued by the Hakluyt Society, ser. 2, 167 (London: Hakluyt Society, 1988) and Kedar, "The Tractatus de locis et statu sancte terre" (see note 23). Such works are usually punctilious about including mentions of sects such as the Georgians, Nestorians and others, which had small presences in the city of Jerusalem but no wider significance within the populations of Outremer.

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3. Interactions between Franks and Easterners

To accept the segregationist model fully it would be necessary to agree that the Franks kept themselves separate from all indigenous peoples in their living arrangements. In some cases they did indeed take drastic measures which resulted in separation of population, although this did not apply to all of the native communities. At the time of the conquest, most of the coastal towns had a mainly Muslim population. These towns were gradually reduced in a long series of sieges, so that all of them had been taken by 1124 with the exception of Ascalon, which finally fell in 1153. Where a town was able to capitulate on terms, the Saracens were allowed to leave with their possessions, and most of those seem to have relocated to the nearest Muslim-held territory, possibly paying some kind of indemnity for the privilege; in at least one case (the capture of Sidon), many—presumably the poorer classes who were unable to redeem themselves—were not allowed to depart but were detained by the Franks in a state of servitude.[30] If a town resisted and was taken by storm, the Franks carried out massacres of the Muslims (and in many cases, the Jews), sparing only high-profile captives who could be ransomed.[31] The ports were vital for communications with the West and the protection of the pilgrim trade, and the measures implemented in each case show that the Franks were determined to maintain security by extinguishing the Saracen urban populations. The countryside was another matter: the rural Saracens were required as cultivators and laborers and so the Franks could not afford to carry out mass expulsions in the same way that they had done in the cities. Although they may have been obliged to surrender some of their mosques the Saracens were allowed to follow their own faith. There is one known case of voluntary mass emigration, when a large number of followers of Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Qudamā, a jurist of the Ḥanbalī sect, fled from the region of Nablus to Damascus in 1156, but this resulted from a clear case of oppression and curtailment of freedom of worship.[32] Even though Muslims were barred from residence within the city of Jerusalem they were allowed to enter to sell foodstuffs and visit sites of religious significance.[33]

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30 Albert of Aachen, *Historia Ierosolimitana* (see note 23), 562 (Arsuf), 672–74 (Acre), 806–08 (Sidon); Guillaume de Tyr, *Chronique* (see note 20), XIII.14, 602 (Tyre).

31 Albert of Aachen, *Historia Ierosolimitana* (see note 23), 520 (Haifa), 566 (Caesarea), 786–90 (Beirut).

32 Benjamin Z. Kedar and Muhammad al-Hajjūj, "Muslim Villagers of the Frankish Kingdom of Jerusalem: Some Demographic and Onomastic Data," *Itinéraires d'Orient: Hommages à Claude Cahen*, ed. Raoul Curiel. Res Orientales, 6 (Bures-sur-Yvette: Groupe pur l'Etude de la Civilisation du Moyen-Orient, 1994), 209–22.

33 Guillaume de Tyr, *Chronique* (see note 20), XII.15, 565. For other examples of freedom of religion accorded to Muslims, see Jonathan Riley-Smith, "Government and the Indigenous in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem," *Medieval Frontiers: Concepts and Practices*, ed. David Abulafia and Nora

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One explanation which has been suggested for the relative docility of the rural Saracens is that any who fled from Frankish rule would have only found a similarly disadvantaged status in territories ruled by Turkish or Kurdish rulers.[34] Yet we should also consider the overall social structure of the Muslim community as a whole after the conquest. The forced removal or destruction of much of the Saracen urban population in the period up to around 1125 also meant that the Muslims were deprived of most of the social elite within their communities – merchants, industrialists, *qadis*, workshop owners, estate owners – leaving the Saracens largely as a body of lower-class labourers and agriculturalists, living as villeins or slaves tied to the land. They had no natural leaders or intellectuals other than some rural *shaykhs*.[35] It is thus not surprising that they formed a subject population which was not only subservient, but had little or no interaction with the majority of the Franks.

The Bedouin were rather better off, as their nomadic lifestyle made them less easy to control; they were generally left to their own devices as long as they paid tribute, which was assigned to Frankish lords as if it constituted a fief.[36] The only way for Saracens to rise up the social scale was probably to convert to Christianity. Given the Franks' reluctance to carry out proselytizing, this was a rare occurrence, but we can find instances of individuals who must have been converts, such as *Willelmus Baptizatus de Blanca Garda*, *Uldrichus Baptizatus* and *Gaifredus Baptizatus*, who were important enough to figure as witnesses on documents. The last of these three men is also identified as a Turcopole, that is one of the corps of light cavalry who seem to have fought in the Turkish manner, which might suggest that he was originally a Turk rather than a Saracen.[37] The most interesting example of a probable convert is the Walter Mahomet whose name appears on charters between 1104 and 1115; dual names of this type are known to have been used by converts from Islam in Norman Sicily. He is known to have had considerable land holdings, and from around 1107 appears as lord or castellan of the town of Hebron. The example of Walter demonstrates that converts could even join the fairly restricted group of holders of lordships.[38]

Berend (Aldershot, Hampshire, and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2002), 121–31; Daniella Talmon-Heller, "Arabic Sources on Muslim Villagers under Frankish Rule," *From Clermont to Jerusalem: The Crusades and Crusader Societies, 1095–1500*, ed. Alan V. Murray. International Medieval Research, 3 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1998), 103–17.

34 D. E. P. Jackson, "Some Considerations Relating to the History of the Muslims in the Crusader States," *East and West in the Crusader States* (see note 10), 21–29.

35 Talmon-Heller, "Arabic Sources on Muslim Villagers under Frankish Rule" (see note 33), 107–11.

36 *Urkunden der lateinischen Könige von Jerusalem* (see note 22), nos. 138, 210, 260, 263.

37 Reinhold Röhricht, *Regesta Regni Hierosolymitani*, 2 vols. (Innsbruck: Winter, 1893–1904), nos. 558, 559, 594.

38 Alan V. Murray, *The Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem: A Dynastic History, 1099–1125*. Occasional Publications of the Linacre Unit for Prosopographical Research, 4 (Oxford: Prosopographica &

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At the time of the First Crusade the Jews inhabited many of the coastal cities (especially Tyre) as well as parts of the Palestinian interior, notably Galilee, while the Samaritans remained strong in Samaria around the town of Nablus. While the Frankish conquest ended several urban Jewish communities, they were gradually allowed to return to the towns, in contrast to the Saracens. The city of Jerusalem constituted a special case, however. Here the entire Saracen and Jewish populations were exterminated in a series of cold-blooded massacres after the crusader capture in July 1099. William of Tyre tells us that thereafter, "to allow anyone not belonging to the Christian faith to live in so venerated a place seemed like sacrilege to the leaders in their devotion to God."[39] This meant that neither Saracens nor Jews were allowed to reside there on a permanent basis, although some Jews with specialist skills were exempted from this ban, as in the case of dyers mentioned in 1170.[40]

But elsewhere in Palestine the Frankish period was one of Jewish immigration from both Muslim and Christian territories, and the lifting of the ban on Jewish settlement in Jerusalem by Saladin in 1187 does not seem to have been re-imposed during the later period of Frankish rule.[41] Even though most available evidence comes from Palestine rather than the north, the different policies which applied to the residence of Jews and Muslims indicates that while the Jews (and Samaritans) were undoubtedly disadvantaged compared to the Franks, they held a social position which was more favorable than that of either Saracens or Bedouins.

Neither the Franks who remained in Outremer nor the Italian immigrants who were granted trading privileges in many of the cities were numerous enough to make up for the population losses caused by the destruction of Saracen and Jewish communities, and so their places were taken by native Christians. In the kingdom of Jerusalem this meant an immigration of Syrians from the countryside, in some

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Genealogica, 2000), 233.

39 Guillaume de Tyr, *Chronique* (see note 20), XI.27, 535–36: "Instar enim sacrilegii videbatur deo devotis principibus, si aliquos qui christiana non censerentur professione in tam venerabile loco esse permitterent habitatores"; Joshua Prawer, "The Settlement of the Latins in Jerusalem," *Speculum* 27 (1952): 490–503; Alan V. Murray, "The Demographics of Urban Space in Crusade-Period Jerusalem (1099–1197)," *Urban Space in the Middle Ages and the Early Modern Age*, ed. Albrecht Classen. Fundamentals of Medieval and Early Modern Culture, 4 (Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2009), 205–24; Murray, "La construcción de Jerusalén como capital cristiana: Topografía y población de la Cuidad Santa bajo el dominio franco en el siglo XII," *Construir la ciudad en la Edad media: Encuentros internacionales del Medievo 2009, Nájera*, ed. Beatriz Arizaga Bolumburu and Jesús Angel Solórzano Telechea. Ciencias Históricas, 14 (Logroño: Instituto de Estudios Riojanos, 2010), 91–110.

40 Adrian J. Boas, *Jerusalem in the Time of the Crusades: Society, Landscape and Art in the Holy City under Frankish Rule* (London: Routledge, 2001), 40.

41 Sylvia Schein, "Between East and West: The Jews in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem 1099–1291," *East and West in the Crusader States* (see note 10), 31–37.

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cases from a considerable distance. In 1116 rural Syrians were brought from Transjordan to help repopulate the city of Jerusalem by King Baldwin I. Prawer believed that these immigrants were settled in a discrete quarter in the north-east part of the city, which would seem to suggest a certain degree of segregation. However, I have argued that in fact the Syrians were distributed throughout Jerusalem, and that the idea of distinct religious or ethnic "quarters" dividing up the city did not emerge until much later.[42] There is nothing to suggest any degree of formal separation of living space in other urban centers, and some of the most interesting evidence about the living arrangements of Franks and Syrians in rural areas has been presented by Ellenblum. He has shown that in the countryside the Franks avoided areas of the densest Muslim settlement, but settled in areas where Syrians were in the majority, such as western Galilee, central Judaea north of Jerusalem, and southern Transjordan.[43] Clearly security was a key consideration in this settlement pattern, but it also meant that both groups could share religious facilities.

The crusader conquest in the north was less of a demographic upheaval than in Palestine and the county of Tripoli. In the county of Edessa most of the population consisted of Armenians and Syrians. In the principality of Antioch, most of whose territory had been under Byzantine rule until the late eleventh century, these two groups were also represented, but the most distinctive element was the "Greeks," that is Greek-speaking Melkites, who were especially strong in the cities of Antioch and Laodikeia. After Turkish garrisons were expelled from the main strongholds in the course of the conquest, the two northern principalities consisted of much more homogeneous populations, with a minority of Franks ruling over overwhelmingly Eastern Christian populations.[44]

The Frankish attitudes to the distribution of population supports the view that the native Christians were more privileged than the Jews, Saracens or Bedouin, but this still leaves the question whether each Christian community enjoyed the same status in the eyes of the Franks. The Syrians of Palestine had lived for many years under Arab or Turkish rule and their upper classes had mostly long since withdrawn to Byzantine territory. The only wider form of social organization beyond the village community under its headman (Arabic *ra'is*) was the Melkite and Jacobite churches and the ecclesiastical personnel who belonged to them.

The Franks continued to employ the *ra'is* and also established other administrative posts for natives, such as those of *dragoman* (interpreter), *mathesep* (market inspector), and scribes in the *cathena* (customs office) of the ports. However, these positions were relatively lowly and there is little evidence for the

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42 Guillaume de Tyr, *Chronique* (see note 20), XI.27, 535–36.

43 Ellenblum, *Frankish Rural Settlement in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem* (see note 3), 119–44, 213–33.

44 McEvitt, *The Crusades and the Christian World of the East* (see note 16), 65–99.

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Syrians playing more important parts in society.[45] William of Tyre characterizes them as a "race which is regarded by us as weak and effeminate," by which he probably means that they had no military traditions and thus could not be employed by the Franks as soldiers, unlike some of the other Christian communities.[46] However, he made an exception for "one certain nation of Syrians" (*natio quedam Syriorum*), who were "strong men, experienced in arms, and of great use to us in the great conflicts which they so frequently had with the enemies." These were the Maronites of the Lebanon, who had retained a social structure based on clans and chieftains; in their mountain fastnesses they had considerable experience of fighting invaders and were utilized by the Franks in a military capacity.[47]

In the northern states of Antioch and Edessa we gain the impression of a more varied status of Syrians, Greeks and Armenians. The new rulers also had to rely on the traditional village headmen. We can occasionally glimpse such people in the sources, such as one Abdelmessie, *ra'is* of Margat in 1174, whose brother-in-law bore the name of George, typical of Melkite Christians; the names could be indicative of either Syrian or Greek identity. Such a status is not fundamentally different from their counterparts in Palestine, but this example is noteworthy because the family concerned was wealthy enough to make a donation of land to the order of the Hospital. Since this was a Latin ecclesiastical institution, this suggests more than a casual degree of interaction between the two confessions.[48]

The Greeks of Antioch also retained personnel who were able to function in higher positions of responsibility, such as urban officials and soldiers. Charters issued in the principality repeatedly reveal members of this community in important administrative and military positions there, which shows that the new rulers were keen to maintain some administrative continuity by awarding relatively high offices to individuals of Greek origin. Under Byzantine rule, the

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45 Claude Cahen, *La Syrie du Nord à l'époque des croisades et la principauté franque d'Antioche*. Bibliothèque orientale, 1 (Paris: Paul Geuthner, 1940); Prawer, *The Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem*, 367–70, 403 (see note 5); Boas, *Jerusalem in the Time of the Crusades* (see note 37), 22. The knightly family in the kingdom of Jerusalem bearing the surname Arrabit has been regarded by previous commentators as being (almost uniquely) Syrian in origin: Murray, "Ethnic Identity in the Crusader States" (see note 1), 63–64; McEvitt, *The Crusades and the Christian World of the East* (see note 16), 154. However, Mayer has argued that it was Iberian in origin: Mayer, *Geschichte der Kreuzzüge* (see note 8), 223. If this is the case, it would reinforce the case that the Syrians were essentially unwarlike and did not gain access to the elite.

46 Guillaume de Tyr, *Chronique* (see note 20), XX.16, 1029: "Syri, qui apud nos effeminati et molles habentur."

47 Guillaume de Tyr, *Chronique* (see note 20), XXII.9, 1018: "erantque viri fortes et in armis strenui, nostris in maioribus negociis, que cum hostibus habebant frequentissima, valde utiles"; Salibi, "The Maronites of Lebanon under Frankish and Mamluk Rule" (see note 27).

48 Röhricht, *Regesta Regni Hierosolymitani* (see note 37), nos. 521 and 649.

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main administrator of the city of Antioch was the *doux*, and this office was maintained under Latin rule.[49]

The first incumbents were clearly Westerners, but the continuity suggests that in these early stages there may have been lower level Greek administrators who knew about the practice and competences of the office. By the mid-twelfth century we find *doukes* of Antioch whose names clearly indicate a Greek origin, such as Leo Maiopoulos, in office between 1133 and 1154, and a George in 1134.[50]

Greeks are also found as knights and even as holders of lordships. A document of 1189 lists a George and a Theodore who are both described as *dominus* and knight (*miles*) of the Frankish lordship of Margat. The latter is presumably different from another Theodore from around the same time who is described as vassal of the prince.[51] The idea that native Greeks served not only as administrators but also as soldiers is supported by the dispositions of the Antiochene forces at their defeat by the Turks in 1119, known to posterity as the *Ager Sanguinis*. Walter the Chancellor mentions the martyrdom of the 'most worthy knight in physical and mental strife', called Euterpios, a quite clearly Greek name, and the fact that Walter gives him some prominence by attributing a short speech given at the battle to him suggests that he exercised a command function.[52] The prominent responsibilities given to Greeks is remarkable, since in the course of the twelfth century the Byzantine empire mounted at least two major campaigns against the principality with the aim of having its overlordship recognized by the ruling prince, and a Melkite patriarch installed in place of the Latin one. Evidently the Greek office holders who are found throughout this period were not suspected of disloyalty or a yearning for a Byzantine restoration.

The relationship between Franks and Armenians in the county of Edessa was initially complicated because in the course of the conquest and the early twelfth century the Franks displaced several of the native Armenian rulers and simply took over their lands, but overall we find a large degree of cooperation between the two peoples in government, in military matters and even in religious affairs, which not only embraced the population of the county itself, but also the independent Armenian lordships which bordered it to the west and north.[53]

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49 Jean-Claude Cheynet, 'The Duchy of Antioch during the Second Period of Byzantine Rule', in *East and West in the Medieval Eastern Mediterranean, I* (see note 25), 1–16.

50 Röhricht, *Regesta Regni Hierosolymitani* (see note 37), nos. 151a (George), 149, 195, 196, 228, 253, 282, 292 (Leo Maiopoulos).

51 Röhricht, *Regesta Regni Hierosolymitani* (see note 37), nos. 649, 689.

52 Walter the Chancellor, *Galterii Cancelarii Bella Antiochena*, ed. Heinrich Hagenmeyer (Innsbruck: Winter, 1896), II.6; *Walter the Chancellor's The Antiochene Wars*, trans. and comm. Thomas S. Asbridge and Susan B. Edgington. Crusade Texts in Translation, 4 (Aldershot, Hampshire, and Brookfield, VT: Ashgate, 1999), 131.

53 McEvitt, *The Crusades and the Christian World of the East* (see note 16), 74–97.

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Armenians acted as city governors in the same manner that the Greeks did in Antioch, but the range of their responsibilities was much wider, particularly in the military sphere.

The counts of Edessa seem to have commanded real devotion and loyalty from their Armenian subjects, who played a far more active part in the defence of the county than did the less warlike Syrians. One could point to the daring attempt to rescue Count Joscelin I and his ally Baldwin II of Edessa from Turkish captivity in the remote fortress of Khartpert (mod. Harput, Turkey) in 1123 by a small group of Armenians in Frankish service.[54] A similar example is the spirited defence of the city of Edessa put up by the Armenians against the Turkish leader 'Imād al-Dīn Zangī in 1144, and their attempt to recapture it two years later, which resulted in severe and punitive measures against the entire native Christian community.[55]

The key feature in the Armenian population was its social structure. After the Byzantine withdrawal from eastern Anatolia and Upper Mesopotamia in the eleventh century, many Armenian lords had been able to maintain independent or semi-autonomous lordships in the face of Turkish advances. Most importantly for the Franks, the Armenians had retained an aristocracy with a lifestyle which had numerous similarities with their own; as a race living in mountains which had long constituted a frontier area they had a strong military tradition, both in their own principalities and in the Byzantine service. William of Tyre relates that the county of Edessa had sufficient revenues to provide fiefs for 500 knights, but compared to Antioch and Jerusalem very few names of Frankish fief-holders are known.[56] It is likely that much of the knight service of the county, as well as the footsoldiers, was provided by Armenians.

Thus, in terms of military capabilities and effectiveness the Armenians were clearly rated higher than the other indigenous Christian communities. This not only applied to the north, since the Franks of Jerusalem evidently attempted to make use of them in Palestine. One such was the *Barda Armenus* (Armenian: Vartan), who with his wife owned land in the territory of Acre in the 1120s.[57] The most ambitious plans to harness the fighting capabilities of Armenians occurred some forty years later, when T'oros, king of Cilicia, offered 30,000 of his own subjects with their families to King Amalric of Jerusalem as potential immigrants. These settlers would be able to farm the land, meaning that an equivalent number

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54 Fulcher of Chartres, *Fulcheri Carnotensis Historia Hierosolymitana* (see note 19), III.12, 651–53, III.23–24, 676–87. For a detailed elucidation of this event, see Yuval Noah Harari, *Special Operations in the Age of Chivalry, 1100–1550*. Warfare in History (Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell, 2007), 74–90.

55 McEvitt, *The Crusades and the Christian World of the East* (see note 16), 96–97.

56 Guillaume de Tyr, *Chronique* (see note 20), XVII.17, 785.

57 *Urkunden der lateinischen Könige von Jerusalem* (see note 22), nos. 96, 111, 426. For examples of other Armenian knights in the kingdom of Jerusalem, see McEvitt, *The Crusades and the Christian World of the East* (see note 16), 153–54.

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of Muslims could be expelled, but they would also be able to contribute to the defense of the country. The proposals were initially welcomed by the Frankish nobility, but the scheme ultimately failed because of the demands of the Frankish clergy that the prospective new subjects should pay tithes to the Latin Church, even though the Armenians did not belong to it.[58]

The degree of social equality between the Frankish and Armenian ruling classes was crucial for one final area of social interaction which needs to be considered: intermarriage. The majority of the crusaders who remained in Outremer after the First Crusade were males, and in the first decades of the kingdom there must have been a severe gender imbalance among the immigrant Frankish population.[59] In a famous and much-quoted passage of his chronicle Fulcher of Chartres, writing in the 1120s, reveals how many of the settlers had taken wives who were Syrians, Armenians, or even Saracens who had accepted baptism.[60]

Frankish laws promulgated in the 1120s laid down severe penalties for Franks who had any kind of sexual relations with Saracens, but marriage to converts was clearly permissible.[61] Yet even here we must observe some important social distinctions. Neither the Syrians nor Muslim converts had sufficient social standing for women from either group to be considered acceptable as wives for the Frankish aristocracy and knights, and so intermarriage with these groups must have been confined to the burgess class, that is, the Franks below the upper stratum. The existence of an aristocracy among the Armenians meant that they could provide suitable marriage partners for the Frankish nobility of Edessa, and it is striking that several of the most important Frankish noblemen married Armenian wives: these included the first three three counts, Baldwin I, Baldwin II, Joscelin I, and one of their most important vassals, Waleran of Le Puiset, lord of Bira.[62]

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58 *Chronique d'Ernoul et de Bernard le Trésorier*, ed. Louis de Mas Latrie (Paris: Renouard, 1871), 28–29; Kedar, "Latins and Oriental Christians in the Frankish Levant (see note 15), 212.

59 Alan V. Murray, "Sex, Death and the Problem of Single Women in the Armies of the First Crusade," *Shipping, Trade and Crusade in the Medieval Mediterranean: Studies in Honour of John Pryor*, ed. Ruthy Gertwagen and Elizabeth Jeffreys (Farnham, Surrey, and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2012), 255–70.

60 Fulcher of Chartres, *Fulcheri Carnotensis Historia Hierosolymitana* (see note 19), XXX.7, 748: "Hic iam possidet domos proprias et familias quasi iure paterno et hereditario, ille vero iam duxit non tantum compatriotam, sed Syram aut Armenam et interdum Saracenam, baptismi autem gratiam adeptam."

61 Benjamin Z. Kedar, "On the Origins of the Earliest Laws of Frankish Jerusalem: The Canons of the Council of Nablus, 1120," *Speculum* 74 (1999): 310–35.

62 James H. Forse, "Armenians and the First Crusade," *Journal of Medieval History* 17 (1991): 13–22; Natasha Hodgson, "Conflict and Cohabitation: Marriage and Diplomacy between Latins and Cilician Armenians, c. 1097–1253," *The Crusades and the Near East*, ed. Conor Kostick (London: Routledge, 2011), 83–106; McEvitt, *The Crusades and the Christian World of the East* (see note 16), 76–78, 80, 88–89.

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Since most of the Armenians belonged to the non-Chalcedonian religious tradition, it appears that for the Franks, marriage into a group which was considered heretical was trumped by the needs of pragmatism and appropriate social standing. This easy linkage with the regional aristocracy in Upper Mesopotamia stood in marked contrast to policies pursued elsewhere in Outremer: the ruling kings of Jerusalem, princes of Antioch, and counts of Edessa chose marriage partners from Western Europe, Byzantium or the noble families of their own polities. This evidence suggests that in these areas where there were no high-status Armenian families, none of the other indigenous Christian communities were regarded as being of suitable status for marriage with the highest ranks of Frankish society.

4. Conclusions

The range of evidence examined in this essay suggests that the relationship between Franks and natives in Outremer was not based on a binary divide as postulated by Prawer and Smail, but on a hierarchy in which the native people were differentiated and ranked according to how far they offered advantages to and were prepared to cooperate with the Frankish rulers. For reasons of security, the Muslims at the bottom of this hierarchy were severely restricted with regard to their living space and other rights, but were still free to practice their religion. Jews and Samaritans, subject to fewer restrictions, made up the middle of this hierarchy. However, in their capitals and trading ports, but also in smaller towns and even in rural villages, Franks shared their space with native Christians of all communities, and made use of them in various tasks which contributed to the economy and security of the realms.

Indigenous Christians clearly enjoyed a more privileged position than Saracens, Bedouins, Jews, or Samaritans. Yet for the Franks, the presence within a given Christian community of groups with military or administrative traditions and skills and in some cases, aristocratic identity and lifestyle, was an important and often overlooked factor which helped to determine how far they could be trusted and privileged, as well as how far they were acceptable as marriage partners. These considerations indicate that even within the native Christian groups, the Syrians (with the exception of the Maronites) were regarded as the lowest rank, with Greeks were accorded a higher status, and Armenians being placed highest of all. For these reasons, instead of the segregationist model advanced by Prawer or the earlier model of complete integration, we should consider a differentiated hierarchy of peoples as the fundamental social structure of Outremer.

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Chapter 5

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A Century of Communication and Acclimatization: Interpreters and Intermediaries in the Kingdom of Jerusalem

By 1099 an armed pilgrimage now called the First Crusade, comprised mostly of Northern Europeans, had conquered much of the coastal Levant, establishing the Kingdom of Jerusalem in the south, County of Tripoli on the coast, and the Principality of Antioch and County of Edessa in the north. The Kingdom of Jerusalem itself survived a little less than a century as a Latin Christian polity in the East before crumbling under the pressures of Saladin's conquests in 1189, surviving in name only on the island of Cyprus. With the fall of Acre in 1291, Latin Christian power was effectively gone from the eastern Mediterranean mainland.

From the arrival of the First Crusade led by the princes of Europe in Byzantium, to the final peace negotiations with Saladin, Latin Christians relied on interpreters and intermediaries familiar with the peoples and languages of the East. Initially, most of these were outsiders, borrowed from their Byzantine allies or acquired from among the native Eastern Christian population. Gradually, however, Latins born in the West learned Arabic themselves; within a generation or two, young nobles of the Kingdom of Jerusalem became fluent Arabic speakers, comfortable acting as envoys and diplomats between the Kingdom and surrounding Muslim potentates, demonstrating the existence of a true "Latin East," a polity ruled by Latin Christians, yet firmly ensconced in Levantine culture as well as geography. With the fall of Jerusalem in 1187, however, and the lack of strong internal leadership, this Latin East became subject to the control of the powerful leadership of Westerners like Conrad of Montferrat and, during the Third Crusade, Richard I of England and Philip Augustus of France. Acclimated Eastern Latins lost their

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agency along with the Kingdom, using their skills in the service of the outsiders instead of themselves, mirroring the career of the Kingdom itself.

Intermediaries are rarely given serious attention in historical sources, whether Arabic, Latin, or French; most references to them are tangential or at best episodic, mentioning their actions during a specific incident with little discussion of the individual involved. As such, I have collected these various episodes, and placed them within a historical framework in order to understand who acted as intermediaries between Latins and Muslims, and how their changing roles reflected the rise and fall of the Kingdom of Jerusalem

1. The First Crusade (1097–1099)

On entering the territories of Alexios Komnenos, the Byzantine Emperor who had requested the military assistance of the Franks against the Saljūq Turks threatening his empire, the Crusader host, led by Raymond of Toulouse, Hugh de Vermandois, and Robert of Normandy, Godfrey of Bouillon, Bohemond of Taranto, as well as the Pope's Legate Adémar of le Puy relied on the Empire to provide interpreters, both official and unofficial. These could include professional, bureaucratic interpreters, or polyglot mercenaries or former captives, such as Marianus, the Duke of the Fleet's son, noted for speaking to the Provencals "in their language." After the Crusade, "the Neapolitan Marianus," known to have experience of Latin ways, was also sent as an ambassador to Bohemond along with Adralestus, again specifically noted as speaking the Frankish language.[1]

Inside the Imperial circle itself, multiple Latin-Greek interpreters appear to have been available, as Anna Komnene, author of the *Alexiad* in honor of her father Alexios, mentions his asking "one of the interpreters of the Latin tongue" to translate a specific Frank's comments during a large meeting.[2] From entering Byzantine territory in the Balkans to crossing the Bosphorus into Anatolia itself, the Crusaders thus would have been able to rely on the Empire's Latin-Greek interpreters and polyglots to facilitate relations with Alexios and local powers.

Polyglots accompanied the army that marched with the Crusade host into enemy territory as well; Tatikios, sent by Alexios to lead the Byzantine troops and protect his interests on the march, was himself the son of a Turk captured by Alexios's father.[3] After the siege of Nicaea, the first city taken from the Saljūqs by

1 Anna Komnene, *Alexiad*, trans. Elizabeth A. S. Dawes (London: Routledge, 2003), X.V, 250; X.VIII, 255; XIII.IX. I would like to express my gratitude to Dr. Alan V. Murray and Dr. Suleiman Mourad for their comments.

2 Anna Komnene, (see note 1), X.X, 264. See also the contribution to this volume by Glen Cooper.

3 Peter Frankopan, *The First Crusade: The Call from the East* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press, 2012), 46, referencing the *Alexiad*; Anthony Kaldellis, personal communication, April 4, 2012.

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the combined Byzantine-Western force, officers Monastras, a Turkish speaking "semi-Barbarian," and Rhodomerus, "who had once been captured by the Turks and dwelt some time among them," were placed in charge of directing Turkish soldiers surrendering to the imperial forces.[4] Anna does not mention either of these officers again; they have no particular importance in and of themselves, but the Byzantine military made use of their language skills when necessary.

However, the Crusaders marched with their own interpreters as well. The *Historia Peregrinorum Euntium Jerusolomam*, written by an anonymous monk in Monte Cassino soon after 1130 and cited by Ralph Bailey Yewdale as well-informed on the doings of the Italo-Norman host, mentions Bohemond of Taranto's cousins Tancred and Richard of the Principate as Arabic speakers, as I shall discuss in more detail.[5] These three cousins would have been of the first generations of Normans born in the polyglot environment of southern Italy and Sicily, with Bohemond, the leader of their contingent, a veteran of multiple campaigns against the Byzantines. Yewdale suggests others in their entourage would have spoken Arabic and Greek as well, and Hussein M. Attiya refers to interpreters in the host who may have been Normans from Sicily, where Arab-Greek multilingualism had been par for the course for several centuries.[6] Beginning with the Norman arrival in Southern Italy, local Muslims had fought with the conquerors, and many were in Roger I of Sicily's army and government at the time of the First Crusade, providing a potential pool of polyglots for the Italo-Normans.[7]

Nicaea's surrender was handled primarily by Boutoumites, another of Alexios's generals; true interaction between Levantines and Franks did not occur until the siege of Antioch, beginning in late 1097.[8] Formerly a major Byzantine city, Antioch had been taken by the Saljūqs in 1084, and its formidable walls presented a major strategic challenge to the host. Its brutal siege lasted eight months, characterized by famine and disease among the Crusaders, desertion, sorties with the Antiochenes and supporting Muslim forces. Here the Italo-Normans took the lead,

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4 Anna Komnene, *Alexiad* (see note 1), XI.II, 274.

5 Anonymous, *Historia Peregrinorum Euntium Jerusolmam Ad Liberandum Sanctum Sepulcrum de Potestate Ethnicorum* [History of the Pilgrims Who Went to Jerusalem to Liberate the Holy Sepulchre from the Power of the Heathen], *Recueil des historiens des croisades: Historiens occidentaux*, vol. III (Paris: Imprimerie Royale, 1866), LXVII, 198.

6 Ralph Bailey Yewdale, *Bohemond I, Prince of Antioch* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1917), 38.

7 Hussein M. Attiya, "Knowledge of Arabic in the Crusader States in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries," *Journal of Medieval History* 25.3 (1999): 203–13; here 206; Hiroshi Takayama, *The Administration of the Norman Kingdom of Sicily*. The Medieval Mediterranean, 3 (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 1993), 37; Alex Metcalfe, *Muslims and Christians in Norman Sicily: Arabic Speakers and the End of Islam*. Culture and Civilization in the Middle East (London: Routledge, 2003), 60.

8 Steven Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, vol. 1 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1951), 180.

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with Bohemond establishing a relationship with one of the city's tower commanders, who "discreetly made a plot with our men by which they should obtain the city," "persuaded" by Bohemond.[9] The identity of this individual is a subject of debate: Ibn al-Qalānisī, a contemporary Damascene chronicler, refers to him as an Armenian armourer named Nairūz; Ralph of Caen, who arrived in Antioch after the First Crusade to document the exploits of Tancred, does not mention his name but also calls him Armenian; Fulcher of Chartres, who accompanied Baldwin of Bouillon as chaplain, and Bohemond himself call him a Turk.[10] Rebecca L. Slitt comments that it is predominantly the Christian, not Muslim, authors who depict Firuz as Christian or converting to Christianity, and argues that this is probably an attempt to emphasize the similarities between him and Bohemond and make their friendship more palatable to Christian readers, as well as express Christian power. Muslim writers, however, emphasize Firuz's status as a traitor to the faith.[11] It is noteworthy that the Ralph of Caen, the Latin author who described Firuz as Armenian, was writing in Tancred's Antioch, where relationships with Armenians were more common than in the southern Latin polities.[12]

In contrast, the clearest and most detailed narrative of the incident comes from the anonymous *Gesta Francorum*, usually considered to have been written by an Italo-Norman in Bohemond's contingent, which depicts Firuz as a Turk who converts to Christianity because of his relationship with Bohemond.[13] Joshua C.

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9 Fulcher of Chartres, *Gesta Francorum Jerusalem Expugnantium* [A History of the Expedition to Jerusalem] (FC), trans. Frances Rita Ryan, ed. Harold S. Fink (Knoxville, TN: University of Tennessee Press, 1969), I.XVII.4–5, 98–99; Bohemond, Bohemond, Count of St Gilles, Godfrey, Duke of Lorraine, Robert, Duke of Normandy, Robert, Count of Flanders, Eustace, Count of Boulogne, "Letter to Pope Urban II" in *Letters from the East: Crusaders, Pilgrims and Settlers in the 12th–13th Centuries*, trans. Malcolm Barber and Keith Bate. Crusade Texts in Translation, 18 (Farnham, Surrey, and Burlington, VT: Ashgate 2010), 31.

10 Ibn al-Qalānisī, *Mudhayyal Tārīkh Dimashq* [Continuation of the History of Damascus], trans. H. A. R. Gibb (London: Luzac, 1932), 45; FC (see note 9), I.XVII.4–5, 98–99; Ralph of Caen, *Gesta Tancredi* [The Deeds of Tancred], trans. Bernard S. Bachrach and David S. Bachrach as *The Gesta Tancredi of Ralph of Caen: A History of the Normans on the First Crusade*. Crusade Texts in Translation, 12 (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005), Ch. 63, 88; VIII.xx, 44; Bohemond, *Letter to Pope Urban II* (see note 9), 31.

11 Rebecca L. Slitt, "Justifying Cross-Cultural Friendship: Bohemond, Firuz, and the Fall of Antioch," *Viator*, Vol. 38, No. 2 (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols Publishers, 2007), 339–49; here, 344. Slitt does not cite ibn al-Qalānisī, a Muslim who depicts Firuz as an Armenian.

12 Natasha Hodgeson argues that Latin-Armenian marriages like both Baldwin I's to a daughter of the prominent Thoros of Marash and Baldwin II's to Morfia continued after the first phase of Latin Settlement. "Conflict and Cohabitation: Marriage and Diplomacy Between Latins and Cilician Armenians, 1097–1253," *The Crusades and the Near East: Cultural Histories*, ed. Conor Kostick (Abingdon, England: Routledge, 2010), 83–107; here, 87. Ralph of Caen discusses the Armenians' contribution to the First Crusade more than any other Latin author.

13 *Gesta Francorum et Aliorum Hierosolimatanorum* [The Deeds of the Franks and the Other Pilgrims to Jerusalem], trans. Rosalind Hill (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1967), (GF).

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Birk argues the *Gesta* author's experiences in Norman Sicily or the Southern Italian peninsula, where Christian-Muslim alliances and Muslim leaders' conversion was common, made him more comfortable with similar situations in the Levant, while his fellow Latin authors rejected such a "religiously fluid world."[14]

The historical context of other intermediaries encountered during the First Crusade does not provide any conclusive evidence for the question of Firuz's ethnic identity, either—Muslims, converts, Armenian and Syrian Christians all came into contact with the Crusaders, as I discuss below. Whether Firuz was an armourer or *amīr*, Armenian or Turkish, remains unclear.

Nor is it clear how Bohemond and Firuz first established contact; the *Gesta* author only wrote of a "certain *amir* of Turkish race called Firuz, who had struck up a great friendship with Bohemond," continued by Bohemond's messengers during the siege.[15] The language of exchange between them was almost certainly Greek, suggested by Firuz's use of Greek to express concern for the small number of Franks who first climbed into his tower, and demanded to know Bohemond's whereabouts. Anthony Kaldellis suggests Bohemond may have spoken the language, which survived in his home lands of Sicily and Apulia, and was of probable use during his campaigns against the Byzantines; Alan V. Murray believes Greek to have been spoken by many Antiochenes, since the city had been under Byzantine control until 1084.[16]

While Bohemond may have been able to negotiate Firuz's betrayal himself, he "sent an interpreter to the Saracen leaders to tell them that if they, with their wives and children and goods, would take refuge in a palace which lies above the gate he would save them from death."[17] This is the first recorded instance in which the Latins used an interpreter as messenger, apparently dispatching him to carry out his mission under his own direction, rather than sending an envoy accompanied by an interpreter.

One of the interpreters available among the hosts at the time was Herluin, sent with Peter the Hermit to negotiate with Kerboghā, *atabeg*, or military governor of Mosul, when his Turkish army laid siege to Antioch immediately after its fall to the Franks. All three writers present during the First Crusade commented on the episode, but their individual interests are handled differently, and these differences deserve attention. While the *Gesta* author wrote only "it is reported that Herluin knew both languages, and that he acted as interpreter for Peter the

14 Joshua C. Birk, "The Betrayal of Antioch: Narratives of Conversion and Conquest during the First Crusade," *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 41.3 (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2011), 463–85; here, 464.

15 *GF* (see note 13),VIII.xx, 44.

16 *GF* (see note 13), VIII.xx, 47; Anthony Kaldellis (see note 3), personal communication; Takayama, *The Administration of the Norman Kingdom of Sicily* (see note 7), 37; Alan V. Murray, personal communication, February 18, 2013.

17 *GF* (see note 13), X.xxxii, 79.

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Hermit," the name Herluin is found in records of eleventh century Norman nobility, pointing to Duke Robert's or Bohemond's contingent.[18] The *Gesta* author is the only one present on the Crusade to mention him; Fulcher of Chartres and Raymond d'Aguilers only discussed Peter the Hermit—interpreters were not sufficiently relevant to them to be worth mentioning. Later historians, William of Tyre, Robert the Monk and Guibert de Nogent also referred to Herluin by name, all of them drawing on the *Gesta* as a source.[19] This further suggests Herluin may have been in Bohemond's train along with the *Gesta* author, and the fact that he is named, rather than simply referred to as an interpreter, could suggest noble rank or some other kind of importance, or could reflect the *Gesta* author's comfort with multilingual situations and the strategic relevance of interpreters.

Elaborating on the *Gesta* Robert the Monk added an interesting augmentation to his version: Herluin accompanied Peter but was not the interpreter, who delivered Peter's first speech offering Kerboghā and his army peace in exchange for surrender and conversion. When Kerboghā responded by offering to give lands freely if the Franks would convert, making them all his mounted soldiers, however, then it was Herluin who righteously rejected the offer, enraging Kerboghā. While the incident is a dramatic tailoring of the *Gesta*, it is notable that Herluin, not the nameless interpreter, made the important rejection, and while the text gives a clear impression that he had sufficient Turkish or Arabic for communication with Kerboghā directly, he did not act as the interpreter, who was given only the less important speeches.[20]

Why this contrast between the accounts? Robert the Monk wrote his *Historia* in a French abbey, sometime around 1106–1107, soon after the flurry of interest in the East raised by Bohemond's visit to Europe, using the *Gesta*, written by a first-hand participant.[21] I argue that it was a matter of pragmatism—interpreters were rarely named in the sources, if mentioned at all, and were handled much in the way of invisible servants: necessary, but uninteresting. Bilingual Herluin may be, but if he was named, he must not have belonged in this class of necessities, so Robert

18 *GF* (see note 13), IX, xxviii, 67; Foundation for Medieval Genealogy, "Normandy, Nobility," *Medieval Lands*, http://fmg.ac/Projects/MedLands/index.htm (last accessed on Feb. 15 2013).

19 *FC* (see note 9), I.XXI.1, 103; Raymond D'Aguilers, *Historia Francorum Qui Ceperunt Iherusalem* [History of the Franks Who Captured Jerusalem], ed. and trans. John Hugh Hill and Laurita L. Hill (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1968), Ch. V, 46; William of Tyre, *Historia Rerum in Partibus Transmarinis Gestarum* [A History of the Deeds done Beyond the Sea], trans. Emily Atwater Babcock and A. C. Krey, vol. I (New York: Columbia University Press, 1943) (WT), 6.15, 1, 282; Robert the Monk, *Historia Iherosolimitana* [History of Jerusalem], *Robert the Monk's History of the First Crusade*, ed. and trans. Carol Sweetenhamm. Crusade Texts in Translation, V.11, (Aldershot, England: Ashgate, 2006), VI.VII, 166; Guibert de Nogent, *Gesta Dei per Francos* [The Deeds of God through the Franks], trans. Robert Levine (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1997), Book 6, 107.

20 Robert the Monk (see note 19), 166.

21 Sweetenham, "Introduction" (see note 19), 6, 17.

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added an official interpreter to perform the tedious task for him. The *Gesta* author, however, was willing to have a man important enough to name act as a lowly interpreter, or saw an interpreter as inherently important enough to name, suggesting that the survivor of the multilingual Eastern campaign saw interpreters in more positive light, perhaps out of necessity.

Even in the *Gesta*, Herluin was a shadowy figure, only distinguished by his language skills, used exclusively for interpreting Peter's negotiations. In contrast, Tancred and Richard of the Principate, Bohemond's cousins and lieutenants, negotiated with Kerboghā themselves: "However Richard and Tancred, who both knew the Syrian language, consulted daily with the emir to get lord Bohemund to return the castle, and he [paid] him the greatest honor of gifts."[22] The differences in the sources' discussion of the three intermediaries are striking: Herluin, who had no major role in the military-political theater of the Crusade or the later settlements, was mentioned only as an interpreter for Peter, before disappearing once more into the background. Richard and Tancred, however, had more than simple Arabic skills. High-ranking and influential throughout the campaign and especially in the establishment of the Principality of Antioch, they used their language skills as negotiators directly from Bohemond to Kerboghā. Rather than interpreters for powerful figures, they themselves were in a position of power and recognition. Because of this, they stand out among the early interpreters, a point to which I shall return.

After defeating Kerboghā's besieging army, the majority of the Franks continued the march to Jerusalem, with Bohemond remaining in Antioch. En route, the commanders began making their first peace agreements with local Muslim potentates, as well as establishing relationships with Oriental Christians: When the king of Shaizar, a strong local power in northern Syria whose Banu Munqidh dynasty would develop a close relationship with the Latins lasting several generations, wanted to avoid being attacked by the host, he sent two messengers to help the Franks ford one of his rivers, and "lead them where they could find booty," coming out himself to form an agreement with Raymond of Toulouse.[23] The Muslims here made the first step of approaching the Crusaders, but even on

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22 *Historia Peregrinorum Euntium Jerusolmam Ad Liberandum Sanctum Sepulcrum de Potestate Ethnicorum* (see note 5), LXVII, 198. Translation courtesy of Prof. Sarah-Grace Heller. The Latin here reads "syriacum linguam," but there is no reason to think it refers to Syriac. Tancred and Richard could have acquired Arabic in Sicily; Kerboghā would have been using it to negotiate with Arabs in the Levant for some time, but none of them had any reason to acquire Syriac, at this time used almost exclusively as a liturgical language for Syrian Christians. Latin writers frequently confused foreign ethnic terms; William of Tyre refers to Herluin's knowledge"of the Persian idiom and was also skilled in the tongue of the Parthians"; other writers use "*sarrisinois*" or "the Saracen tongue" indiscriminately. I thus interpret the passage to mean Tancred and Richard to speak Arabic, the most logical language.

23 *GF* (see note 13), X.xxxiii, 81–82.

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their way to conquer Jerusalem, but the Crusade leaders were equally willing to begin relationships.

William of Tyre, Western-educated but born in the Kingdom of Jerusalem, was almost certainly able to read Greek and probably Arabic as well. His translator Emily Babcock argues for his use of Arabic sources for his *Historia Rerum in Partibus Transmariuns Gestarum*, and William himself gives the definitions and etymologies of various Arabic names throughout the *Historia Rerum in Partibus Transmarinus Gestarum*.[24] Writing primarily during the 1140s–1180s, an era where cooperation with certain Muslim *amīr*s had become standard practice, William includes more such incidents of immediate collaboration: The governor of Tripoli offered money, valuables and the return of captives should his provinces be spared, and sent provisions to prevent scavenging.[25] The governor of Acre also presented gifts, and "entered into an agreement" with the leaders of the Crusade to surrender the city of Ascalon peacefully if they could hold Jerusalem for twenty days or defeat the Egyptians.[26] Presented with a large force that had already managed several conquests, these governors ensured their cities' survival without making lasting promises to the Franks. For their own part, the Franks kept the local leaders from interfering in their final goal of Jerusalem; making agreements with individual polities also prevented any united Muslim force from descending on the outnumbered Crusaders. The relationships were intended to be temporary, but were revised when the Franks' role in the local power dynamic became clear, and they became more comfortable establishing long-term alliances with Muslims, rather than short-term armistices. Local Muslims also acknowledged the newcomers as permanent additions to the region. Intermediaries, probably interpreters, would have been necessary for these agreements, but were not mentioned by any of the sources; relationships with Muslims were memorable, but the individuals who mediated them were not yet important enough to be so as well.

The lord of the castle of Ezaz, or Azaz (Hasarth in William of Tyre), a small local fortress controlled by Aleppo, however, acted as if he expected the Crusaders to evolve into long-term players in the Levantine arena even before the conquest of Jerusalem. In need of support in a local power struggle with Riḍwān of Aleppo,

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24 Emily Atwater Babcock, "Introduction," *Historia Rerum in Partibus Transmarinis Gestarum* [A History of the Deeds done Beyond the Sea], trans. Emily Atwater Babcock and A. C. Krey, vol. I (New York: Columbia University Press, 1943), 6–30. William acted as an ambassador to the Byzantine court, and refers to Amalric I of Jerusalem commissioning him to write a Gesta Orientalium Principum (Deeds of the Oriental Princes) for which the king provided William with Arabic texts. The work is now lost. For William's Arabic etymologies, WT (see note 19), XI.XXXI, 2, 515; XV.XXV, 2, 131, XVIII.XXI, 2, 324.

25 WT (see note 19), VII.21, 1, 329–30.

26 WT (see note 19), VII.22, 1, 332.

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he made overtures to Godfrey of Bouillon to "request an alliance of friendship," offering gifts, his son as hostage, and his own devoted service.[27]

Significantly, in his attempt to form a lasting relationship with the Franks, Azaz's ruler sent "one of his own people, a loyal Christian" to act as an intermediary.[28] The governor of Tripoli sent a delegation; the king of Shaizar, from a prominent Arab dynasty, sent two Turks; both of them simply wanted the Franks to pass their lands without ravaging them. The lord of Azaz preferred to send a co-religionist to mediate more actively between himself and the invading Christians, relying on their common faith to encourage a relationship. Direct Muslim-Latin relations at this juncture were not strong enough to foster a true political alliance; such a bond required a Christian intermediary.

The Franks themselves began by using local Christians as well; Raymond d'Aguilers, present in the entourage of Raymond of Toulouse, mentions questioning Syrians about the best route to Jerusalem.[29] On their first foray into territory dominated by a foreign religion, they felt most comfortable relying on other Christians, even those with different rites.

2. A Latin Kingdom in the East (1099–1191)

Despite this early reliance on local Christians, after taking Jerusalem by siege in 1099, founding the Kingdom of Jerusalem, the Franks began to establish themselves as permanent residents and members of the Levantine community, with intermediaries retained in their own entourages. Soon after the fall of the city, on an expedition near Ascalon, Raymond of Toulouse decided to send a converted Turk named Bohemond to the *amīr* in command to make peace, and at the same time gauge his willingness to fight or flee. Whatever his origins, Raymond d'Aguilers describes Bohemond as "multilingual, clever and shrewd as well as loyal to us." Since his namesake was present at his baptism, as Raymond wrote, this Bohemond probably joined the Crusade sometime before it left Antioch in the summer of 1098, time enough to have established his loyalty and polished, if not acquired, his knowledge of Western languages.[30]

Bohemond the Turk introduces two of the subsidiary roles of the interpreter: envoy and spy. To be sent to carry out all these roles, rather than simply interpreting for someone else, Bohemond would have been deeply trusted by Raymond of Toulouse, both for direct loyalty to his cause and for his ability to carry out high-profile mission, and would probably have proven himself on

27 WT (see note 19), VII.3, 1, 301.
28 WT (see note 19), VII.3, 1, 301.
29 Raymond d'Aguilers, *Historia Francorum* (see note 19), Ch. XIII, 108.
30 Raymond d'Aguilers (see note 19), Ch. XV, 135.

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previous occasions not discussed in the *Historia*. Thus, the early years of the Kingdom of Jerusalem find the Franks beginning to gather competent, loyal interpreters to their own service, rather than relying on the more independent Byzantines or Syrian Christians, establishing a long-term, Latin-controlled support base.

In the 1140s, Baldwin II of Jerusalem supported a "Turkish satrap" who had come to Jerusalem requesting military support against Mejeredin (Mujīr al-Dīn) and Anar (Muʿīn ad-Dīn ʿUnar) of Damascus, promising that "if an honorable compensation worthy of his consideration were granted him, he would surrender to them the city of Bostrum, over which he ruled, and also the stronghold of Selcath."[31] On this expedition, the Latins lacked an intermediary as trustworthy as Bohemond the Turk. Broken by thirst and badly outnumbered, they again sent an envoy for peace, but had only "a man of rather doubtful repute," who previously, "had acted disloyally" to the Christians while on a similar task. Only his "familiarity with the language of the Turks" made him eligible to act as an envoy.[32]

William of Tyre wrote nothing about the envoy's origins, or how he became acquainted with multiple languages, but his description of the episode provides important information about intermediaries. While William only mentions his earlier mission to disparage him, his repeated choice as envoy demonstrates that polyglots were at least becoming, if they had not already become, an accepted class of intermediaries necessary to local politics. However, they could not have been a large group, or another, more trustworthy man could have been chosen for the mission. Like Bohemond the Turk, he was sent because of his language skills, but as the sole envoy, not merely as an interpreter accompanying one. The role of interpreter thus began to blend into envoy, without taking on the power or autonomy of a negotiator or ambassador. With this increased role, the interpreter-envoy gained more prestige, as demonstrated by the amount of detail about them given by Raymond and William, although it must be noted that both men discussed are extraordinary. Bohemond, a converted Turk, was worth mentioning because of the level of trust placed in a convert, and the envoy because of his untrustworthiness. Latin leaders in the first years of the new kingdom recognized the long-term need for interpreters in their own service, men who could travel with them and would remain loyal, but were still only able to recruit them from a small pool of polyglots.

As the Franks settled into the Levant in the first decades of the twelfth century, some began learning local languages as well. The disgraced envoy may have been one of these. In 1119, Baldwin II supported the Antiochenes against Il-Ghazi, a major Turkish threat in the region, near Sardanium (Zardanā), where a Turk

31 WT (see note 19), XVI.8, 146–47.

32 WT (see note 19), XVI.12. While William here uses "Christians," it does not imply that the man was not Christian himself; he frequently refers to the Latins this way.

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noticed a knight's knowledge of "the Persian language," and harangued him in it.[33] In this episode two details stand out: The polyglot here may be assumed to have been using the "Persian" language somewhere he could be heard by Il-Ghazi's men, probably in a casual context since the Turk felt free to harangue him. More importantly, he was of the chivalric class. Multilingualism had begun working up the Frankish hierarchy, but was still uncommon enough, at least at the chivalric level, that Fulcher of Chartres found it worth mentioning.

This growing linguistic fluency among the Franks is representative of their growing sense of a Levantine identity. Fulcher, writing until his death in Jerusalem in 1127, comments on this most famously:

> For we who were Occidentals have now become Orientals. He who was a Roman or a Frank has in this land been made into a Galilean or a Palestinian. He who was of Rheims or Chartres has now become a citizen of Tyre or Antioch. We have already forgotten the places of our birth; already these are unknown to many of us or not mentioned any more [. . .] Some have taken wives not only of their own people but Syrians or Armenians or even Saracens who have obtained the grace of baptism [. . .] Out here there are grandchildren and great-grandchildren. [. . .] He who was born a stranger is now as one born here; he who was born an alien has become a native.[34]

This new, Eastern, Latin identity included an attitude open to personal and political relationships with local Muslims, who also accepted the Latin polities as players in the regional arena. During the 1130s, the ambitious ʿImād ad-Dīn Zangī *atabeg* of Aleppo and Mosul under the Saljūqs, began showing an interest in controlling Damascus, ruled by its own *atabegs*. In 1140, Muʿīn ad-Dīn ʾUnar, *wazīr* (vizier) and essentially regent for the minor *atabeg* Mujīr ad-Dīn of Damascus, turned to the Kingdom of Jerusalem for support against Zangī.[35]

The Damascenes were particularly concerned with protecting the city of Banyās in Syria, which they preferred "should be restored to the Christians, whose favor they enjoyed, rather than see it held by an enemy whom they greatly feared and mistrusted;" they probably wished to maintain the local balance of power, rather than see any one faction grow too powerful, as Zangī appeared to be attempting.[36]

Mu'īn ad-Dīn, "Anar," in William of Tyre's *Historia*, himself acted as an intermediary between the Latins and other Muslims, negotiating the terms of the surrender of Banyās through his own envoys, but confirming them with his Latin allies before solidifying the agreement.[37] Rather than seeing itself as an isolated

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33 FC (see note 9), III.IV.4, 229. Here, as elsewhere in the Latin chronicles, the ethnic terminology is unclear. Alan V. Murray points out that Il-Ghazi was a Turcoman leader and suggests that here "Persian" represents "Turkish." (see note 10)

34 FC (see note 9), III.XXXVII.2–7, 272.

35 WT (see note 19) XV.9, 2, 106–07.

36 WT (see note 19) XV.9, 2, 106–07.

37 WT (see note 19) XV.9, 2, 106–07.

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colony of Latins surrounded by a sea of indistinguishable Muslims, the Kingdom of Jerusalem acted as one of the many competing polities of the region, allying with certain Muslim potentates to offset the power of others, a political strategy in the tradition of the Levant.

These alliances were not restricted to Muslims, however; the Latins, particularly those in the northern County of Edessa and Principality of Antioch, also maintained cooperative relations with the Armenians within their own borders, and in Cilician Kingdom of Armenia, despite their adherence to either the Greek or Armenian Orthodox churches. Antioch had been an Armenian territory before the Turkish conquest, and Edessa remained one until Baldwin of Bouillon's succession to Thoros in 1098. Baldwin consolidated his rule in Edessa by marrying an unnamed daughter of Thoros of Marash, a prominent Armenian who provided a rich dowry.[38] His cousin Baldwin de Bourcq, who followed him both as Count of Edessa and King of Jerusalem, also married an Armenian, Morfia, daughter of the duke Gabriel of Malatia who "was Armenian by birth, language, and habit, but Greek in faith."[39]

Associations with Armenians began in the unstable early years of the conquest, but did not end there. Natasha Hodgeson, interested in women and marriage in the Latin East, argues that particularly in northern Syria, Latins continued to marry Armenians even after the first phase of settlement.[40] Bound by these social-political bonds, the Latin newcomers relied on the Armenians to act as Christian intermediaries to Muslim enemies as well, perhaps because of the existence of an Armenian polity. In 1103–1104, the independent Turkish *amīr* Gazi Gümüshtigin of the Dānishmend dynasty in Anatolia captured Bohemond I of Antioch, son of Bohemond of Taranto. Bohemond I was ransomed "through the mediation and assistance of the great Armenian prince Kogh Vasil," of Raban and Kesoun, who donated a tenth of the ransom himself and collected the rest, after which Bohemond became his adopted son.[41] Nor were the Armenians exclusively peaceful negotiators; several took an active role in 1123–1124, when Baldwin II and Joscelin of Turbessel were held captive by the *amīr* Balāk in Kharberd in eastern Anatolia, perhaps because of Queen Morfia's origins. The sources differ on details, but all accounts agree that a group of Armenians attacked the fortress to free the Latins. Fulcher of Chartres, who had been Baldwin I's chaplain on the First Crusade and accompanied him to Edessa, describes Baldwin and Joscelin

38 WT (see note 19), X.2, 1, 416.

39 WT (see note 19), X.24, 1, 450.

40 Hodgeson (see note 12), "Conflict and Cohabitation," 87.

41 Matthew of Edessa, *Zhamanakagrutyun* [Chronicle], *Armenia and the Crusades: Tenth to Twelfth Centuries: The Chronicle of Matthew of Edessa*, trans. Ara Edmond Dostourian, Armenian Heritage Series (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1993); Gregory Abū'l Faraj, *Makhtbhanuth Zabhne* [Chronography], 1, trans. Ernest A. Wallis Budge (London: Oxford University Press, 1932), III.14, 192.

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persuading the Armenians already in the fortress to get help from their compatriots in Edessa; writing later, Armenian Matthew of Edessa and Syrian Christian Gregory Abū'l Faraj describe local Armenians attacking to free the Latins without prompting.[42] Within decades, the Crusaders became Latin Easterners, settling into the multi-ethnic milieu and tangled political arena of the Levant, interacting with their neighbors as Levantines themselves.

The development of this Latin East is also visible in the use of languages within the Kingdom of Jerusalem. No later than his death in Jerusalem in 1127, Fulcher of Chartres noticed how "people use the eloquence and idioms of diverse languages in conversing back and forth. Words of different languages have become common property known to each nationality."[43] There is no proof, however, of the development of an Arabic-French *patois*; on the contrary, historical linguist Cyril Aslanov's monograph on a French-Arabic phrasebook found included in a Coptic manuscript demonstrates that in late thirteenth- century Acre, a major trading city, the French spoken was influenced first by "Italo-Romance dialects" as well as Occitan or Catalan. However, he argues that "the influence exerted by the Arabic language, especially from a lexical point of view, shows that the Western invaders and the local communities were not hermetically separated."[44]

While not utterly separate, Latin law ensured that the differences between members of Muslim and Christian communities were recognized. The 1120 Council of Nablus established the early laws of the Kingdom of Jerusalem, including laws against sexual relations between Muslims and Christians, as well as Muslims wearing Frankish dress.[45] Since such laws would not have been necessary without a significant Muslim presence threatening Frankish identity, as well as concerns about Muslim-Latin sexual mixing, I argue that the Arabic influences on Levantine French were not purely from the Arabic-speaking Syrian Christian populations who also lived among the Latins. As Fulcher commented, Latins intermarried with baptized "Saracen" women as well as Syrians.[46]

The Syrian-Latin Christian relationship began during the First Crusade, when Syrians provided support for the host, serving as guides on the way to Jerusalem, and continued in 1100 providing Baldwin I with information about a band of unfriendly Saracens near Ascalon.[47] Suspected by the Fāṭimids of calling the Latins

42 FC (see note 9) III.XXIII.2–3, 247; Matthew of Edessa (see note 41) 251.

43 FC (see note 9), III.XXXVII.2–7, 272.

44 Cyril Aslanov, *Evidence of Francophony in Mediaeval Levant: Decipherment and Interpretation (MS. Paris BnF copte 43)*, (Hebrew University Magnes Press: Jerusalem, 2006), 180.

45 Cited by Benjamin Z. Kedar, "The Subjected Muslims of the Frankish Levant," in *Muslims Under Latin Rule,* James M. Powell, (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1990), 136–74; here, 166.

46 FC (see note 9), III.XXXVII.2–7, 272.

47 WT (see note 19), VII.21, 1, 330; Raymond d'Aguilers (see note 19), Ch. XIII, 108; FC (see note 9) II.IV.3,144.

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into the region, all Christians had been expelled from Jerusalem before its fall; soon after, Baldwin I invited those living in villages beyond the Jordan to repopulate the city, the Latins being too few to do so on their own.[48] Ibn Jubayr, a Muslim traveller returning to Spain from Mecca via Acre in 1184, commented on how the "Christian clerks of the Customs" of the customs-house his caravan went through "write Arabic, which they also speak. Their chief is the Sahib al-Diwan [Chief of the Customs] […] He is known as al-Sahib, a title bestowed on him by reason of his office, and which they apply to all respected persons, save the soldiery who hold office with them."[49] These Christians were probably Syrians, entrusted with a job that entailed using their Arabic language skills and mediating between Arabic-speaking travelers and merchants and Latin officials.

However, it is not always clear whether other Arabic speakers found within the Kingdom of Jerusalem were Syrian Christians, Muslim converts, the bilingual children of Latins and local women, or Latin Christians who had acquired the language. Muslim-majority communities were common in rural areas controlled by Latins, as noted by ibn Jubayr as well. "Our way [to Acre] lay through continuous farms and ordered settlements, whose inhabitants were all Muslims, living comfortably with the Franks," left alone but for a cash poll-tax and half their crops. "All the coastal cities occupied by the Franks are managed in this fashion, their rural districts, the villages and farms, belonging to the Muslims."[50]

These Muslims, and those in the cities, relied on intermediaries to communicate with the ruling Latins for them. Villages without lords were run by councils of elders, headed by the rays (Latin) or *raʾīs* (Arabic, "head, leader"); the *raʾīs* also represented urban burgess populations, looking after their goods and taxes, leading the city militia, and "acting as a sort of mayor or provost of merchants."[51] Ibn Jubayr wrote of passing a farmstead near Acre whose "headman is a Muslim, appointed by the Franks to oversee the Muslim workers on it," probably a *raʾīs*.[52]

Another intermediary figure, notable for his structured role as a feudal office-holder, was the *dragoman* or *drugoman*, a corruption of the Arabic *tarjuman*, sometimes referred to by the Latin/French *interpret*. There is little information about these men, particularly in terms of their roles and actions, and scholars have interpreted the few details available differently. Joshua Prawer, a proponent of the colonialist reading of Latin Eastern society, suggests that the dragoman probably began as an interpreter between natives and overlords, eventually becoming an

48 WT (see note 19), XI.28, 1, 507.

49 Ibn Jubayr, *Ar-Ri la*, [The Travels], trans. by R. J. C. Broadhurst (London: Jonathan Cape Publishers, 1952), 317. See also the discussion of Ibn Jubayr by Albrecht Classen in the Introduction to this volume.

50 Ibn Jubayr (see note 49), 317.

51 Jonathan Riley-Smith, *The Feudal Nobility and the Kingdom of Jerusalem, 1174–1277*, (London: Shoe String Press, 1973), 47.

52 Ibn Jubayr, (see note 49), 317.

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official with an income and inherited post. He further argues that an official of Frankish origin was more likely to act as an administrator than an interpreter, retaining the title but not the original role, and if an interpreter were needed, a Syrian Christian who had acquired French would be more suited to the task.[53]

Prolific Crusades historian Jonathan Riley-Smith, whose research is referenced heavily by later scholars' including Prawer, suggests that the Islamic legal system of the Levant had used the *mutarjim* to assist the *qadī* ("judge") of the districts to deal with the variety of social groups under their jurisdiction, and the Latin lords simply inserted themselves into the ruling role of the existing system.[54] He agrees with Prawer that the dragoman was concerned with the administration of justice, but argues that he also acted as "an intermediary between the lord and the *rayses* over a large area."[55] I believe such a position would require enough ease with Muslims and their culture, as well as their language, to enter their villages and discuss their concerns, and mediate those concerns with Frankish lords. In 1254, the villagers of Kafr Kanna took oaths of fealty to the Master of the Hospitallers, with a dragoman acting as an interpreter, indicating some, if not all, were able to do so.[56] Many of the dragomans were also native-born, with Latin or Latinized names in the records, probably involved with matters of finance and taxes.[57]

Interpreters were not restricted to oral translations or casual mediation, but also worked as formal scribes; Riley-Smith cites a treatise on laws in Acre which calls for a sentence of execution for either a Saracen or Frankish scribe convicted of cheating his lord.[58] Not only did educated Saracens provide service to the Christian lords, they were also equal in punishment to their Christian colleagues. Latins and Arabs both served in the Grand Secrete office of the King of Jerusalem; it is possible that some of these were responsible for translating royal correspondence with Muslim rulers, or handling written treaties mentioned in the sources.[59]

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53 Joshua Prawer, *The Crusaders' Kingdom: European Colonialism in the Middle Ages*, (New York: Praeger, 1972) p. 369.

54 Riley-Smith, *The Feudal Nobility* (see note 51), 53.

55 Jonathan Riley-Smith, "Some Lesser Officials in Latin Syria," *The English Historical Review* 87, no. 342, (Oxford: Oxford University Press,1972), 1–26; here 16–17.

56 Riley-Smith, "Some Lesser Officials in Latin Syria" (see note 55), 16–17.

57 Riley-Smith, *The Feudal Nobility* (see note 51), 56.

58 Riley-Smith, *Feudal Nobility* (see note 51) 55, "Some Lesser Officials in Latin Syria," (see note 21), 20.

59 For references to correspondence, see Ibn al-Qalānisī (see note 10), *Mudhayyal Tārīkh Dimashq*, 93, 106, 109, 147; Ibn al-Athīr, *Al-Kāmil fi l-tārīkh* [The Complete History], trans. D. S. Richards in *The Chronicle of Ibn al-Athīr for the Crusading Period from Al-Kāmil fi l-tārīkh*. Part 1: *The Years 491–541/1097–1146: The Coming of the Franks and the Muslim Response*. Crusade Texts in Translation, 13; (Aldershot, England, and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2006); *Al-Kāmil fi l-tārīkh*, Part 2: *The Years 541–589/1146–1193: The Age of Nur al-Din and Saladin*. Crusade Texts in Translation, 15 (Aldershot, England, and Burlington, VT: Asghate, 2007); *Al-Kāmil fi l-tārīkh*, Part 3: *The Years 589–629/1193–1231: The Ayyūbids after Saladin and the Mongol Menace*. Crusade Texts in Translation,

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While these officials appear to have been the bulk of Arabic speakers within the Kingdom of Jerusalem, polyglots could also be found amongst the baronial nobility, particularly as the Kingdom matured as a Levantine polity. By the second half of the twelfth century, knowledge of Arabic had reached the nobility, who stepped into the role of envoy-interpreter and expanded it to representative-ambassador. The pattern set by Richard of the Principate and Tancred during the First Crusade was thus repeated—the two cousins, the second generation of noble-born Norman Sicilians, acquired Arabic as a matter of course, growing up in a multilingual milieu. Similarly, some among the generations born in the Latin East began acquiring Arabic, perhaps during their childhoods, and the noble-born of these put their language skills to use in the military-political arena. The second generation born in the Kingdom of Jerusalem was firmly ensconced in the Levant, able to sustain an identity embracing both Latin Christianity and aspects of Eastern culture.

A leading member of this generation was Humphrey II of Toron, constable to Baldwin III of Jerusalem sometime after 1151 or 1152. William of Tyre, not always the most accurate about dates, mentions him accompanying Baldwin III to Edessa in 1150, when the Latins despaired of holding the citadel against the Turks, led by the increasingly powerful Nūr ad-Dīn. On the return journey Nūr ad-Dīn attacked; when Humphrey pursued the retreating Muslims on his own, he was approached by an enemy soldier, who "clasped his hands, first on one side, then on the other, in sign of reverence," demonstrating his peaceful intentions. His Turkish leader "was bound to the constable in a fraternal alliance and that very closely," who sent the man to inform Humphrey of conditions in his army.[60] A powerful Latin noble, intimately associated with the King of Jerusalem, was thus also able to maintain a close, friendly relationship with a ranking Turk.

In 1166, the Egyptian vizier Shawār and his young Fāṭimid (Shīʿite) caliph al-ʿĀḍid li-Dīn Allāh, rebelled against Nūr ad-Dīn, the major Sunnī power in the region; seeking to retake full political control of Egypt for the Fāṭimids, they sent envoys to contract an agreement with King Amalric I in Jerusalem. Sometime in 1167, the Egyptians decided to "renew the old agreements and to establish a treaty of perpetual peace," but Amalric decided he needed the Caliph's "guarantee." Thus he sent Hugh of Caesarea, "a young man of admirable wisdom and discretion far beyond his years," along with a small entourage to Cairo to meet with the Caliph directly, where he insisted the young Muslim leader extend his

17 (Aldershot, England, and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2008), 2; Part 2, 22; for treaties, Ibn al-Qalānisī (see note 10), 92, 113.

60 WT (see note 19), XVII.17, 2, 211–212. I would argue this event to have taken place in 1144, around the standard dating for the fall of Edessa, rather than relying on William's dating.

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bare hand to confirm the agreement according to Latin custom, despite the Egyptians' horror at the thought.[61]

Hugh's diplomatic career was not over; along with Arnulf of Turbessel he was captured in battle by Asad ad-Dīn Shīrkūh ibn Shādhī, Saladin's uncle, sent by Nūr ad-Dīn to regain Egypt for him. When Shīrkūh realized his situation in northern Egypt was becoming precarious after losing Alexandria to the Fāṭimid-Latin alliance in 1167, he summoned Hugh and asked him to act as an intermediary, both because of his high rank and influence among the Franks, and Shīrkūh's personal trust in him. "'Be the mediator of peace between us,'" Shīrkūh requested, listing the terms he could offer Amalric.[62] While Hugh believed the terms would be accepted, he refused the mission, "lest it might seem that he was more interested in obtaining his own liberty than concerned for the public welfare. He felt, therefore, that the first steps might be more honorably taken by someone else;" accordingly, Arnulf went to Amalric in his place. Once the basic points of the treaty had been decided by Arnulf, Hugh joined the discussion to "put the final touches to it and brought the matter to a satisfactory conclusion."[63] Just as specific polyglot envoys had become known for their abilities and repeated their roles as intermediaries earlier in the century, Hugh developed a reputation as a reliable negotiator between Latins and Muslims, largely because of his rank and trustworthiness. The combination of noble birth and ease moving between Latin and Muslim cultures was now a desired one in negotiators, a trait that had only become available since the second generation of Latins had come to maturity in the East.

In less than seventy-five years, the Franks settled comfortably into the Levantine political sphere, as we can see by their mediators: Allying with one Muslim power against another, in this instance they began to accept the Arab-Muslim mode of mediation, which selected people connected to figures of power to act as emissaries, rather than enforcing the traditional European method of making peace agreements between the highest ranking leaders, a difference discussed by Saladin and Richard I during the Third Crusade.[64] Yvonne Friedman suggests the cultural gap between Latins and Muslims necessitated "the emergence of a class of diplomats," including survivors of captivity such as Hugh and Arnulf, who developed a familiarity with enemy customs, as well as relationships with

61 WT (see note 19), XIX.18, V.2, 319–21.

62 WT (see note 19), XIX.29, V.2, 339–40.

63 WT (see note 19), XIX.30, 340–41.

64 Yvonne Friedman, "Peacemaking: Perceptions and Practices in the Medieval Latin East," *The Crusades and the Near East*, ed. Conor Kostick (Abingdon: Routledge, 2011), 239; Bahā' ad-Dīn ibn Shaddād, *al-Nawādir al-Sulāniyya wa'l-Maāsin al-Yūsufiyya* [The Rare and Excellent History of Saladin], trans. D. S. Richards. Crusade Texts in Translation, 7 (Aldershot, England: Ashgate, 2001), 153.

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individuals, as Hugh and Shīrkūh did.[65] This class could only evolve in ūa milieu which allowed high-ranking Latins to use their language and cultural skills, rather than delegating them to liminal figures like converts and Syrians, or even lower-ranking Franks. Such a milieu itself required confidence in the Levantine Latin identity, confidence that "Easternizing"—developing personal as well as political relationships with Eastern Christians and Muslims—would not corrupt the Latin Christian identity.

The Eastern pattern of mediating courtier posed by Friedman was expressed in Usāma Ibn Munqidh, scion of a powerful clan in Shaizar, Syria, as well as a roving courtier of the Levant, and author of a collection of memoirs, including those of time spent with the Latins in the 1140s. During the truce between the Damascus and Jerusalem Usāma "used to visit frequently," when "the Franks used to bring before me their captives so that I might buy them off." He was able to make such visits "on account of the fact that King Baldwin [I], father of the queen [. . .] was under obligation to my father."[66] I believe this obligation to be related to Baldwin's captivity among the Muslims; in 1124, the king was passed to the Ibn Munqidh clan "in Shaizar so that my father and my uncle [. . .] might act as an intermediary in determining the price of his ransom."[67]

Usāma did not remain separate from the Franks during these visits, but mixed closely enough with them to comment on the differences between the "fresh emigrant from the Frankish lands [who] is ruder in character than those who have become acclimatized and have held long association with the Muslims," and make "friends" among the Templars and with an Arabic-speaking Latin who kept an Egyptian cook to prepare the Eastern food he preferred.[68] He was thus able to develop familiarity with Latin customs and contacts among people, making him a more effective emissary, though he never learned French.

Like Usāma, his counterpart Hugh, and perhaps other unrecorded Latins responsible carrying messages and redeeming captives from Muslim leaders, followed the Eastern pattern of mediating courtier posited by Friedman. This pattern was to be continued by later intermediaries, who, again like Hugh, gained familiarity with Muslim culture and individuals, even as the political situation in the region grew more polarized.

During the last half of the twelfth century, tensions rose between the Kingdom of Jerusalem and Saladin, who continued Nūr ad-Dīn's conquests, bringing many of the once-independent and competitive Muslim polities of the region under his

65 Friedman, "Peacemaking" (see note 64), 234–51, 239

66 Usāma Ibn Munqidh, *Kitāb al-I ʿtibār* [The Book of Contemplation], trans. P. Hitti, as *An Arab-Syrian Gentelman in the Period of the Crusades: The Memoirs of Usāmah Ibn Munqidh* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1929), 110.

67 Usāma Ibn Munqidh (see note 66), 150.

68 Usāma Ibn Munqidh (see note 66), 163–64.

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leadership and thus upsetting the balance of power. With the rise in incidents between the two powers came more discussion of intermediaries in the sources. During the time leading up to the Ayyūbid capture of Jerusalem and the resulting Third Crusade, several high-ranking men emerged in Friedman's class of diplomats in addition to Humphrey II: Count Raymond III of Tripoli, Reynald de Sidon, and Humphrey II's grandson, Humphrey IV. However, as Muslim leaders like Imād-Dīn Zangī, who conquered Edessa in 1144, his son Nūr ad-Dīn, then his lieutenant and heir Saladin, gained power in the region, Latin Eastern society came to view Latins involved in relationships with Muslims with more distrust.

Humphrey II of Toron's relationship with a minor Turk may have been accepted and even advantageous in the immediate aftermath of the Latin loss of Edessa to Zangī, but the growing threat of his son, Nūr ad-Dīn, then Saladin, put pressure on the unity of the Latin kingdom. In 1175 Saladin took Homs in Syria, offering the free return of hostages in exchange for safe passage across Raymond III of Tripoli's lands. Humphrey mediated the negotiations, earning him William of Tyre's accusation of being "too closely associated in the bonds of friendship with Saladin. His action was decidedly detrimental to our interests, for thus this prince [. . .] won our good will, and he whose ever-increasing strength was to the disadvantage of the Christians dared to count upon us."[69] William argued Saladin should have been resisted rather than permitted through the County of Tripoli, but Raymond was not blamed for making the agreement; it was on Humphrey, the intermediary with a history of developing relationships with Muslims, that the censure fell.

Raymond's first recorded encounter with Saladin was thus handled by a man with a reputation for mediation; his second was more direct, and more problematic. As his relationship with King Guy and Queen Sibylla of Jerusalem worsened due to factional politics around the throne, Raymond's relationship with Saladin became closer, with Raymond personally discussing terms with the sultan. Hadia Dajani-Shakeel believes Raymond to have been fluent in Arabic, based on his relationship with Saladin and time spent in Muslim captivity, and Friedman, interested in captivity and communication in the Latin East, argues he learned in captivity; perhaps his relationship with Saladin began during his 1166–1172 experience in Muslim hands.[70] None of the contemporary sources comment either on his Arabic knowledge, or need for an interpreter, however, leaving his

69 WT (see note 19), XXI.9, 2, 410. See now also Hannes Möhring, *Saladin, the Sultan and His Times, 1138–1193*; trans. David S. Bachrach; intro. Paul M. Cobb (2005; Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2008).

70 Yvonne Friedman, *Encounter Between Enemies: Captivity and Ransom in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem* (Leiden: Brill 2002), 119; WT, XX.28, 1, 390; Hadia Dajani-Shakeel, "Diplomatic Relations Between Muslim and Frankish Rulers 1097–1153 A.D.," *Crusaders and Muslims in Twelfth-Century Syria*, ed. Maya Shatzmiller. The Medieval Mediterranean: Peoples, Economies and Cultures, 400–1453, 1 (Leiden and New York: Brill, 1993), 190–215; here 211. Raymond was captured in battle against Nūr ad-Dīn, and imprisoned in Aleppo.

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linguistic skills uncertain. Ibn al-Athīr, a historian based in Mosul with connections to Saladin, and ʿImād ad-Dīn, the sultan's secretary at the time, wrote that sometime in 1186–1187 Raymond "made contact with Saladin, allied himself to him for his support and asked him for help in attaining" kingship, which Saladin promised, releasing several of Raymond's knights from captivity as a gesture of good faith. In return, Raymond "gave open allegiance to Saladin," followed by several unnamed Franks.[71]

Despite this beginning, Raymond did not provide the support promised in letters written to Saladin, and was soon pressured back into the Latin fold. Both religious and military figures "censured him for his alliance with Saladin, saying, 'There is no doubt that you have become a Muslim, otherwise you could not have endured what the Muslims did to the Franks recently,'" threatening to excommunicate him and declare his marriage invalid. At these threats, Raymond repented and rejoined the Latin force, but his loyalty remained suspect.[72] It is worth noting that it was Raymond's Latin Christian faith that was first questioned, when he was accused of converting to Islam, then threatened with excommunication. The other Latins' concern was the prominence of his Eastern regional identity over his Latin religious identity, and how it would compromise his political loyalties.

In 1187, Saladin took Raymond's town of Tiberias; since his wife Eschiva still held the citadel, Reynald de Châtillon, a Westerner who had married into two prominent local families, and his supporters demanded an immediate attack. Raymond argued that Saladin's army was too strong to attack, but that it would not be able to remain in the city for long, making it safer to retake Tiberias later, once the bulk of the Muslim army had moved on, leaving only a garrison. Reynald responded with an accusation, "'That is enough making us frightened of the Muslims! There is no doubt that you are on their side and favour them, otherwise you would not have spoken so.'" Raymond capitulated under this pressure to act in conformity with his co-religionists; the Latins advanced, and their army was largely destroyed between the Horns of a īn on the way to Tiberias, with the majority of their leaders, including King Guy and Reynald de Châtillon, captured, and the bulk of the army killed or enslaved.[73] Raymond's name would remain smirched into the years of the Third Crusade: Ambroise's vernacular *Estoire de la guerre sainte* blames "Count Raymond, false and fell" for the loss of Jerusalem since he coveted the kingdom and made an alliance with Saladin.[74] In the fragile days

71 Ibn al-Athīr, *Al-Kāmil fī l-tārīkh*, Part 3 (see note 59) 2, 316.

72 Ibn al-Athīr, *Al-Kāmil fī l-tārīkh*, Part 2 (see note 59), 320.

73 Ibn al-Athīr, *Al-Kāmil fī l-tārīkh*, Part 2 (see note 59), 321.

74 Ambroise, *Estoire de la guerre sainte* [History of the Holy War], trans. Merton Jerome Hubert and John L. La Monte, in *The Crusade of Richard Lion-Heart*, XXXIV. Records of Civilization: Sources and Studies (New York: Columbia University Press, 1941), lines 2,447–2,450.

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of 1187, contact with Muslims was interpreted as entirely negative; the military and political strength of the Kingdom of Jerusalem was failing quickly, and with it Latin willingness to act as Easterners.

Like Raymond, Reynald de Sidon is first mentioned in Arabic sources as being in some kind of comfortable or at least neutral relationship with Saladin, but distanced himself during the Third Crusade, pressured by censure by his coreligionists. Bahāʾ ad-Dīn, accompanying Saladin as his secretary at the time, describes Reynald as not only speaking Arabic, but also with some knowledge of Muslim history and religious works; "I heard that he kept a Muslim who read to him and explained things," the secretary adds.[75] His Arabic in particular was impressive; Bahāʾ ad-Dīn found him "an excellent conversationalist and cultured in his talk," able to argue "with us about his religion while we argued for its falsity." He appears to have had some kind of relationship with Saladin before May of 1189, as when the sultan laid siege to his castle of Shaqīf Arnūn, or Beaufort, Reynald realized "improving his relationship with the sultan" offered his best chance at survival. To this end he "came down in person" and ate with Saladin; privately, he offered his allegiance: "He would surrender the place to him without trouble, stipulating that he be given a place to live in Damascus, for he could not subsequently live among the Franks," a fief to support him, and three months to gather his family and retainers from Tyre.[76] It was during this period that Reynald demonstrated his proficiency as an Arabic conversationalist, but he also raised Saladin's suspicious by strengthening the castle's defenses and stocking provisions. At the end of the three months he continued to hedge, inventing excuses not to surrender, until Saladin's patience wore thin; finally on August 13 he went with the Sultan and a large train of *amīr*s and troops to hand over the castle, a scene Bahāʾ ad-Dīn describes in detail.

> They came to ash-Shaqīf and he ordered his men to give up but they refused. He asked for a priest with whom, when he appeared, he conversed in his language. The priest went back in and after his return their resistance grew stronger. It was thought that he had strongly urged the priest to hold out.[77]

Reynald's double-dealing here takes on a unique linguistic turn: In Arabic, he orders the garrison's surrender; in French, he appears to encourage its resistance. Saladin's patience snapped at the garrison's resistance; Reynald was sent to Banyās, where he was tortured, and not released until April of 1190 when the garrison demanded his release in the terms of their surrender.[78] Such a political-

75 Bahāʾ ad-Dīn (see note 64), 90–91.
76 Bahāʾ ad-Dīn (see note 64), 90–91; Ibn al-Athīr, *Al-Kāmil fī l-tārīkh*, Part 2 (see note 59), 361.
77 Bahāʾ ad-Dīn (see note 64), 90–91.
78 Bahāʾ ad-Dīn (see note 64), 90–91, 108.

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linguistic incident had only become possible since knowledge of Arabic had reached the major political leaders of the Latin East.

Reynald and Raymond represent the culmination of the Eastern-born Latin—conversant in Arabic culture as well as language, these high-powered nobles conducted negotiations with Saladin directly on their own behalves, acting as Eastern princes themselves. With the arrival of Conrad of Montferrat and the princes of the Third Crusade, however, Eastern-born nobles lost the strong personal agency seen in the chaotic period of the 1180s; rather than acting individual local potentates, they were absorbed into the entourages of Western leaders to function as intermediaries between more powerful men, a very different role in the new, polarized milieu.

The majority of the remaining Latin leaders panicked after the crippling defeat at Ha īn and the demoralizing loss of Jerusalem in 1189, its surrender negotiated by Balian d'Ibelin, scion of a powerful Latin family and married to Amalric's widow Maria Komnene, directly with Saladin. The Latins had always turned to the West for marriage alliances and military recruits; now they depended on Westerners for their survival. With this shift in reliance came a corresponding shift in the perspective towards intermediaries with Muslims: During its ascendancy, the Kingdom of Jerusalem had become increasingly integrated into the Levantine arena with alliances among the surrounding Muslim polities, and the role of interpreter had expanded into that of ambassador or negotiator as multilingualism became accepted, though probably not particularly common, in the reigning nobility. Under the looming threat of the Ayyūbid alliance under Saladin, association with the Muslim enemy become more suspect, and after the fall of Jerusalem, unaccepted. Language skills like those of Reynald de Sidon and Humphrey IV of Toron were derided by their coreligionists unless turned against Saladin; during the Third Crusade (1191–1192), the only references to their language skills is in the service of Western-born leaders who took over the defense of the Latin East.

3. The Third Crusade (1191–1192)

The sources from 1187–1192 are strongly polarized by political and religious affinity. Ibn al-Athīr discussed Frankish-Ayyūbid relations from a distance, but Bahāʾ ad-Dīn ibn Shaddad and ʿImād ad-Dīn al-Isfāhanī wrote directly from Saladin's tent, working as his secretaries. The Latins are represented only by Western writers: an anonymous crusader in Richard I of England's host wrote the *Itinerarium Peregrinorm et Gesta Regis Ricardum* [The Itinerary of the Pilgrims and Deeds of King Richard], which was reworked by Ambroise, also a Crusader following Richard, as *Estoire de la guerre sainte* [History of the Holy War], a rhymed

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poem. The narratives of the Third Crusade are thus split between adherents of Saladin and Richard, two groups who both came into the Holy Land explicitly to reconquer it; no source represents the native-born Latins.

Summer 1191 found the remains of the Latin army laying siege to Acre, led by Conrad of Montferrat. Originally from northern Italy, Conrad had spent considerable time in Byzantium before coming to join his father in the Levant in 1187. In 1190 he married Isabella of Jerusalem, who had inherited the crown from her sister, Sibylla, making him *de jure* King of Jerusalem with the support of Isabella's stepfather, Balian d'Ibelin, Reynald de Sidon, and other barons of the Latin East with no love for Guy, who had survived his wife and continued to claim the title King of Jerusalem. The armies of Richard I of England and Philip II of France, leaders of the Third Crusade, conjoined on Acre in June, 1191. With the arrival of support from across the sea, a dichotomy also became evident between Western- and Eastern-born Latins, with the latter using their language skills under the leadership of the former.

The siege was long and miserable for both sides. Before the city capitulated out of starvation, Saladin managed to slip supplies into the city by equipping several ships with "Christian symbols" and sailors "imitating the Christians' speech," enabling them to blend in with the besiegers' navy until they darted into the city, boosting the defenders' resistance.[79]

Frustrated, Richard sent an envoy to make terms, with the resulting interaction setting the pattern for the next two years: The envoy, by Saladin's comments a polyglot, approached al-ʿĀdil (also called Saif ad-Dīn, transliterated into Latin as Saphadin), Saladin's brother, who was to take the role of intermediary often, again enacting Friedman's Eastern pattern of diplomacy handled by high-ranking subordinates. Al-ʿĀdil saw the envoy to his brother Saladin, to whom "the envoy delivered his message, the gist of which was that the king of England sought a meeting with the Sultan." Saladin, however, did not care for the suggestion, responding,

> Kings do not meet unless an agreement has been reached. It is not good for them to fight after meeting and eating together. If he wants this, an agreement must be settled before it can happen. We must have an interpreter we can trust to act between us, who can make each of us understand what the other says. Let the envoy be our mutual interpreter. If we come to an agreement, the meeting can happen later, God willing.[80]

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79 *Itinerarium Peregrinorum et Gesta Regis Ricardi* [Itinerary of the Pilgrimage and Deeds of King Richard] (IP), trans. Helen J. Nicholson as *Chronicle of the Third Crusade: A Translation of the* Itinerarium Peregrinorum et gesta Regis Ricardi. Crusade Texts in Translation, 3 (Aldershot, England, and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 1997), 1.43, 97; see also Bahāʾ ad-Dīn and Ibn al-Athīr. As to the relationship between Saladin and other Western leaders, religious people, such as St. Francis of Assisi, and others, see Albrecht Classen's Introduction to this volume.

80 Bahāʾ ad-Dīn (see note 64), 153.

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Richard here tried to follow the standard Western model of peace-making between the leaders concerned, only to be met by Saladin's polite insistence on the Eastern method of intermediaries. This particular instance, however, is representative of the Latin East itself in that the intermediary chosen in this instance was not the high-ranking quasi-hostage discussed by Friedman, but a polyglot interpreter who could move not only between camps but also between cultures, a figure who had become accepted in the Kingdom of Jerusalem. Richard began by trying to impose their traditional methods of peace and war as other Franks fresh to the Levant had earlier; Saladin, a major player in the Levant for decades, responded with the model familiar to the Latin East.

The Sultan himself was not present for the city's surrender in July, although he gave his permission for it; Acre's leaders, Mestoc [Saif al-Dīn ʿAlī ibn Aḥmad al-Mashṭūb] and Caracois [Bahāʾ ad-Dīn Qara-Qūsh al-Asadī], had approached the kings asking for safe passage for a messenger to get this permission, and were probably the "leaders" who "went out to our kings and offered through an interpreter to surrender Acre unconditionally," along with the Holy Cross, captives, and a large sum of money.[81] Neither the author of the *Itinerarium Peregrinorum* nor Ambroise, both Westerners, show any interest in these interpreters; as in the early years of the First Crusade, they saw polyglots as necessary, but not in themselves important.

By November of 1191, Richard had adapted to Levantine diplomatic methods and sent "conscientious noblemen" as "messengers charged with ambassadorial duties" to negotiate with Saladin and al-ʻĀdil. Saladin rejected their initial demands, but sent al-ʻĀdil as his intermediary to discuss the matter with Richard directly and to spin out the negotiations for as long as possible. "Saphadin [al-ʾĀdil] entrapped the overly credulous king with his shrewdness [. . .] so that at last they seemed to develop a sort of mutual friendship," cemented by gifts: "messengers kept running back and forth between them bearing little presents from Saphadin to King Richard," although "his people felt that the king was open to considerable criticism for this, and it was said to be sinful to contact friendship with Gentiles." Gradually Richard caught on to the ruse and began making more active demands, breaking off the contact.[82]

He re-initiated it soon after near Jaffa, when "a series of envoys" came to al-ʿĀdil, offering his sister Joanna in marriage as a peace proposal. Unsurprisingly, Joanna refused, but the offer was simply an opening move; Richard proceeded to drag out the resulting negotiations as a "skillful stratagem" like the one recently used against him.[83]

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81 IP (see note 79), 3.15, 216–217, 3:17, 219; Ambroise (see note 79), lines 5,195–5,220.

82 IP (see note 79) 4.31, 272–74.

83 Ibn al-Athīr, *Al-Kāmil fī'l-tārīkh*, Part 2 (see note 59), 392.

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Saladin, however, was aware of the political tension among the Latin Christians, and made use of the split between Conrad of Montferrat, closely allied with the Latin Eastern faction supporting him and Isabella of Jerusalem, and Richard I, leading the Western relief force and supporting the royal faction around his Poitevin vassal Guy de Lusignan. Eastern-born interpreters found places on both sides of the divide, but had lost the agency Raymond III and Reynald de Sidon demonstrated in their dealings with Saladin before the Westerners' arrival; Arabic-speaking negotiators once again acted as intermediaries between two parties, rather than representing themselves and their own interests.

In late 1191, both Conrad and Richard were in contact with Saladin, who viewed the latter as leading the "Franks from overseas," rather than those native to the Levant.[84] The Sultan conducted drawn-out peace talks with both Latin parties, playing them off each other to extend the negotiations. "Whenever the King of England heard the Marquis' [Conrad's] ambassador was at the Sultan's court he at once [. . .] resumed negotiations for peace, and it was possible to hope that light would dawn on his night of error."[85] In early November, Conrad's envoy reported "that he would make peace with Islam," demanding Sidon and Beirut "in return for showing open hostility to the Franks, marching on Acre, besieging it and taking it from them." Saladin agreed, keeping an envoy from Richard who had approached for peace talks waiting once again.[86]

On November 5, Reynald de Sidon reentered the scene, sending his men to Saladin's camp to represent Conrad in a "series of talks [. . .] the upshot of which was that they cut off their support for the Franks and joined us against them." On the 9th, Reynald "presented himself with several others" for a public reception and a private meeting with Saladin, arguing for his alliance with Conrad. The Ayyūbid condition for peace was "that he should show open hostility to the Franks from overseas [. . .] The sultan offered agreement on certain conditions by which he aimed to cause dissension amongst them and that some of them should suffer a reverse."[87]

Reynald's reentry into Latin-Muslim relations here emphasizes the distinctive role of the high-ranking polyglot. The combination of rank and language skills was not necessary to deal with Saladin; his entourage included interpreters, and had at least since 1187, when ʿImād ad-Dīn, who was probably present, mentions him speaking with Guy de Lusignan and Reynald de Châtillon through an interpreter,

84 Bahāʾ ad-Dīn (see note 64), 194.

85 ʿImād ad-Dīn al-Isfahānī, *al-Fath al-qussi fi l-fath al-qudsi* ["Ciceronian Eloquence on the Conquest of the Holy City"], trans. Francesco Gabrieli, *Storici Arabi Delle Crociate* [Arab Historians of the Crusades],Italian, trans. Routledge and Kegan Paul Ltd. (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1989), 125–39, 240.

86 Bahāʾ ad-Dīn (see note 64), 182.

87 Bahāʾ ad-Dīn (see note 64), 194.

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and Richard's first envoy was a polyglot as well.[88] The choice of Reynald de Sidon over another noble accompanied by an anonymous Arabic-speaking interpreter suggests the combination of his rank and language skill was relevant. His familiarity with Arab-Muslim culture may also have been an important factor; Conrad, the outsider from Northern Italy who had undertaken to lead the Latin Eastern nobles rather than reconquer their territory for them, apparently recognized the significance of a negotiator not only able to communicate with Muslims but also to converse with them intelligently, mediating between cultures as well as languages. Only an Eastern-born Latin noble could fulfill such a role, and Reynald had already demonstrated his abilities.

Two days after Reynald's arrival, however, Saladin and his *amīr*s decided to offer peace to Richard rather than Conrad, feeling that "a sincere friendship of the [local] Franks towards the Muslims, such that they could mix together, was a remote possibility and an association not safe from treachery."[89] Perhaps Reynald, a local Frank who had mixed with Muslims, was somehow representative of the conditions Saladin feared; his acculturation to the Muslim world might easily be mirrored by a Muslim among the Franks.

Despite this decision, no lasting peace was made at the time, and in April of 1192, Reynald's servant Yūsuf began acting as an envoy in his master's place, the first time an intermediary with an Arabic name appears working for Latins, although there is no way to know if he was Muslim, Syrian Christian, or even a Latin "Joseph," his name translated into Arabic by Bahāʾ ad-Dīn. Similar conditions were agreed upon, but the negotiations broke down with Conrad's death in late April.[90] Two assassins who had hidden as Christians in Balian d'Ibelin's and Reynald's entourages cut him down in Tyre; Manaqib Rashīd ad-Dīn claims that Rashīd ad-Dīn Sinān, leader of the Assassins, intending to help Saladin by removing Conrad, had sent two men trained to speak "the Frankish language," giving them Frankish clothing and swords in order to infiltrate the camp.[91] Eight days later Conrad's queen, Isabella I of Jerusalem married once more, to Henry of Champagne, kin to both Richard and Philip II. The marriage avoided factional strife between the Capetian and Angevin Crusaders, and ended the worst of the political division between Eastern and Western Latins, bringing the Kingdom of Jerusalem firmly under Richard's leadership, and Latin

88 ʿImād ad-Dīn (see note 85), 134; Bahāʾ ad-Dīn, who was also with the Sultan frequently, refers to his interpreters as well (Bahāʾ ad-Dīn (see note 64), 36–37, 37, 121–22, 148.) Ambroise (see note 74) also recounts Saladin speaking to the Bishop of Salisbury, leading one of the first groups of pilgrims to Jerusalem, "through interpreters," lines 12,154–12,156; see Bahāʾ ad-Dīn (see note 64), 153 for Richard's first envoy.

89 Bahāʾ ad-Dīn (see note 64), 195.

90 Bahāʾ ad-Dīn (see note 64), 199.

91 ʿImād ad-Dīn (see note 85), 239.

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intermediaries under his control. The agency of the Latin East and its intermediaries was eclipsed by Richard's Crusading intentions.

In September of 1192, however, worn down by persistent illness and concerned with the state of his home territories, Richard reopened negotiations in earnest. Once again al-ʿĀdil was sent with Saladin's permission to negotiate freely, but this time the Arabic-speaking Humphrey IV of Toron, himself from a powerful Eastern family, and Isabella's first husband, set aside in favor of the more dynamic Conrad, acted as Richard's interpreter.[92] Negotiations for peace continued for about a week, with Humphrey "discuss[ing] the matter;" apparently Richard, like Saladin, had stepped back and given his intermediary more power over the negotiations.[93] These negotiations were the last; ʿImād ad-Dīn "helped draw up the treaty and wrote the text," granting the Latins coastal lands from Jaffa to Caesarea and Acre to Tyre, as well as pilgrimage privileges to Jerusalem.[94]

Like the Western-born chroniclers of the First Crusade, those of the Third show no real interest in the details of interpretation and mediation; only the Arabic chroniclers refer to the men involved by name. This may be due to the position of the authors: ʿImād ad-Dīn and Bahāʾ ad-Dīn were present for much of the relevant discussions, whereas Ambroise and the anonymous author the *Itenerarium Peregrinorum* were almost certainly not. However, their interest as opposed to their Latin counterparts may demonstrate an Eastern awareness of the relevance of these noble, cultured intermediaries, as opposed to the Western focus on major leaders.

The interpreters mentioned by the Arabic chronicles continue the pattern already in motion, with high-ranking Latins personally handling negotiations with Saladin, or al-ʿĀdil, who also interacted directly with Richard on behalf of his brother, but curtailed by the control of their Western leaders, just as the Kingdom of Jerusalem had become. Reynald de Sidon was no longer an independent lord dealing with Saladin on roughly equal social, though not political, footing; during the Third Crusade, his personal agency and interests were absorbed by Conrad of Montferrat's leadership. Humphrey IV of Toron served Richard I in a similar way; although he was a powerful lord who might have been King of Jerusalem had he Conrad's drive and political acumen, he, like the rest of the Latin East during the Crusade, fell under the control of Westerners.

While the same class of men continued to act as intermediaries from the height of the Kingdom of Jerusalem to the Third Crusade, the realities of the Levant during the early 1190s altered their role along with the political control of the Kingdom of Jerusalem. Over the course of the twelfth century, Latin nobles born

92 Bahāʾ ad-Dīn (see note 64), 173.

93 Bahāʾ ad-Dīn (see note 64), 179; Manaqib Rashīd ad-Dīn ["Virtues of our Lord Rashīd ad-Dīn"], trans. Francesco Gabrieli, *Arab Historians of the Crusades* (see note 52), Italian, 242–43.

94 ʿImād ad-Dīn (see note 85), 236.

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in the East had gradually become more personally involved and engaged in connections with the Muslims around them, the evolution of the Kingdom of Jerusalem into a Levantine polity, fully integrated into the region, personally as well as politically. With the arrival of Westerners concerned with Latin interests in the Holy Land, particularly Richard I of England, but also Conrad of Montferrat, control of Latin-Muslim relations moved from individual local lords like Raymond III and Reynald de Sidon to the Western leaders, and with it the political leadership of the Kingdom of Jerusalem.

The Franks entered the Levant relying primarily on outsiders to act as intermediaries between the Crusader hosts and the Muslim enemy: Byzantines and Syrians appear to have been the most common interpreters, mediators, and guides, although Bohemond's contingent brought their own Arabic and Greek speakers, most notably Richard of the Principate and Tancred, influential enough to act as negotiators as well. In the early years of the Latin Kingdom, leaders retained their own interpreters, some of them converts, who became known as translators and envoys, though still playing a restricted role, as the Kingdom of Jerusalem gradually integrated into the Levantine milieu. During the political height of the Kingdom, second-generation Eastern-born nobles such as Humphrey II, Raymond III and Reynald de Sidon themselves spoke Arabic, and polyglots shifted from carrying messages to handling negotiations, following the example of Sicilian-born Richard of the Principate and Tancred, and fitting into the mold of mediating courtier demonstrated by the Syrian Usāma Ibn Munqidh.

All of these men were strongly connected to the royal court and family: Humphrey II of Toron was constable of Jerusalem and his grandson, an Arabic speaker who came to prominence during the Third Crusade, married Princess Isabella of Jerusalem; Raymond III served as regent for his second cousin Baldwin IV and retained enough power to be considered a threat to the throne even after his regency ended; Reynald de Sidon married Agnes de Courtenay, Baldwin IV and Isabella's mother. Knowledge of the Arabic language, and with it relationships with Muslims and a strong Eastern identity, reached the highest echelons of Latin society by the last quarter of the twelfth century. The royal connections seen here also imply that more Latin barons could also have acquired such language skills—the Humphreys, Raymond, and Reynald were notable not only for their Arabic knowledge, but for their rank; their contacts with Muslims were dangerous because of their political prominence and strategic lands. Other, less influential figures may have had similar knowledge and experiences, without being considered important enough to be mentioned by name, while other lords relied on the *dragoman*s and other low-level mediating figures in their own cities and lands.

However, with the loss of the city of Jerusalem and the arrival of a host of Westerners in the Third Crusade, the Kingdom of Jerusalem came under the

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control of outsiders like Conrad of Montferrat and Richard I. With it went the agency of nobles like Reynald de Sidon and Humphrey IV of Toron, drifting into the entourages of these new leaders, where they acted not as independent, Eastern lords in their own element, but simply as intermediaries, valued for their linguistic and cultural knowledge, but controlled by the motives of others. In the careers of these men, we can trace the development, rise, and fading of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem as well.

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Chapter 6

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East Meets West and the Problem with Those Pictures

This contribution is about reading or interpreting pictures in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries in *Outremer*—where East meets West and vice versa. My focus is on the latter aspect, since the picture as such is a problematic issue in the Muslim East. I shall argue that the pictures examined here are neither direct unmediated copies of what they represent, nor transparent windows on the world. Their appearance is deceptive, they "conceal arbitrary mechanisms of representation,"[1] and cannot *prima vista* be taken as pictorial testimony for a "shared culture" or "assimilation."

Therefore, I do not discuss pictures as art, thus abstaining from ideas of beauty, taste, artistry, and style. However, (too) many medieval historians consider pictures merely as artful illustrations and hesitate to accept their intrinsic value as visual documentation.[2] By the same token pictures are often extracted from their native context, used as stand-alone images, and interpolated into a new narrative context. This manipulation of pictures is well exemplified with a late thirteenth-century miniature of a *Histoire Universelle* showing how the *Amazons take revenge for their barons, sons and friends* (Fig. 1). However, in a history book on the crusades, the event is described as "Women helping besiege a city as at the siege of Acre 1190."[3] Whereas the theme of fiercely fighting Amazons potentially relates to

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1 See W. J. T. Mitchell, "What is an Image?," *New Literary History* 15 (1984): 503–37; here 504.

2 This is the expanded version of my paper entitled "East Meets West: The Pictures," given at the *Symposium on East Meets West in the Middle Ages and Early Modern Time*, the *10th International Symposium on Medieval and Early Modern Studies at the University of Arizona*, Tucson, May 3–6, 2012, organized by Prof. Albrecht Classen, Department of German Studies. I am very grateful for a travel grant from the Senate of Victoria University in the University of Toronto that allowed me to participate in and to contribute to that conference.

3 London, British Library, Ms Add. 15268, fol. 101v. "Coment les dames de scite alerent vengier lor

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crusade-related ideas, the picture is quoted to exemplify specifically the role of fighting women to prevent the fall of Acre in *Outremer*.[4] Similarly, another miniature of the same manuscript seems to witness the harmonious blending of Muslims and Christians in a crusader household (Fig. 2). However, it actually describes the Old Testament episode of the *Meeting Between Judith and Holofernes*.[5] Moreover, it is a conflation of two scenes based on an earlier iconographic model, namely the miniatures in the so-called Arsenal Bible (Fig. 3).[6]

Obviously, we ought to understand these pictures according to their *original context*, purpose, and inherent traditions and see them as testimonies of an existential visual exchange of people—a complex endeavor, indeed. Thus, in modern terms, we have to perceive pictures not as art, but as what we now label as material culture, agency, and then anthropological issues as they are intricately related to and reflect life. The crucial question is, of course, how do pictures reveal, if ever, this vital context? Interpreting these visual records means entering treacherous grounds: nothing is what it seems to be. This is especially true for *pictures* which always represent what actually is absent. They are fiction; sometimes, but not always, based on actual events. To complicate matters, medieval pictures always hinge on multiple contexts, they are bound to the purpose and conventions of the medium that carries them. Moreover, they cannot be disconnected from oral traditions, namely texts and words from both the secular and the religious domains—from *outside* the picture. The isolated picture is a hybrid; it can only be understood if tied to textual and oral frameworks existing outside itself.

Not surprisingly, the textual testimonies witnessing the religious, official realm of Western patrons in the crusader East are mostly negative. For the twelfth and the thirteenth centuries in the Levant we largely depend on the chronicles of Jerusalem-born Archbishop William of Tyre, his *History of Outremer*, written before 1187, and the *Historia orientalis* of Jacques de Vitry, Archbishop of Acre between

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barons et lor fiz et lor amis." See Christopher Tyerman, *God's War: A New History of the Crusades* (Cambridge, MA: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2006), 415, and fig. 11.

4 Anne Derbes and Mark Sandona "Amazons and Crusaders: The Histoire Universelle in Flanders and the Holy Land," *France and the Holy Land: Frankish Culture at the End of the Crusades*, ed. Daniel H. Weiss and Lisa Mahoney (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2004), 187–229, passim, and David Jacoby, "La littérature française dans les états latins de la Méditerranée orientale à l'époque des croisades: diffusion et création," *Essor et fortune de la chanson de geste dans l'Europe et l'Orient latin. Actes du IXe Congres International de la Societé Rencesvals pour l'Étude des Épopées Romanes*, Padua-Venice, 1982, ed. Alberto Limentani (Modena: Mucchi Editore, 1984): 617–46. Reprinted in David Jacoby, *Studies on the Crusader States and on Venetian Expansion* (Northampton: Variorum Reprints, 1989), II: 617–46; here 631–33.

5 London, British Library, Ms Add. 15268, fol. 181r.

6 Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, MS 5211, fol. 252r; see Daniel H. Weiss, *Art and the Crusade in the Age of Saint Louis* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), passim, and fig. 44.

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1216 and 1225, to name a few. Both primates see Islam as an aberration and a distortion of Christianity, and they see those Westerners who adopt the Levantine lifestyle as "sinful sons, and falsifiers of the Christian faith," who spend more time in the bath house than on the battle field.[7] According to Jacques de Vitry the city of Acre is:

> like a monster or a beast, having nine heads, each fighting the other. There were at that place Jacobites with their archbishop, who in the manner of Jews were circumcising their children and revealed their sins in confession to no one except to God . . . . I gave a sermon to them in their church through an interpreter who knew how to speak the language of the Saracens . . . . Moreover, I found the Syrians to be traitors and very corrupt men, for having been brought up among the Saracens, they had adopted their bad character, and some of them, who had been bribed, revealed the secrets of Christianity to the Saracens. Because they administered the sacraments with leavened bread according to the Greek manner, they scorned our sacraments which we administered with unleavened bread, to such extent that they refused to respect them or [even] to bow their heads towards them when the Holy Body of the Lord was brought by our priests for the sick . . . . Although their priests wore [clerical] headgear, they dressed their hair in the manner of lay people. These priests took wives after the fashion of the Greeks, and they did not allow their lay people to marry for a third time. Through the grace of God they were so struck by conscience that both their bishop and his followers manifested their obedience to me and promised me faith.[8]

No doubt, this bitter grumble, to whom it may concern, thoroughly reflects the mind of Jacques de Vitry and his clerical contemporaries. However, apart from its potentially amusing tenor to the modern reader, it also mirrors what was *actually* happening much to Jacques's chagrin: that is, the mingling of Western and Eastern attitudes which escaped the clerical power and control.

Accordingly, many pictures reflecting this attitude are political propaganda disguised as eyewitness testimony. How, then, were these ungodly people depicted, Saracens and traitors alike? Pliny's *Historia naturalis* (ca. 77 C.E.) and Isidor of Sevilla's *Etymologiae* (ca. 622–633) provided a convenient answer: their M*arvels of the East* were turned into Christian nightmares, namely the moralizing pictures of *Monstrous Races*, such as in the lintel and the boxes of the archivolt in the main portal of the abbey church of Vézelay, approximately from the 1130s (Figs. 4, 5). Among them are pygmies, *Panotii*, the people with large ears, the dog-eared *Cynocephali*, sciapodes, and the *Sciritae* with snake-like nostrils and serpentine legs.[9] Godless they are, and therefore permanently and severely

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7 Barbara Zeitler, "'Sinful Sons, Falsifiers of the Christian Faith': The Depiction of Muslims in a 'Crusader' Manuscript," *Mediterranean Historical Review* 12 (1997): 25–50; here 46.

8 I quote this passage after Maria Georgopoulou, "The Artistic World of the Crusaders and Oriental Christians in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries," *Gesta* 43 (2004): 115–28; here 124.

9 Adolf Katzenellenbogen, "The Central Tympanum at Vézelay: Its Encyclopedic Meaning and Its

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disfigured, blind, deaf, and mute. According to Adolf Katzenellenbogen, the abbey church and its sculptural decoration reflect contemporary historical events. After pope Urban had preached the First Crusade in Clermont in December 1095, Saint Bernard promulgated the Second Crusade in Vézelay in the year 1146. At that occasion, King Louis VII took the cross, and the Kings Philip Augustus and Richard the Lionheart started here for the Third Crusade. Therefore, it seems that the tympanum carries an ambivalent message; on the one hand it celebrates the Biblical *Mission of the Apostles*, on the other it parallels this assignment with current political and societal issues, namely the mission of the crusaders in apostolic terms.[10] A similar idea, so it seems, was illustrated on the last folio of a Bible from the monastery of St. Mary and St. Nicholas at Arnstein on the Lahn in Germany, written by a certain monk Lunandus in 1172.[11] It is an addendum to the Bible and for no good or documented reason labeled as a *Crusader handbook*.[12] However, similarly to the reliefs in Vézelay, it may have served mentally to prepare the pilgrims for the horrific infidel realm in *Outremer* with graphic pictures of atrocious abnormalities and disfigurements of the infidels (Fig. 6).

Even more eloquently, the mid-thirteenth-century English monk Matthew Paris of Saint-Alban contributed to our knowledge of the Western encounter with the East in his *Chronica majora*.[13] According to Suzanne Lewis,

> Probably based on firsthand accounts given by the earl of Cornwall at St. Albans after his return, the pictures and text in the *Chronica Majora* vividly detail the lavish entertainments performed at Frederick's court: "Among the astonishing novelties, he praised and admired one more than the others: two Saracen girls of fine form stood upon four spheres placed upon the floor, one on two balls and the other on the other

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Relation to the First Crusade," *The Art Bulletin* 26 (1944): 141–51. For the history of these "Marvels of the East" from Pliny to the "Fabulous Races Moralized," see Rudolf Wittkower, "Marvels of the East: A Study in the History of Monsters," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 5 (1942): 159–97; and Eugene S. McCartney, "Modern Analogues to Ancient Tales of Monstrous Races," *Classical Philology* 36 (1941): 390–94.

10 Adolf Katzenellenbogen, "The Central Tympanum at Vézelay" (see note 9), 149. Katzenellenbogen's interpretation of the monstrous races in Vézelay was not left undisputed; see Anne Derbes, "A Crusading Fresco Cycle at the Cathedral of Le Puy," *The Art Bulletin* 73 (1991): 561–76; here 561, n. 3.

11 British Library, MS Harley 2799, fol. 243r.

12 See *Die Zeit der Staufer: Geschichte – Kunst – Kultur*, catalogue (Stuttgart: Württembergisches Landesmuseum, 1977), vol. 1, no. 716. The interpretation of this page as a "crusader handbook," as far as I can see, first appears in Henry Luttikhuizen and Dorothy Verkerk, *Snyder's Medieval Art: Second Edition* (Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice Hall, 2006), fig. 13–36 without any further references or explanation. Another interesting illumination in this respect is the map of the world with Jerusalem at its center, surrounded by the *Monstrous Races* in an English Psalter (ca. 1265), London, BL Additional MS 28681, fol. 9r; see Alixe Bovey, *Monsters and Grotesques in Medieval Manuscripts* (Toronto: The University of Toronto Press, 2002), figs. 10 and 11.

13 *Matthaei Paris Chronica Maiora* II, Parker Library, Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 16.

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> two, and they danced across these spheres to and fro . . . and indeed they offered a marvelous spectacle."[14]

This entertaining event to exhibit exotic Eastern dancers for Western patrons was celebrated at the court of Frederick II. It is doubtful, however, whether this performance stands for a benevolent, cross-cultural appeasement between East and West. In all likelihood this was a forced, "cultural" one-way exchange, because one may assume that these dancers were no free-lance entertainers, but had been "imported" against their will, probably as booty, or part of a Saracen human gift package.[15] In general, it shows the appreciation of Oriental exoticism in the West. More specifically, it also celebrates the temporary reconciliation of the Saracens and Richard of Cornwall with the truce of Ascalon in 1241.[16]

Reflecting a much different historical background, namely the invasion of the Mongols, the enemy of both Christian and Moslems, Matthew Paris relates a frightful version of the dreadful "other," the Tartars, founded on verbose reports of their horrible ravages. Based on a letter from Bishop Ivo of Narbonne, Matthew Paris notes that "a monstrous tribe of inhuman men, whose law is lawlessness, whose wrath is fury, the rod of God's race, is passing through and dreadfully ravaging endless lands," and continues with a gory description of their bad eating habits, as they:

> fed upon their carcasses as if they were bread and left nothing but the bones for the vultures . . . . The old and ugly women were given to the cannibals . . . as their daily allowance of food; those who were beautiful were not eaten, but were suffocated by mobs of ravishers in spite of all their cries and lamentations. Virgins were raped until they died of exhaustion; then their breasts were cut off to be kept as dainties for their chiefs, and their bodies furnished an entertaining banquet for the savages . . . .[17]

Matthew's horrific tale compiled from various sources is then followed by the picture of those *nephandi tartari vel tattari humanis carnibus vescentes (*nefarious Tartars or Tattars eating human flesh), linking them to the Antichrist, Gog and Magog (Fig. 7).[18] Needless to mention that neither the text nor the corresponding picture are based on actual experience. The latter is a carefully orchestrated concoction of oral reports, various pictorial sources, and invention. The

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14 Suzanne Lewis, *The Art of Matthew Paris in the Chronica Majora* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987), 281, fig. 176.

15 For mutual gifts between Christian and Muslim leaders, see the illuminating article by Anthony Cutler, "Everywhere and Nowhere: The Invisible Muslim and Christian Self-Fashioning in the Culture of Outremer," *France and the Holy Land* (see note 4), 253–81, passim.

16 Lewis, *The Art of Matthew Paris* (see note 14), 280.

17 Quoted according to Lewis, *The Art of Matthew Paris* (see note 14): 286.

18 *Matthaei Paris Chronica Maiora* II, Parker Library, Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 16, fol. 166. Lewis, *The Art of Matthew Paris,* (see note 14), 287, fig. 180.

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decapitation is an established topos not only in medieval iconography, and the picture of a rearing horse above the woman bound with her hair to a tree with the inscription *Equi tattarorum qui sunt rapacissimi cum desunt uberiora pabula frondibus et foliis necnon et corticibus arborum sunt contenti (*When the ferocious horses of the Tartars lack better pastures, they are content to eat tree branches and leaves, and even the bark*)*, is based on earlier reports. The feasting on human legs and arms may also have been of a stock repertory, since it also features in a contemporary *Romance of Alexander* manuscript depicting Gog and Magog.[19] No doubt, like the peel of an onion, the picture is more complex than it seems to be, revealing an intricate relationship between oral and pictorial traditions, fiction and reality, now feeding the imagination of the viewer, and meant to be a truthful record of these events.

The same pseudo eyewitness mode, but now for a more general, public domain, is applied to a mid-fourteenth-century miniature of a luxury edition of the *Chroniques de France* illustrating how some Saracen deserters request to be baptized under the protection of Sir John of Acre (before 1285) (Fig. 8).[20] The humble Christians-to-be are chased by their angry, sword wielding fellow Muslims. The picture is an immediate illustration of the text written above, "witnesssing" *comment mesire jehan dacre bouteiller de france qui faisoit le guet daucuns sarrazins qui reqroient le baptesme*.[21] In modern terms, it pretends to give a documentary account of this memorable chivalrous event. There is a remarkable attempt for an authentic *reality* given the careful distinction of Western and Eastern outfits. The Frankish clean-shaven knights on horseback are carefully contrasted with those humble, bearded, bare-footed, dark-skinned Muslims with head bands, and dropping their spears: a visual celebration of John of Acre's personal pride, of victory, humiliation, and integration. If Matthew Paris's tartar barbecue testifies to crude propaganda, this pictorial record excels by its attempt for truth and authenticity in a novel type of historical literature which was meant to be read by both those who lived and experienced the crusades in *Outremer*, and those "armchair crusaders" who enjoyed these fabulous *adventures* from a safe distance in France, Italy or Cyprus.

Whereas the images in Vézelay, the so-called crusader handbook, and those in Matthew Paris's *Chronica Majora* promote fiction as reality, this particular miniature in the *Chroniques de France* is a relatively new attempt to mirror the

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19 Lewis, *The Art of Matthew Paris,* (see note 14), 287–88, fig. 181. The *Romance of Alexander* in Cambridge, Trinity College, MS O. 9. 34, fol. 23v.

20 British Library, Royal 16 G VI, fol. 442r. *Chroniques de France ou de Saint Denis*. (mid- fourteenth century). See Anne D. Hedeman, *The Royal Image: Illustrations of the Grandes Chroniques de France, 1274–1422* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991), 213–21.

21 "How Sire John of Acre, butler of France, is on the lookout for some Saracens who request to be baptized."

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world of its viewer—or so it seems.[22] In spite of the realistic mise-en-scène of this conversion under hazardous conditions in progress—how do we know whether this event, so convincingly portrayed and then emphasized in the text, ever happened in fact? May be this scene is part of a larger scheme, such as what Robert Burns called the "Thirteenth-Century Dream of Conversion."[23] The strategy of conversion was thus promoted by Pope Urban II: "strive by word and example, God helping, to convert the infidels to the faith,"[24] and Jacques de Vitry claimed that some but not all Muslims "if they heard the doctrine, they would easily be converted."[25] Then, there is the extraordinary conversion of the noble Abd al-Aziz, probably a relative of the Sultan of Tunis, who was to be baptized when he arrived in Rome.[26] Benjamin Kedar, too, emphasizes that "Conversion of the Muslim enemy was an important component of the *fantasy world of the western knight*, and contemporary literature tells time and again of the yearning to convert a Muslim rival to Christianity or of the desire to lead a beautiful Muslim maiden to the baptismal font."[27] Alas, there are no maidens in the *Chroniques* miniature, but it celebrates the *bouteiller* de France how he—thanks to his chivalrous attitude and as a dedicated *crucesegnatus*—gracefully receives the Muslims into his camp to be baptized. However, this reference to current knightly conversion fantasies does not yet exhaust all possible interpretations of this picture.

To complicate matters, this miniature, so prominently displayed in the *Chroniques*, may have carried very specific political connotations. The informed and educated mind of the contemporary reader certainly would recall, as reported by Albert of Aachen in his well-known *Liber christianae expeditionis pro ereptione, emundatione et restitutione sanctae Hierosolymitanae ecclesiae (*Book of the Christian expedition for the taking, purification, and restitution of the holy Church of Jerusalem), how Godfrey de Bouillon, the famous defender of the Holy Sepulchre, persuaded a Muslim ally to convert at the battle of Ascalon (1099).[28] By the same token, William of Tyre makes us believe that Baldwin I, one of the first rulers of the Latin kingdom Jerusalem, baptized a Muslim and Christened him with his

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22 It should be added that many drawings in Matthew Paris's chronicle portray reality to an astounding and detailed degree, but the same is not true for those pictures involving our theme.

23 Robert Ignatius Burns, S. J., "Christian-Islamic Confrontation in the West: The Thirteenth-Century Dream of Conversion," *The American Historical Review* 76 (1971): 1386–1434, passim.

24 Burns, "Christian-Islamic Confrontation in the West" (see note 23), 1389.

25 Burns, "Christian-Islamic Confrontation in the West" (see note 23), 1390.

26 Burns, "Christian-Islamic Confrontation in the West" (see note 23), 1392.

27 Benjamin Z. Kedar, "Multidirectional Conversion in the Frankish Levant," *Varieties of Religious Conversion in the Middle Ages*, ed. James Muldoon (Gainsville, Tallahassee, et al.: University Press of Florida, 1997): 190–99, 194. For Albertus Aquensis, see Kedar, "Multidirectional Conversion" (see note 27), 196, n. 1, 4. My emphasis.

28 Kedar, "Multidirectional Conversion" (see note 27), 191.

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own name.[29] Was John of Acre competing or lining himself up with these glorious deeds?

Of course, there is no certain answer to these questions. As is typical for medieval pictures, they remain ambivalent and open for various readings according to the mind of the beholder; and even if accounting for their pseudo-documentary context, they cannot be taken as truthful evidence in modern terms. One also should keep in mind that this picture was not just a snapshot of an event. Within the text-dominated frame of the *Chroniques*, it was carefully chosen to illuminate and spark the reader's mind with a multiplicity of events, tales and legends.[30]

At this point we must insert some more general remarks concerning the phenomenon of pictures around 1300. The major "problem with those pictures" here is two-fold: *why pictures at all* at that time, and then, the issue is not the stand-alone picture, its art, style, iconography, or prototypes, but the *medium* within which it appears, and simultaneously the diversity of its mostly secular clients or consumers. The issue of *why pictures at all*, is one of those good questions—therefore as yet unexplained—relating to the emerging need for *non-Biblical*, so to speak vernacular, pictures in the second half of the thirteenth century in Italy and France; or was it France and Italy?[31] I think that both *secular* commissioners and artists—it is impossible to determine who came first, except for the monetary side of a commission—were the driving force for many novelties, among them the new literary genres and the desire for illustrations as seen in the *Chroniques*, *Histoires Universelles*, and *Histoires d'Outremer*. However, the pictorial or illustrative solutions "truly" describing this experience—whether it was first- or second-hand is often unclear—were lagging behind our modern criteria and historical insight (which are subject to changes). In other words; those pictures with their erratic and fragmented reality did not yet mirror reality coherently. They were compilations, resorting whenever possible to stock pictorial models.

But to a certain extent they also began to depict *actual experience*, as seemingly visualized in the miniature of the *Chroniques de France* mentioned above.[32] These

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29 Kedar, "Multidirectional Conversion" (see note 27): 191.

30 For this issue, see Hayden White, "The Value of Narrativity in the Representation of Reality," *Critical Inquiry* 7 (1980): 5–27, passim.

31 Certainly a development that parallels the use of the vernacular language in the thirteenth century.

32 For a critical evaluation of these *Chroniques*, see Hedeman, The Royal Image (see note 20), passim. Another quite exceptional manuscript in this respect is the so-called *Morgan Picture Bible* in the Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, MS M. 638, most likely produced around 1250 in northern France, see Allison Stones, "Questions of Style and Provenance in the Morgan Bible," *Between the Picture and the Word: Manuscript Studies from the Index of Christian Art*, ed. Colum Hourihane (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2005): 112–21, passim. Certainly, an issue to be explored further.

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pictures, fabulous amalgamations of signs, fiction and fragmented reality, not only triggered the *memories* of reality of those who had been in *Outremer*, but, more importantly, titillated the *imagination* of those who had not been or were no longer there. This is, of course, not only a medieval conundrum, but a modern one as well. The reality of the picture—better: the reality suggested by the picture—virtually materializes in the viewer's mind; it doesn't exist in the picture itself, which remains an image or two-dimensional facsimile of a *mental* multi-dimensional experience or some wishful projection.[33] In sum, many of the pictures of the *Chroniques* and *Histoires d'Outremer* did not yet authentically portray reality, and in most cases could not attempt to do so in modern terms. Instead, they superficially insinuated reality in fictitious terms, anchored within their medium, oral tradition, and the restrictions of their time.

This, of course, questions the credibility and authenticity of pictures in our terms, at that time—which are difficult, if at all, to determine. A puzzle with too many missing pieces, since the complex historical reality of the cultural interplay between East and West during the time of the Crusades will never be known completely. Metaphorically, the blind pictures follow their one-eyed version of history which was definitely much more complex than according to the past and current polarization between Christian and Islamic identities.

Can this reality be fathomed by the "evidence" of the pictorial testimony of that time, more specifically of the crusades, the clash between West and East par excellence? There are scarcely any medieval and modern pictures that are more tainted by ideology and politics, turning fiction into facts, and vice versa, than those related to the Crusades which, according to Christopher Tyerman, belong to the "most familiar, if misunderstood, of all medieval phenomena."[34] It is equally phenomenal, I should like to footnote, that this crucial but controversial period roughly from the end of the eleventh to the fourteenth centuries, only occupies about half a page out of 1088 pages of Gardner's *Art Through The Ages*, and is barely mentioned in *Janson's History of Art: The Middle Ages*.[35] Anyway, how then, and where do we look at *Outremer* in order to make viable assumptions or draw

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33 After all, pictures "take shape" in the body's mind since they are *imagines*. One may always object that there is no perfect reality in a picture—and, of course, not even in a mirror, because the latter always presents a (reversed) picture. In spite of its perfect rendering, in search of finding ourselves, we would touch not our own body but the surface of picture, the mirror.

34 Tyerman, *God's War* (see note 3), xv.

35 See Fred S. Kleiner, *Gardner's Art Through the Ages. A Global History*. 13th ed. (1926; Wadsworth: Thomson, 2009), 442 (half page); on page 362 the Freer Canteen is mentioned under the headline "Christian Patronage of Islamic Art," *Janson's History of Art: The Western Tradition. The Middle Ages*, ed. Penelope J. E. Davies et al. 7th ed. (1962; Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice Hall, 2007), the term is mentioned on pp. 29 and 347. In my view, the conscientious suppression of this period is most likely the result of the "politically correct" framework of both text books. Ironically, the cover of the latter edition shows the baptistery of Pisa, a crusade-related monument par excellence.

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reasonable conclusions regarding that remote reality, and especially the relationships between East and West? The choice of perspective is already part of the expected negative or positive answer. What about the lives of *Outremer* noble French families? Up to what extent did they mingle not only with local Muslims, but also with the growing presence of Oriental Christians, for example in Acre? According to David Jacoby:

> Contacts were also furthered by the absence of enforced residential segregation of which there is no trace in Acre, contrary to what has often been claimed. The Latins acquired in that context some spoken Arabic. In addition, Arabic was introduced into Frankish households by the marriage of Latins with baptized Muslim or with Oriental Christian women, as well as by the employment of indigenous servants, wet-nurses, and slaves . . . . The Franks were also receptive to other elements proper to Eastern material culture. They used Eastern artifacts, such as ceramics, brasses, glassware, jewellery, and textiles, manufactured in line with Oriental traditions in the Levant and farther east, provided these lacked any adverse cultural connotation.[36]

This rather unorthodox historical evaluation opens new windows of historical interpretation—and, as I believe, way beyond Acre.[37] To a certain extent it discharges the traditional East-West or Christian-Islam polarities and allows for a more distinguished and impartial view taking into account the real life circumstances at the time. Of course, now the question arises: how do the historical *pictures* reflect, if at all, the real life or this societal amalgamation? Do they equally visually mirror the "evidence of ever-harmonious relations between Muslims and Christians in Outremer, the 'symbiose pacifique'"?[38]

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[36] David Jacoby, "Society, Culture, and the Arts in Crusader Acre," *France and the Holy Land: Frankish Culture at the End of the Crusades*, ed. Daniel H. Weiss and Lisa Mahoney (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2004): 97–137; here 107–08. David Jacoby, "Aspects of Life in Frankish Acre," *Crusades* 4 (2005): 75–105; here 95. See also Maria Georgopolou, "Orientalism and Crusader Art: Constructing a New Canon," *Medieval Encounters: Jewish, Christian and Muslim Culture in Confluence and Dialogue* 5 (1999): 289–321; here 291, and Ernst Kitzinger, "The Byzantine Contribution to Western Art of the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 20 (1966): 25–47; here 34–35.

[37] See also the illuminating account of Robert Igantius Burns, S. J., "Baths and Caravanserais in Crusader Valencia," *Speculum* 46 (1971): 443–58, regarding the mingling of Muslim and Christian life in the sūqs of Spain. On p. 443 he writes: "Mudejar communities, when not sharing the Christians' utilities, operated their own in much the same fashion. The Eslida surrender charter specified mills, ovens, baths, and fonduks; the tax on each continued to be the portion of revenue previously given under Islamic rule. At Valencia these utilities clustered together with prison, butchery, and main mosque along the eastern side of the Mudejar quarter, *where shops and caravanserai were convenient also to non-Muslims*." My emphasis. See also Christopher MacEvitt, *The Crusades and the Christian World of the East: Rough Tolerance*. The Middle Ages Series (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008), passim.

[38] Cutler, "Everywhere and Nowhere" (see note 15), 273.

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Let me now present various pictorial reflections of this exchange and see whether and how they illuminate the stage where East met West or vice versa around 1300. I shall present some paradigmatic examples from manuscript illuminations, luxurious metal vessels, and panel paintings. Their commissioners ranked among the highest royalty and aristocracy in France and Cyprus. They chose to amalgamate elements of heterogeneous Eastern realms with their Western heritage—according to their desires which were changing and expanding through contact with what is labeled by some as the foreign *other*. One should keep in mind, however, that the appearance of pictures in each of these media was defined by characteristics and restrictions pertaining to their context, i. e., their respective purpose and function.

Firstly, I would like to introduce Charles of Anjou (1226–1285), brother of King Louis IX the Saint, king of Sicily and titular king of Jerusalem, and powerful ally of Pope Nicholas III (1277–1280). As shown in an exceptionally large page initial executed around 1279, he received the comprehensive Arabic treatise on medicine written by Rhazes (865–925) from the Sultan of Tunis, a former vassal to Sicily (Fig. 9).[39] Like medieval movie stills it describes, from top right to left, how the Sultan hands the *Al Hawi* text to the ambassadors of Charles I of Anjou who accepts the book. Below, Charles summons his Sicilian-Jewish physician Faraj ben Salim (ca. 1279), who is then portrayed translating the work into Latin. On the one hand, no doubt, this picture attests to the sophisticated exchange of knowledge between East and West on a royal level. On the other, in all probability, it also documents and commemorates this gift with political undertones: a submissive gesture, or a tribute of the Sultan to Charles I of Anjou. In any respect, the fact remains that both the Sultan and Charles treasured this Arab medical encyclopedia as a valuable token. It is tempting to see this isolated example as the tip of an iceberg, one reflecting the personal exchanges of valuable artefacts, among them illustrated books, between Eastern and Western sovereigns as gifts, at the highest royal, as well as on lesser aristocratic levels.[40]

Beyond this particular episode one should recall that Arab physicians and mathematicians were highly esteemed not only in southern Italy—the former

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39 Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, lat. 6912, vol. 1, fol. iv, *Havi seu continens. Faraj ben Salim interpretatio*. Naples 1279–1282. François Avril and Marie Thérèse Gousset, *Manuscrits enluminés d'origine italienne (Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale*, 1984), vol. 2, plate CXIII; see also Jens T. Wollesen, "Sub specie ludi . . . . Text and Images in Alfonso el Sabio's Libro de Acedrex, Dados e Tablas," *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 55 (1990): 277–308; here 296, fig. 14. The *Al Hawi* text, a comprehensive treatise on medicine, was written by the Persian theologian, alchemist and physician Muhammad ibn Zakaiya Razi (ca. 865–925); the legend goes that, while writing this work day and night for fifteen years, al-Razi lost his eyesight and his hand became paralyzed.

40 For the role of gifts as a cultural exchange, see Cutler, "Everywhere and Nowhere" (see note 15), passim.

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domain of King Frederick II—but also at the court of King Alfonso X the Wise (1221–1284), King of Castile and León. Similar to Frederick II, Alfonso established a school of translators consisting of Christian, Muslim, and Jewish scholars who proliferated the Arab science in Latin and, more importantly, in Castilian translations, such as in his lavishly illustrated *Cántigas de Santa Maria*[41] (Fig. 10) and the *Libro de acedrex, dados e tablas* (ca. 1283, *the book on chess, dice and tables*) (Figs. 11–12). Especially the latter documents the Arab sources of the games and suggests that these were equally enjoyed and discussed by Eastern and Western players.[42] *Prima vista* these pictures seem to confirm the smooth amalgamation of East and West at the time. However, we know that Castilian Christians were firmly convinced of the religious as well as the legal inferiority of Muslims and Jews.[43] For the latter, Albert Bagby Jr. revealed that:

> Evidently, Alfonso's experience with the Jews was less than satisfactory. For where in the *Cántigas* is the Jew of Alfonso's court? Why has the Jew who had done so much for Spanish society, and for the King personally in his renaissance of learning, been neglected in the king's poems? The double standard of Alfonsine sentiment toward the Jew—that is, the high regard he had for the scientific, legalistic, and other erudite and cultural contributions of this people as opposed to his prejudice, fear and scorn for them—is amplified by legal evidence. In the *Siete Partidas*, the king made it clear that this minority group was not to be accorded rights and privileges equal to those of his Christian subjects. *High regard for Jewish capabilities was reserved for a mere handful of individuals useful to the King in his erudite and scientific activities*.[44]

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41 Madrid, Real Bibl. del Escorial, Ms. T.I.1; Cántigas 169.

42 Madrid, Real Bibl. del Escorial, j. T. 6. Fol., fols. 13v, 22r.

43 Albert I. Bagby, Jr., "The Jew in the Cántigas of Alfonso X, El Sabio," *Speculum* 46 (1971): 670–88. John Esten Keller, "Daily Living as Presented in the Canticles of Alfonso The Learned," *Speculum* 33 (1958): 484–89. L[eonard] P[atrick] Harvey, "The Alfonsine School of Translators: Translations from Arabic into Castilian Produced under the Patronage of Alfonso The Wise of Castile (1221–1252–1284)," *The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland* 1 (1977): 109–17.

44 Bagby, "The Jew in the Cántigas" (see note 43), 688. My emphasis. For the compilation of the Alfonsine Tables, the king employed Jewish scholars such as Isaac ben Sid and Jehuda ben Moses Cohen, see Evelyn Stefanos Procter, "The Scientific Work of the Court of Alfonso X of Castile: The King and His Collaborators," *The Modern Language Review* 40 (1945): 12–29; here 16. See also Procter, "The Scientific Work of the Court of Alfonso X of Castile," 27: "Jews were the usual intermediaries between Muslim and Christian scholars. That Jews played a predominant part in Alfonso's scientific works is incontestable." See also the essays in *Alfonso X of Castile: The Learned King (1221–1248): An International Symposium, Harvard University, 17 November 1984*, ed. Francisco Marquez-Villanueva and Carlos Alberto Vega. Harvard Studies in Romance Languages, 43 (Cambridge, MA: Department of Romance Languages and Literatures of Harvard University, 1990), in general on the Arab influence in the West and Spain in particular. See also the contribution to this volume by Connie Scarborough.

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He is seconded by Leonard Harvey who writes:

> These miniatures are so attractive in themselves that even if we were to scan through them with lightning speed we would still run the risk of never reaching my main theme, which is the profound contradiction implicit in the achievements of Alfonso X and the translators and scholars who worked under his patronage.[45]

Are these pictures (and numerous others), then, the wishful projection of Alfonso el Sabio's societal utopia, or a fiction turned into a pictorial reality? Did the end, the scientific inquisitiveness, justify the means, namely the employment of Arab and Jewish scientists? It is certainly significant in this respect that, as far as we know, no other copy was made of this manuscript.[46] In any event, the authenticity or the reality of these images is deceiving, and they cannot be used to testify to an actual social coexistence between Arabs, Jews and Christians without conflicts.

Let me now abandon the book-oriented East-West dissemination of knowledge in favor of Islamic metalwork, exaltations of material luxury made for daily and ceremonial use.[47] This is not only a switch in terms of an art historical media classification, but a significant *iconic turn* toward a different world inhabited by patrons, artisans, and clients, all of them bound together by daily life, trade, the exchange of gifts, the appreciation of luxury goods, as well as of their material value and sometimes exotic provenance. Their distributions as gifts is an important, though neglected, issue addressed by Anthony Cutler who reminds us that:

> . . . it is clear that the Mediterranean was covered by a gift network, following or even preceding patterns of commercial exchange, that brought luxuries to all who participated in the diplomatic game and *independent of their confessional affiliation or ethnic origin*."[48] The pictorial decorations of these vessels, which must not be disjointed from their medium, are traditionally categorized as "minor arts."[49]

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45 Harvey, "The Alfonsine School of Translators" (see note 43): 109.

46 Bagby, "The Jew in the Cantigas" (see note 43), 670–88. Wollesen, "Sub specie ludi . . ." (see note 39), 277–308.

47 Eva Hoffman, "Pathways of Portability: Islamic and Christian Interchange from the Tenth to the Twelfth Century" *Art History* 24 (2001): 17–50. Eva Hoffman, "Christian-Islamic Encounters on Thirteenth-Century Ayyubid Metalwork: Local Culture, Authenticity, and Memory," *Gesta* 43 (2004): 129–42. Ranee A. Katzenstein and Glenn D. Lowry, "Christian Themes in Thirteenth-Century Islamic Metalwork," *Muqarnas* 1 (1983): 53–68; Eva Baer, *Metalwork in Medieval Islamic Art* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1983), passim. Laura T. Schneider, "The Freer Canteen," *Ars Orientalis* 9 (1973): 137–56. For the varying role of metal precious objects in *Outremer* see Cutler, "Everywhere and Nowhere" (see note 15), passim.

48 Cutler, "Everywhere and Nowhere" (see note 15), 262. My emphasis.

49 According to Katzenstein and Lowry, "Thirteenth-Century Islamic Metalwork" (see note 47), 54, "To date, fifteen objects with Christian themes have been identified: three pyxes, three incense burners, three ewers, three large plates, a candlestick, a canteen, and a basin. The functions served

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However, they may offer major clues concerning the circumstances of how East meets West and vice versa. It seems that more than the images discussed so far, they promise to better reflect the *real life* of their owners in terms of what is now labeled as *agency* and *material culture* and the cultural exchange between East and West.

Most vessels known to us, such as the so-called Freer canteen, are believed to have been produced in Syria or Egypt during the mid-thirteenth century (Fig. 13).[50] Some of them show Christological scenes mingled with Islamic imagery, such as hunters, polo players, musicians and dancers.[51] At first, the discussion of these artefacts voices the usual, established dichotomies between Christian and Islamic elements. Whereas the Christian images could vaguely be explained, the "non-Christian elements have either been downplayed or ignored entirely."[52] Moreover,

> their Christian elements depart so frequently from standard Christian iconography that they do not provide a consistent program, and that only when these elements are seen in terms of the culture which produced them does their iconography become understandable.[53]

It seems, however, that "these departures from standard Christian iconography"[54] are only 'errors' from a Christian perspective. These judgments reflect the *mustaghribīn* view, namely that of "Occidentalists whose function is to interpret Western culture to the Islamic world."[55] Contradicting this approach, Eva Hoffman takes a stance quite at the opposite end of the scale when she remarks that:

> it is futile to attempt to deconstruct these works into their Muslim and Christian constituent parts or to search for any single Christian-Muslim encounter. The *sharing of visual culture* between the indigenous Syrian and Egyptian Christians and the Muslims went far beyond the exchange of particular motifs and style; rather, it penetrated deeply into the fabric of a fully integrated Ayyubid visual culture.[56]

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by the fifteen objects are clearly varied. The inscriptions of the Louvre plate and the Freer basin, the large size of all the plates, and the impractical size and weight of the canteen suggest they served primarily ceremonial purposes. In contrast, the small size of the pyxes and the incense burners and the worn condition of the latter indicate prolonged and probably private use." That means, these items do not form a coherent group.

50 Katzenstein and Lowry, "Thirteenth-Century Islamic Metalwork" (see note 47), 53.

51 Katzenstein and Lowry, "Thirteenth-Century Islamic Metalwork" (see note 47), 64.

52 Katzenstein and Lowry, "Thirteenth-Century Islamic Metalwork" (see note 47), 54.

53 Katzenstein and Lowry, "Thirteenth-Century Islamic Metalwork" (see note 47), 54.

54 Katzenstein and Lowry, "Thirteenth-Century Islamic Metalwork" (see note 47), 56.

55 Harvey, "The Alfonsine School of Translators" (see note 43), 117. *Mustaghrib* stands for a Westerner or Occidentalist, in Arabic understanding someone who is confused by the strangeness of things.

56 Hoffman, "Christian-Islamic Encounters" (see note 47), 131. My emphasis. Eva Baer, A*yyubid Metalwork with Christian Images* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1989), 2–5. The Ayyubid Sunni Muslim dynasty

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These vessels must be seen within the historical context of the time around the 1240s when an intricate series of alliances had been worked out between various Ayyūbid factions and the Latins. Therefore, these portable vessels, made for luxury trade and gift purposes, may testify to a common interest in precious luxury items catering to clients of the highest aristocracy of both cultures. Let me now very briefly present some of these vessels.

One of the most peculiar in form and design is the Freer canteen with its Arabic inscriptions and an intriguing mélange of Eastern and Western motives and scenes (Fig. 13).[57] It shows pictures of the *Life of Christ* around a medallion with Mary enthroned with Christ and flanked by two archangels in the center. The other side is embellished with hunting scenes and standing saints (Fig. 14). We do not know whether the canteen was intended for a Christian or Muslim owner. Laura Schneider contemplates the possibility that:

> the canteen was a gift, although not necessarily a ceremonial one. Perhaps it was given to a Crusader or new settler by a native-born Christian or Muslim. There were numerous specific occasions in the relationship between Christians and Muslims which might have given rise to the exchange of gifts.[58]

Further on, she sees the decoration of the canteen in terms of a

> new contrast of the sacred-secular, brought about largely by a lack of explicit Muslim iconography relating to the crusades . . . the Freer canteen thus symbolizes the intermingling of political, social and artistic forces in the Near East of the thirteenth century.[59]

There is, however, no evidence for such global conclusions, trying to bridge the gap between the traditional Muslim-Christian polarity in favor of the more progressive view of a smooth mélange of Muslim-Christian societies.

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ruled in the Middle East, (Egypt, Syria, northern Mesopotamia, Hejaz, Yemen) during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, until their defeat by the Mamlūks at the battle of Al-Mansūrah (1250).

57 Washington, DC, the Smithsonian Institution, the Freer Gallery of Art, ca. 1245–1250. The canteen is made of brass inlaid with silver and measures: diameter 36.9 cm, length of spout 9 cm, depth 21.5 cm, the truncated cone in the back is 10.2 cm in diameter at the mouth and 18.7 cm deep; see Schneider, "The Freer Canteen" (see note 47): 138. For the translation of the inscriptions see Schneider, "The Freer Canteen" (see note 47), 156. The one around the central Madonna and Child motif says: "Continuing glory and peaceful life and a- [sic] (roundel) ascending earnestness and lasting (?) power (roundel) and abundant (?) welfare, and . . ." Schneider: 153, states that the shape of the canteen is highly unusual, and the canteen, "when filled with liquid would have been extremely heavy, possibly too heavy to be portable by a single person."

58 Schneider, "The Freer Canteen" (see note 47), 153.

59 Schneider, "The Freer Canteen" (see note 47), 154.

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However, our next example, the so-called d'Arenberg, or Freer basin cannot be subjected to such speculative interpretations, since it was made for a Muslim patron as is celebrated in its exterior inscription:

> Glory to our master, Sultan al-Malik al-Sālih, the wise, the illustrious, the learned, the efficient, the Defender [of the Faith], the warrior [of the frontiers], the supporter [of Islam], the victor, Najm al-Dīn Ayyūb Abū [*sic*] Muhammad b. Abū Bakr b. Ayyūb.[60]

Similar to the Freer canteen, it features scenes of the life of Christ which are set into a band of Kufic inscriptions, and immediately below polo players, running animals, and musicians (Figs. 15, 16).[61] Polo players "are metaphors for the skill and bravery of the princes, so musicians and dancers are metaphors for leisure and the good life."[62] However, contrary to the assumptions regarding the Freer canteen, the Christian scenes of the Life of Christ do not necessarily address a potential Christian user of the vessel, but are an integral part of Muslim belief, as is also expressed in the thirteenth-century Muslim poetry of Nizāmī's *Iskandar nāma*, "where the poet compares Alexander' s to Jesus' s powers."[63] Therefore, so it seems, the ensemble of Christian and Muslim elements cannot exclusively be interpreted as witnesses for a Muslim-Christian social interlace, but is firmly anchored within a Muslim, Ayyubid context. In Katzenstein and Lowry's words:

> during the mid-thirteenth century Christian themes were regarded as acceptable elements in the iconography of the aristocratic patrons of the Ayyubid empire, a conclusion supported by the literature of the period.[64]

However, this does not discount for the possibility that vessels such as this one were made with a Christian clientele in mind. Barbara Zeitler assumes

> in the absence of any conclusive documentation, that the Islamic brasses with Christian subject-matter were intended for Christians and Muslims alike, Christians and

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60 Washington DC, Smithsonian Institution, Freer Gallery of Art. Cf. Schneider, "The Freer Canteen" (see note 47, 150. Katzenstein and Lowry, "Thirteenth-Century Islamic Metalwork" (see note 47), 62 "inscribed to the Ayyubid sultan al-Malik al-Sālih, who ruled Diyarbakr in the years 1232–39, in Egypt in 1239–49, and Damascus in 1239, and again in 1245–49." For the inscription see Katzenstein and Lowry, "Thirteenth-Century Islamic Metalwork"(see note 47), 63. The basin measures 50 cm at its rim, it is dated approximately between 1240–1250.

61 For the inscription, see Mirjam Gelfer–Jørgensen, *Medieval Islamic Symbolism and the Paintings in the Cefalù Cathedral* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1986),143–44.

62 Katzenstein and Lowry, "Thirteenth-Century Islamic Metalwork" (see note 47), 64.

63 Katzenstein and Lowry, "Thirteenth-Century Islamic Metalwork,"(see note 47), 65. Nizami Ganjavi, a Persian poet (1141–1209). The *Iskandar nāma* is the *Book of Alexander*, a didactic prose epic romance of the two-fold character of the Muslim ruler and the prophet king. See John Renard, *Islam and the Heroic Image: Themes in Literature and the Visual Arts* (Macon, Georgia: Mercer University Press, 1999), 86–92.

64 Katzenstein and Lowry, "Thirteenth-Century Islamic Metalwork" (see note 47), 66.

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> Muslims need not have perceived the imagery on these objects in the same way. Western aristocrats in the Levant might have come to appreciate the princely associations of hunting scenes and shared this appreciation with Muslims of equivalent social rank.[65]

Considering the whereabouts of this vessel after it left, for any reason, the domain of its *intended owne*r, this is an interesting suggestion. Perhaps the so-called *Baptistère de Saint Louis*, yet another Muslim brass basin produced in Egypt or Syria between 1320 and 1340, belongs to this category.[66] The underside of the outer rim carries the inscription of its maker, the "Master Muhammad Ibn al Zain, may it be forgiven him," but there is no indication of an owner's name or any laudatory verses addressing an owner, otherwise so typical for this kind of work.[67] The vessel carries no Christian scenes, but dwells on hunting and battle scenes, portraits of an enthroned monarch, falconers, cupbearers, tasters, and friezes of animals and fantastic creatures.

Further on, there is the blazon with the *fleur-de lis* and below a lion rampant that resembles the one of the kings of Cyprus. However, the lily is similar to the heraldic emblem of the Sultan Muhammad ibn Qalā'ūn. Vessels like this could have been owned by both Muslim and Christian enthusiasts of precious metalwork. Also, certain areas on these vessels could have been left blank for the future owner to emblazon his name. However, the appreciation of this kind of luxurious work does not necessarily entail an enthusiastic appreciation of the culture or the society of its origin; it is a kind of *appropriation* to a certain extent.

There is one other vessel not discussed by Katzenstein and Lowry, in all likelihood because it does not display Christian scenes. It is yet another, but most challenging Muslim-type of metalwork from the early fourteenth century (Fig. 17). It *pretends* to be of Muslim origin, but it was not intended for a Muslim client but for a Cypriot king. Again, it is a splendid brass basin, once damascened with gold and silver. Its technique and type of decoration has been associated with the rule of Sultan Qualawun Nasir al-Din Muhammad (1285–1341).[68] The basin's bottom

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65 Zeitler, "Sinful Sons" (see note 7), 45.

66 Musée du Louvre, inv. no. L. P. 16. For a detailed discussion of the vessel see David Storm Rice, *Le baptistère de saint Louis (*Paris: Éditions du Chène, 1951). It is a basin (height 22. 1 cm; diameter 50. 4cm) made of hammered brass with gold, silver, and niello inlay. The basin's name is a misnomer; king Louis IX has nothing whatsoever to do with it. It only served as a *baptistère* of the imperial prince Napoléon-Eugène in 1856.

67 David Storm Rice, "The Blazons of the 'Baptistère de Saint Louis'," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 13 (1950): 367–80; here 367, plates 5–12.

68 Weyl Carr, ""Art in the Court of the Lusignan Kings," *Cyprus and the Devotional Arts of Byzantium in the Era of the Crusades* (Hampshire: Variorum, 2005), 239–74, here 246. The basin is now in the Musée du Louvre in Paris, inv. no. MAO 101. Height 27.7 cm, d. opening 57 cm, d. base 43 cm; copper alloy, hammered, incised silver and black paste.

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shows medallions with astrological symbols and personifications of the planets and the zodiac (Fig. 18). Moreover, the bowl shows the emblem of King Hugh IV of Cyprus who ruled from 1324 to 1358. In the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries the island was ruled by the French royal dynasty of the Lusignan, who were at the same time titular kings of Jerusalem, and had strong relations with Lesser Armenia and Byzantium.[69]

Moreover, the Lusignan kings were ruling over an island that was under papal authority with a strong Eastern Christian Orthodox presence.[70] According to Annemarie Weyl Carr it is up to now "the only example known to have been made for a Christian ruler."[71] This is confirmed by eloquent Arabic, *thuluth*[72] type of inscriptions full of praise and mentioning his name:

> Of what was made for the most high Excellence, the splendid, noble Eminence Hugh, who has received the favours [of God], who rises in the van of elite-troops of the Frankish kings, Hugh of Lusignan, may his power endure.[73]

Most remarkably, in addition, it celebrates king Hugh IV in a *French* inscription: "Très haut et puissant roi Hugues de Jherusalem et de Chipre que Dieu manteigne." Regarding the origin of the basin, Henry-René Allemagne claimed that it was made in Cyprus by a Muslim-trained artisan. It *replicates* the finest vessels of the Mamlūk court, but originated in Cyprus.[74] King Hugh IV, so it appears, glorified himself using the language and eloquent type of praise of his adversary!

The inclusion of this vessel into the series of examples hitherto examined shifts our focus from the vessel's pictures to their owners: in this particular, seemingly unique example, King Hugh IV of Cyprus. It appears that this material, Muslim-type of splendor appealed to the king. But what about its political connotations as they are manifested in its Arabic type of inscription? The basin, no doubt, claims to be of Muslim origin. At first glance, the Muslim appearance of the vessel prevails. However, the added French *éloge* on the flat rim on its top, visually and loudly topping—with its Gothic type of lettering—the Arabic face of the basin, reveals that it was *not* produced in the Muslim world, meaning that its exotic pseudo-Muslim provenance was only *imitated*.

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69 For the Lusignan in general, see Peter Edbury, *The Kingdom of Cyprus and the Crusades, 1192–1374* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), passim.

70 Nicholas Coureas, *The Latin Church in Cyprus1313–1378* (Nicosia: Cyprus Research Centre, 2010), passim.

71 Weyl Carr, "Lusignan Kings" (see note 68), 247.

72 *Thuluth* is a type of post-kufic, Islamic calligraphy.

73 Weyl Carr, "Lusignan Kings" (see note 68), 248. Weyl Carr claims that this a type of inscription that does not follow any known Arabic patterns.

74 Weyl Carr, "Lusignan Kings" (see note 68), 248.

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It overlays the Muslim connotations. In art historical understanding, it was turned into an "indigenous" artifact with strong Lusignan accents. Taking into account the Eastern, *Outremer*, Byzantine, and Armenian contacts and connection of the Lusignan kings, I do not believe that this vessel substituted for a real, original Muslim object that otherwise could not be obtained. To the contrary, I assume that this is a purposefully-made reproduction. In fact, this is a playful, sophisticated *appropriation* of a Muslim, but made-in-Cyprus, artifact into the royal Cypriot realm. No doubt, similar to the appreciation of Arabic science by the above mentioned Kings Charles of Anjou and Alfonso el Sabio, King Hugh IV of Cyprus, too, appreciated Muslim objects of intrinsic value, and *appropriated* the (imitation) Muslim luxury item for his domain.[75]

From a modern point of view, so it seems, this basin was a sort of fake gift, and a special one indeed. However, considering the historical circumstances—the more recent loss of *Outremer* with the cataclysmic fall of Acre in 1291—where was the Muslim ruler from whom he could have claimed to have received this vessel as a gift? This particular vessel shows that the visual records of a cultural, material exchange between East and West are not as straightforward as they often seem to be. In other words, it does not fit well into either category.

The Muslim motifs discussed in the d'Arenberg basin and the Freer canteen bring us to the next item under the looking glass: the so-called London *Histoire Universelle* already prominently featured at the very beginning of this article. This is a new type of historical literature revealing a novel kind of historical conscience and history writing, namely new Old French *prose* versions of a historical truth, or a fiction of that truth, set well apart from its Latin heritage. The first illuminated editions appear toward the middle of the thirteenth century. Many of these *Histoires*, such as those today in Dijon, Brussels, and London, are commonly believed to be prime examples of Crusader art.[76]

They served to *instruire et plaire* and catered to the demands of a new category of mostly chivaleresque, aristocratic, and most likely also merchant clients for "commemoration, edification, and especially exemplification and panegyric" not only in *Outremer* but also, in all probability, for use in France, Italy, and, of course Cyprus.[77] How and whether these books reflect the Western experience in *Outremer*, apart from its style and artistry, is an issue that has been tackled by

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75 A remarkable process which bears resemblance to the museum practice of our present, see Susan M. Pearce, (ed.) *Museums and the Appropriation of Culture*. New Research in Museum Studies, 4. (London: Athlone Press, 1994), passim.

76 Dijon, Bibliothèque municipal, 562, Brussels, Bibliothèque Royal, MS 10175, London, British Library, MS Add. 15268. For the crusader art aspects see Folda, passim.

77 Suzanne Fleischmann, "On the Representation of History and Fiction in the Middle Ages," *History and Theory* 22 (1983), 278–310; here 291.

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many authors in the recent past.[78] We do not know the commissioner, the scribe, or the illuminator of this sumptuously illuminated *Histoire Universelle* which is traditionally ascribed to a crusader manuscript atelier in Acre toward the last third of the thirteenth century.[79] I challenge this assumption and claim a provenance of this manuscript in Cyprus.[80] However, be it Acre or Cyprus, the owner of this *Histoire Universelle*—similarly to King Hugh IV's of Cyprus imitation of the "Muslim" basin—intentionally appropriated certain Muslim motifs.

The verso page of the first folio of the London edition of the *Histoire Universelle* from the end of the thirteenth century shows, similar to the Genesis page of a Bible, how God created the world in the end as the domain for Adam and Eve (Fig. 19).[81] Barbara Zeitler enthusiastically claims that the border decoration of the London page "is one of the most intricate, but also one of the most enigmatic, illuminations to have survived from the Latin East."[82] And indeed, a closer look at the top border of the page reveals interesting details: a Muslim dignitary in its center, surrounded by musicians and a dancer who do not seem to be appropriate for the pseudo-biblical theme of this page (Figs. 20 a–d). No doubt, the insertion of this cheerful *fête champêtre* reveals both the wishes of the patron, and the illuminator's familiarity with similar pictorial subjects derived from various Muslim sources, among them ivories, textiles, manuscripts, and especially damascene metal ware such as the Freer basin (Fig. 16) discussed above.[83]

The raison-d'être of the intrusion of Eastern motifs into the pseudo-biblical context of this secular book remains obscure. Were they merely meant to be

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78 For the sake of brevity, I here only refer to the articles by Derbes and Sandona, "Amazons and Crusaders," (see note 4), and Zeitler, "Sinful Sons," (see note 7), and the books by Hugo Buchthal, *Miniature Painting in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1957), Weiss, *Art and the Crusade* (see note 6), and Jaroslav Folda, *Crusader Art in the Holy Land, From the Third Crusade to the Fall of Acre, 1187–1291* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005). This type of research was initiated by Buchthal, *Miniature Painting,* (see note 78).

79 Folda, *Crusader Art in the Holy Land*, (see note 78), 419–27. Zeitler, "Sinful Sons" (see note 7), passim.

80 This is part of my book manuscript entitled *Acre or Cyprus: A New Approach to Crusader Painting Around 1300.*

81 London, British Library, MS Add. 15268, fol. 1v, *Ce est li livres des ansienes estoires et dit dou comensement dou monde. Et coment nostre sires fist adam*. Buchthal, *Miniature Painting*, (see note 78), 79–87, plate 83.

82 Zeitler, "Sinful Sons" (see note 7), 25. Paraphrased by Elizabeth Morrison and Anne D. Hedeman, *Imaging The Past in France. History in Manuscript Painting, 1250–1500* (Los Angeles: The J. Paul Getty Trust, 2010), 102: "It is the border that surrounds the image of the Creation that has made this frontispiece one of the most intriguing and problematic images created in the Latin East."

83 For the metal ware with references to the motifs on the London Genesis page see Schneider, "The Freer Canteen" (see note 47), 137–56. Baer, A*yyubid Metalwork*, (see note 47), passim, Zeitler, "Sinful Sons,"(see note 7), 45, Katzenstein and Lowry, "Thirteenth-Century Islamic Metalwork" (see note 47), passim, and Hoffman, "Christian-Islamic Encounters" (see note 47), passim.

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decorative or did they carry a meaning? Certainly, musicians and dancers represent "the good life" both in the Western and the Muslim realm. On the one hand, many Christians saw musical instruments as 'accessories of sin'. On the other, we also know that William IX, Duke of Poitiers and Count of Aquitaine (1071–1126), a participant in the first crusade, also known as the "first troubadour," adopted Arab metrics and musical themes.[84]

The extraordinary insertion of the Muslim-type of decorative band becomes apparent if one compares this page with an earlier edition of the *Histoire Universelle* preserved in the Bibliothèque Municipale in Dijon (Fig. 21). Clearly, it made use of the same iconography, but omitted any reference to Muslim motifs. As regards to the top border with its musicians and dancers, it is tempting, as suggested by Katzenstein and Lowry, to interpret the marginal imagery of the London Genesis page with the Persian poetry of Asadi Tusi (d. 1071) who described the leisure after the hunt as follows:

> Then they retired to a garden for pleasure and feasting. First they cured their hangovers, then they set to feasting and music . . . . Goblets like moons in the hands of the drinkers were sprinkling the jewels of the Pleiades. The nobles were reclining on the meadow among the grasses, hyacinths, and jasmine, cups in their hands, their eyes fixed on dark-haired beauties, their ears attuned to nightingales."[85]

And indeed, it seems that the garden theme had been of crucial importance in the London miniature. To my knowledge it has been overlooked that the Genesis page of the London *Histoire Universelle* differs in a major aspect from the Dijon version: It substituted the moralizing *Expulsion from Paradise* with the introduction of Adam and Eve to the by-laws of the *Garden of Eden*. In all likelihood, the illustrator of the London *Histoire Universelle* intentionally emphasized this bucolic aspect and drew back to metaphorical Muslim feasting motifs in order to celebrate and to illuminate its Western courtly client, be it in Acre or Cyprus.

Yet, the prevailing theme of the three remaining parts of the frame is hunting and fighting. Hunting, similar to falconry, belongs to the royal, aristocratic entertainment par excellence, and was equally enjoyed in the East and the West. William L. Hanaway states for the Muslim (Persian) domain that "as a metaphor the hunt was employed by panegyric, lyric, and mystical poets, and the hunting literature and poetry belongs to the 'courts of princes'."[86] He continues: "As an

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84 Zeitler, "Sinful Sons" (see note 7), 36.

85 Katzenstein and Lowry, "Thirteenth-Century Islamic Metalwork" (see note 47), 64. William L., Hanaway, Jr., "The Concept of the Hunt in Persian Literature," *Boston Museum Bulletin* 69 (1971): 21–69, here 24. Of course, this description of the rest after the hunt or battle with feasting and wine is not unique for Asadi Tusi, but continues well into the fifteenth century, see Hanaway, "The Concept of the Hunt" (see note 85), 26–27.

86 Hanaway, "The Concept of the Hunt" (see note 85), 22. In general for this subject, see the articles

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objective event the hunt is an integral part of the narrative poetry. As a concept, aspects or components of it are abstracted and used as the *building blocks of poetry in praise of a patron*."[87]

Does this illumination, then, testify to a fusion of Eastern and Western motifs in terms of what is often labeled as a shared culture? It seems that the process of appropriation is comparable to the one described above with the pseudo-Muslim Lusignan basin. In any event, the choice of Muslim elements was an eclectic *quotation*, one exclusively for a very specific aristocratic, princely or royal Western context. However, I believe, this choice did not comprise the import of a wholesome culture or ideology, even though, in all probability, the Muslim origins of the motifs in the London *Histoire Universelle* were very well understood and appreciated. I definitely assume that the patron of this manuscript had some special relationship with Muslim culture, as was also true for Alfonso el Sabio, Charles of Anjou, and, in this particular context, for the kings of Cyprus, such as Henry II (1285–1324), and Hugh IV (ca. 1295 or 1293–1296–1359.[88]

This brings us to the next Cypriot example and a different medium: a huge panel painting executed around 1300 with the picture of Saint Nicholas and scenes of his life (Fig. 22).[89] The saint was equally venerated by Eastern and Western patrons.

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by Abigail P. Dowling (367-87) and Marilyn L. Sandidge (389-406) in *Rural Space in the Middle Ages and Early Modern Ages: The Spatial Turn in Premodern Studies*, ed. Albrecht Classen, with the collaboration of Christopher R. Clason. Fundamentals of Medieval and Early Modern Culture, 9 (Berlin and Boston: De Gruyter, 2012), passim.

87 Hanaway, "The Concept of the Hunt" (see note 85), 22. (My emphasis). Hanaway, "The Concept of the Hunt" (see note 85), 29, also mentions that "the medieval Persian poets employed the hunt in yet another manner: as a metaphor to convey a didactic lesson, amorous feelings, or a mystic message. Daqiqi (d. ca. 978), for example, uses the analogy of the hunt when he speaks of how one should go about seizing power."

88 For Cypriot nobles as "enthusiasts for falconry and hunting" see Peter Edbury, "Franks," *Cyprus. Society and Culture 1191–1374*, ed. Angel Nicolaou-Konnari and Chris Schabel (Leiden: Brill, 2005), 63–101; here 83–84, with reference to the report of the German canon and pilgrim Ludolph of Sudheim (ca. 1340): "how the nobles and knights, whom he claimed were the richest in the world, spent their entire income on hunting." See also David Jacoby, "Knightly Values and Class Consciousness in the Crusader States of the Eastern Mediterranean," *Mediterranean Historical Review* I (1986): 159–86; here 163–64.

89 The panel is now part of the Byzantine Museum of the Makarios III Foundation in Nicosia on Cyprus; it measures 203 by 158 cm, it is painted with tempera, gold and silver leaf on wood primed with parchment and gesso. See Athanasios Papageorghiou, *Icons of Cyprus* (Nicosia: The Holy Archbishopric of Cyprus, 1992), figs. 32a, b. Sophocles Sophocleous, *Icons of Cyprus. 7th–20th Century* (Nicosia: Museum Publications, 1994), 89, cat. no. 26. Cf. *The Glory of Byzantium. Art and Culture of the Middle Byzantine Era A. D. 843–1261*, ed. Helen C. Evans and William D. Wixom (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art/Harry Abrams, Inc., 1997), cat. no. 263, with a color reproduction, fig. 263. Folda, *Crusader Art in the Holy Land,* (see note 78), 503–04. For Saint Nicholas in general, see Nancy Patterson Ševčenko, "The Vita Icon and the Painter as Hagiographer," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 53 (1999): 145–65; here 159–60, figs. 20, 25–27.

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All inscriptions on this panel are kept in Greek, and the epithet leaves no doubt that it was made for the Greek Orthodox church of Ayios Nikolaos tis Stegis, i.e,. St. Nicholas of the Roof in Cyprus. Before we evaluate the picture we should examine its medium and context. It is different from all images hitherto analyzed. It belongs to a different medium, namely a Western type of panel painting, an altar piece, which served a liturgical devotion within an Eastern, Orthodox-Greek realm. The focus here is on the prominent appearance of the *donor portrait* at the bottom of the picture (Fig. 23): a man with a shield and a horse trailing behind, and on the opposite side a woman with a child.

This type of donor representation goes well back for roughly two millennia and is not new at all. What interests here is its setting. The shield with an eagle emblem and the chain mail defines him as a Frankish knight with his horse, the quintessential requisite of a Crusader knight. The woman and her child are in all likelihood his wife and daughter. The identity of the Frankish knight is not known, but as the donor with his family he was certainly known and remembered by local, oral tradition. These worldly "portraits" within a liturgical altar piece manifest the role of this Frankish family as the sponsors of this particular altar piece. Moreover, and intrinsically bound to it is their speculation for the sake of their souls.

Further on, their images served to commemorate visually and to document their being part of the congregation at the occasion of the Mass of the Dead. Therefore, these portraits are not just pictures, but *imagines* of a quality encompassing life and afterlife. Indeed, here the picture meets life: the donor portrait marks his Frankish identity in an Eastern Greek Orthodox realm, namely in the church of Saint Nicholas of the Roof, and testifies to a thought-provoking Western patronage within an Eastern orthodox realm in Cyprus. Last, but not least, a very similar composition features in the apse of the Orthodox church of the Panagia Phorviotissa in Asinou in Cyprus from about the same time (Fig. 24). Here it is a Western woman praying to the Virgin, shielded by her mantle, and Christ, with her husband and son on the other side.

The last two examples show Western patrons and clients seamlessly integrated into an Eastern Orthodox realm for the sake of their souls and posthumous commemoration. The binding element is here their Christian faith, although of different shades within a *shared* liturgical frame.

At this point I rest my case for now. Clearly, there are no patented answers. Pictures as manifestations or reflections of the meeting between East and West within the time frame of this article are somewhat like tainted mirrors. Their reflections are intricately bound to the conventions and functions of the medium in which they appear, and to their distinct societies and people, their status and rank, and firmly tied to pictorial and oral traditions of their time.

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Of course, the fragmented pictorial evidence presented here does not conform with past bipolar East-West perspectives. But neither can it fully back current ideas of "shared culture," and "assimilation." The newly discovered role and mandate of pictures in this context and that time significantly diminishes their value as documentary evidence, or as to how they reflect that "symbiose pacifique" that gains an hitherto unprecedented momentum in the light of newly rediscovered textual, historical sources.

On the one hand, the problem with those pictures is that they are in *statu nascendi* as far as their value for modern interpretations is concerned. Therefore, I am not certain that they fully qualify to testify for such terms as "shared culture" or "assimilation." On the other, one should be highly aware of the fact that these labels reflect an agenda, namely to bring the often ambivalent visual testimony in line with the now more progressive academic taxonomy of the history of art. In life, however, things are much more complex. Therefore, as far as pictures are concerned, I suggest to refrain from these categorizations and to see these pictures as valuable, distinct, however somewhat ambivalent, if not inconclusive witnesses of a visual existential exchange at their time that may not fit global ideas.

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Fig. 1: London, British Library, Ms Add. 15268, fol. 101v. Coment les dames de cite alerent vengier lor barons et lor fiz et lor amis. The Scythian Women (Amazons) take revenge for their barons, sons and friends

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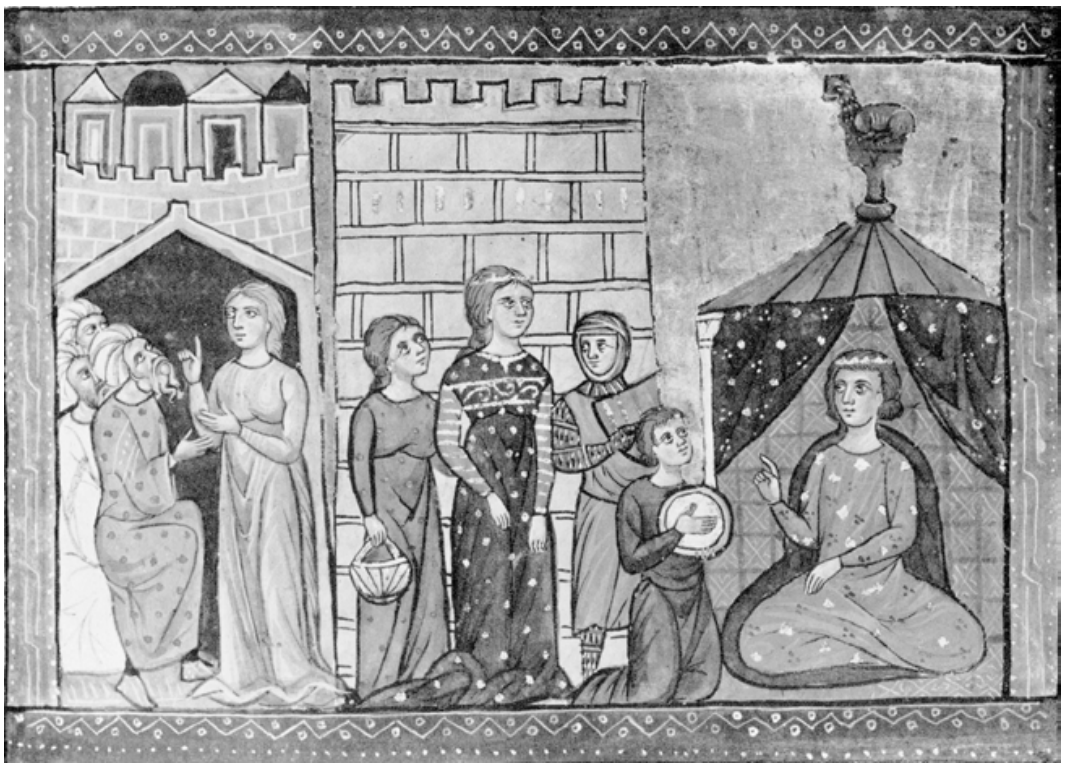


Fig. 2: London, British Library, Ms Add. 15268, fol. 181r, Come iudit fu menee devant Holofernes. Judith brought before Holofernes

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Fig. 3: Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, MS 5211, fol. 252r

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Fig. 4: Vézelay, church of la Madeleine, central porch, the Mission of the Apostles

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Fig. 5: Vézelay, church of la Madeleine, central porch, the Mission of the Apostles, detail

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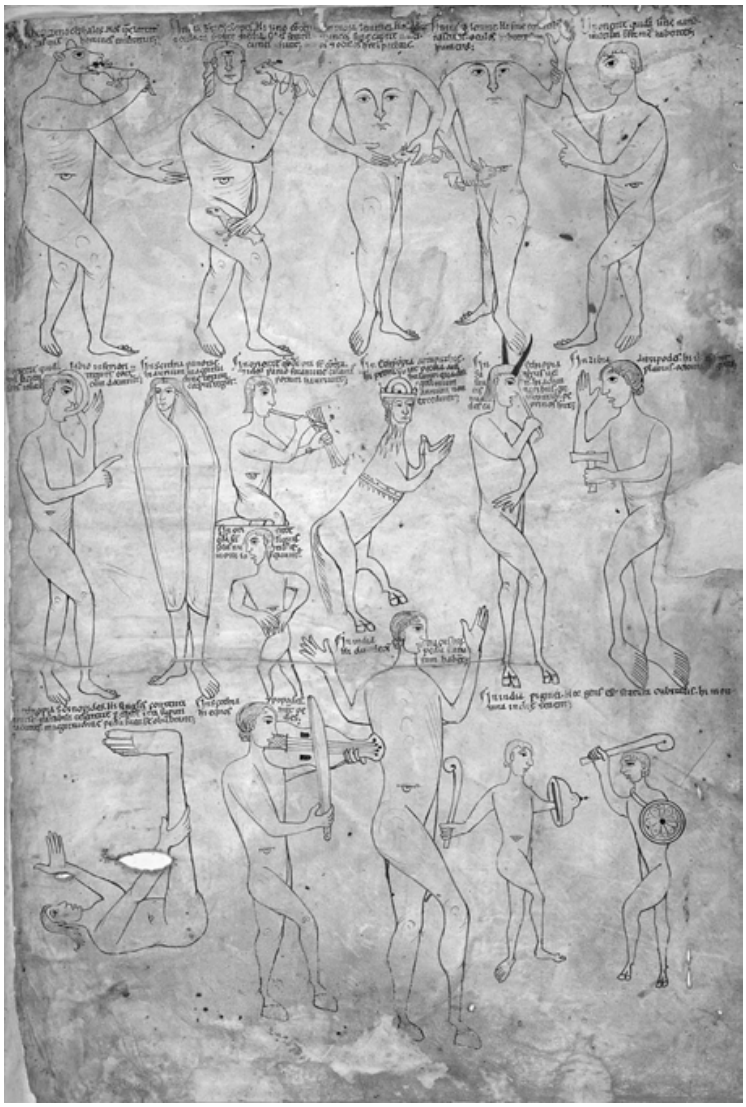


Fig. 6: British Library, the Arnstein Bible. MS Harley 2799, fol. 243r

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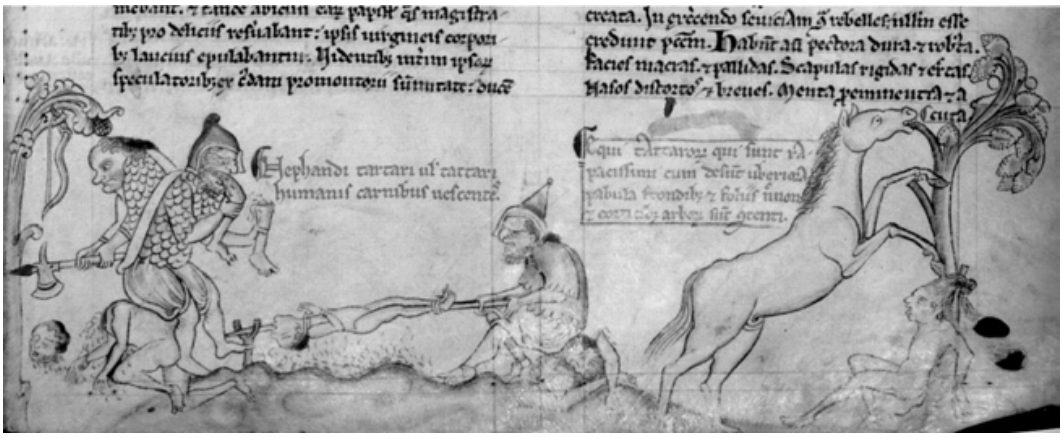


Fig. 7: Parker Library, Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, MS 16, fol. 166.
Matthaei Paris Chronica Maiora, fig. 180

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Fig. 8: British Library, Royal 16 G VI, fol. 442. *Chroniques de France ou de Saint Denis* (mid-fourteenth century.) John of Acre, bouteiller de France, receiving Saracens willing to be baptized

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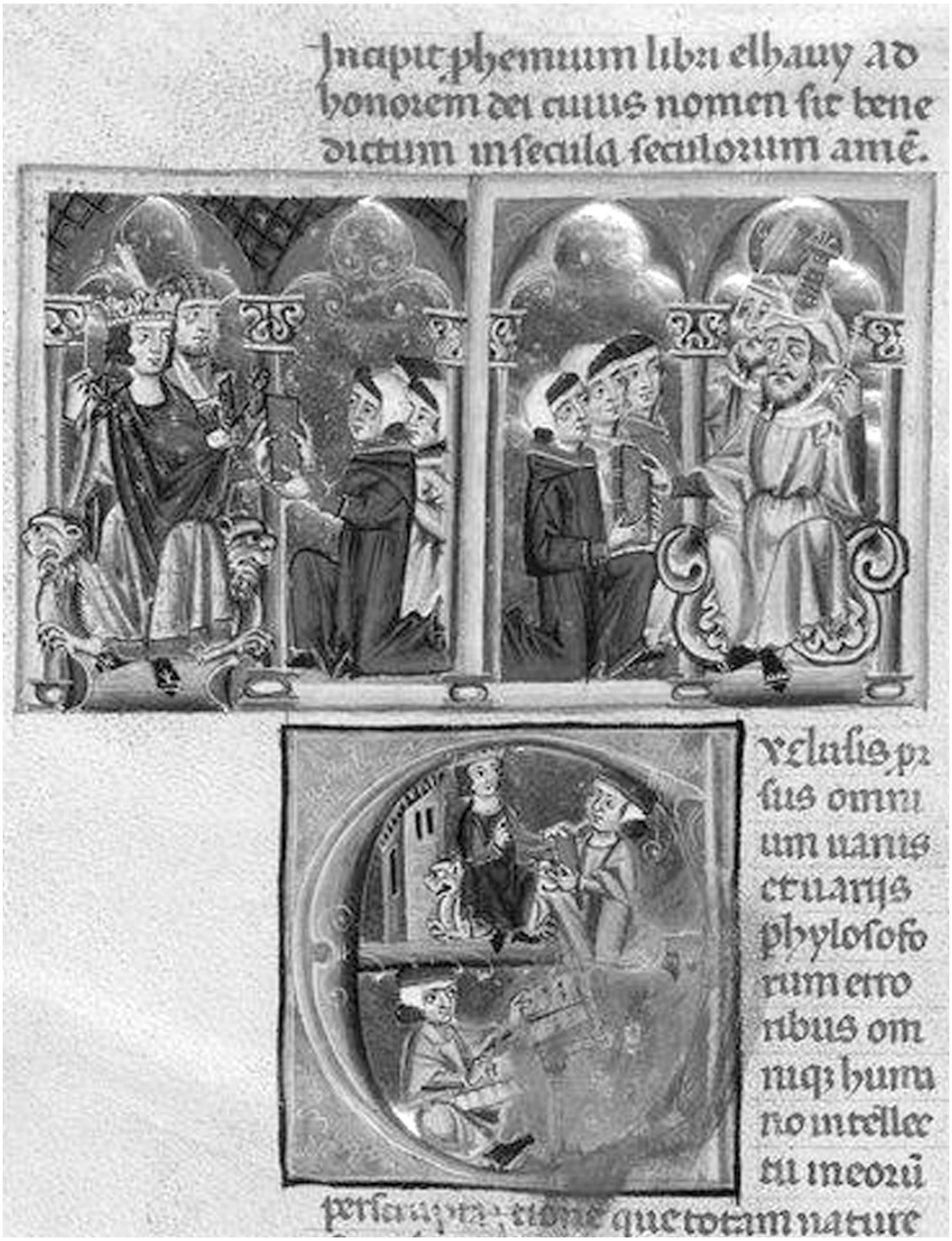


Fig. 9: Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, lat. 6912, vol. 1, fol. iv, *Havi seu continens. Faraj ben Salim interpretatio*. The Sultan of Tunis offering the Arabic text of Rhazez to Charles I. of Anjou (1270–1280). Naples 1279–1282

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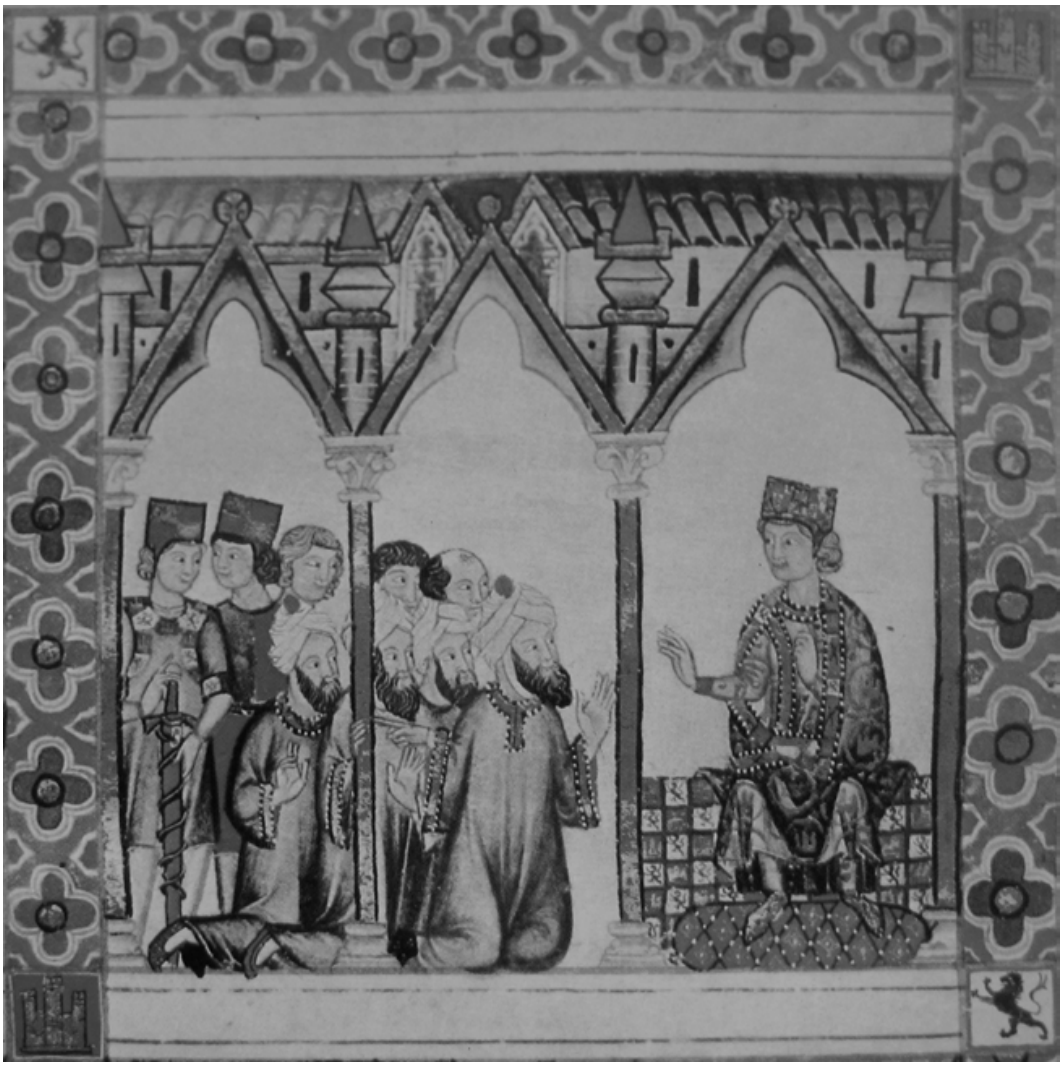


Fig. 10: Madrid, Real Bibl. Del Escorial, Ms T.I.1, *Cantigas de Santa Maria*, 169 (second miniature at top right)

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Fig. 11: Madrid, Real Bibl. Del Escorial, j. T. 6. Fol., fol. 13v, *Libro de acedrex, dados e tablas*

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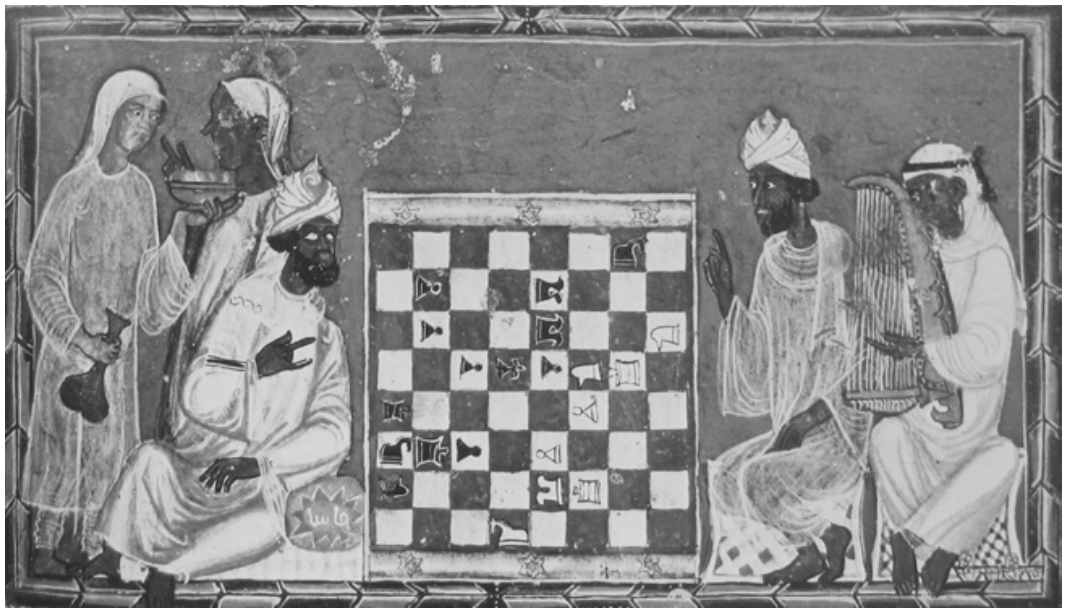


Fig. 12: Madrid, Real Bibl. Del Escorial, j. T. 6. Fol., fol. 22r, *Libro de acedrex, dados e tablas*

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Fig. 13: Washington, DC, the Smithsonian Institution, the Freer Gallery of Art. The Freer Canteen, Syrian, ca. 1245–1250

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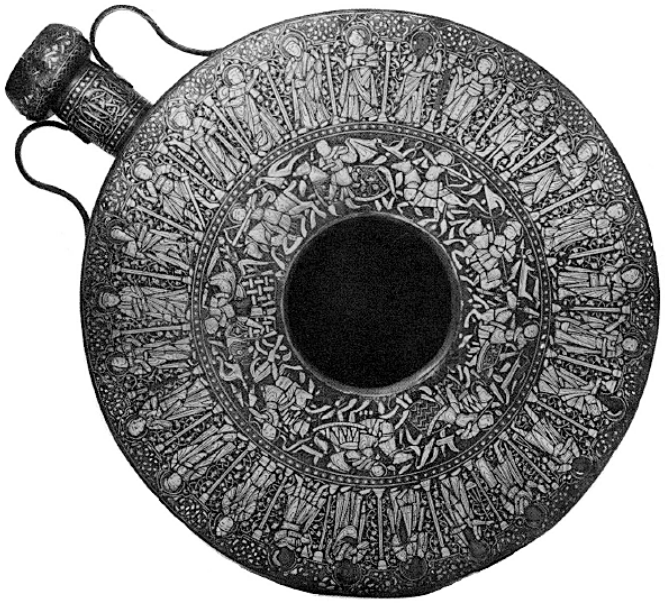


Fig. 14: Washington, DC, the Smithsonian Institution, the Freer Gallery of Art. The Freer Canteen, Syrian, ca. 1245–1250; the flat side

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Fig. 15: Washington DC, Smithsonian Institution, Freer Gallery of Art. The d'Arenberg Basin, inscribed to Sultan al-Malik al Salih Najm al-Din Ayy b, ca. 1240–1250

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Fig. 16:Washington DC, Smithsonian Institution, Freer Gallery of Art. The D'Arenberg Basin, detail; inscribed to Sultan al-Malik al Salih Najm al-Din Ayy b, ca. 1240–1250. Kufic inscriptions, polo players, animals, and a musician

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Fig. 17: Paris, Musée du Louvre, inv. No. MAO 101, copper basin with Arabic inscriptions. Egypt or Syria

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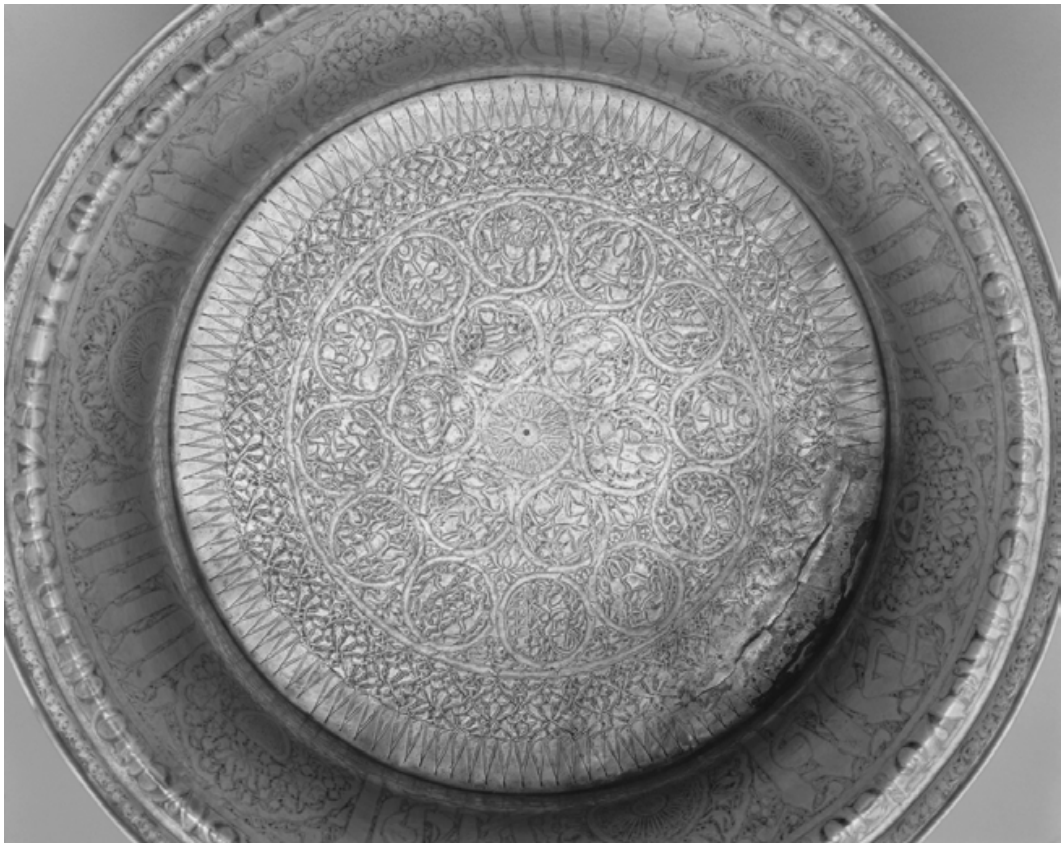


Fig. 18: Paris, Musée du Louvre, inv. No. MAO 101, copper basin with Arabic inscriptions. Egypt or Syria

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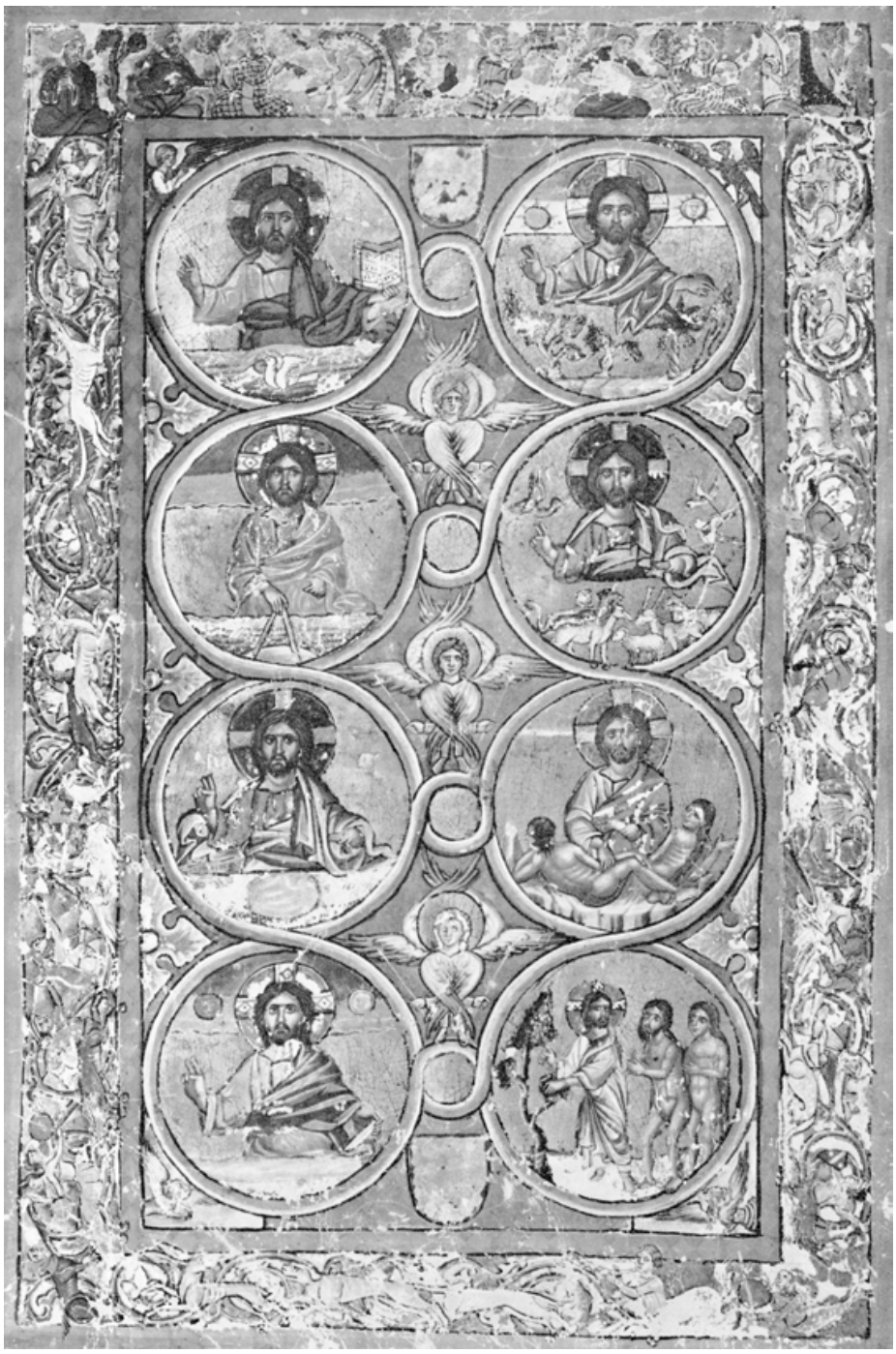
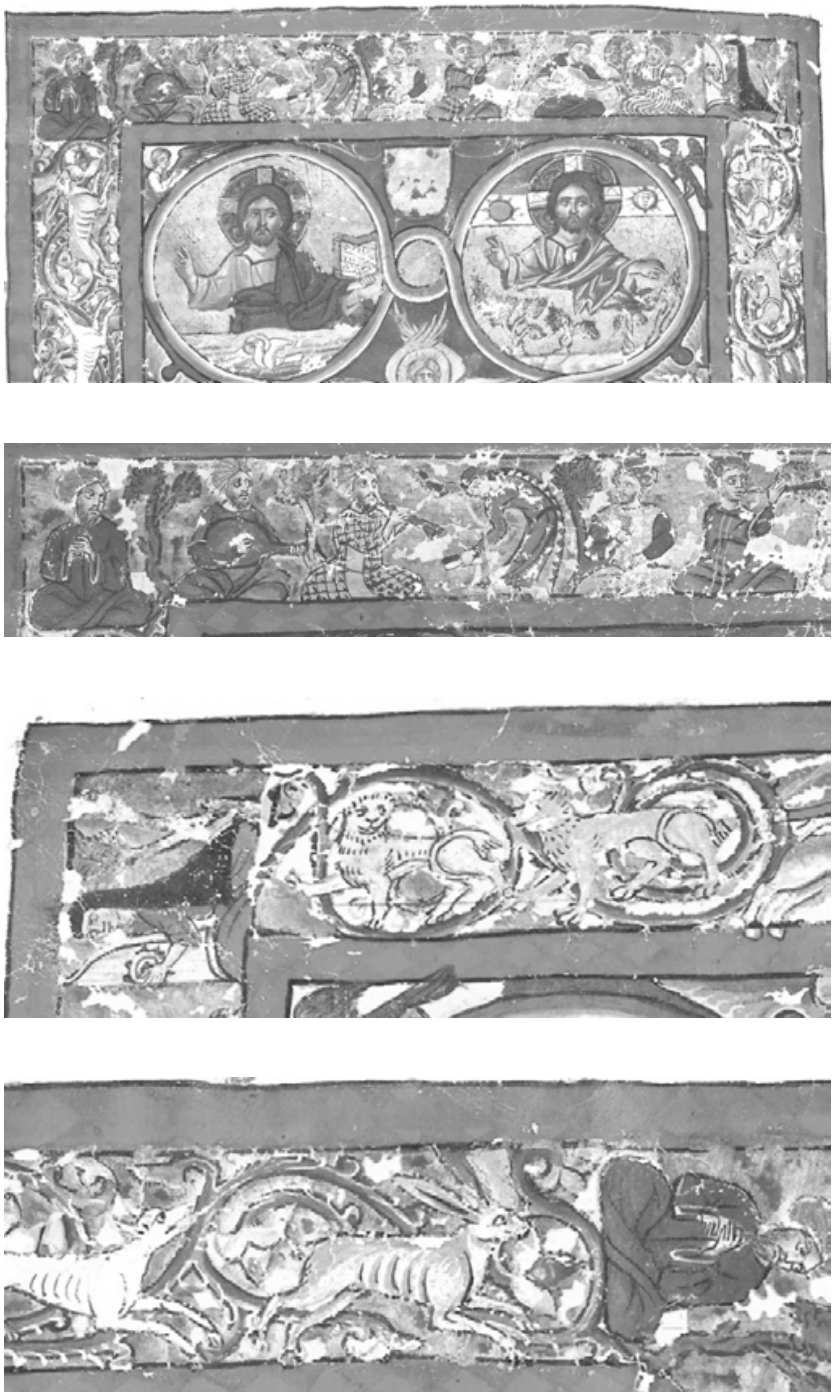


Fig. 19: London, British Library, Histoire Universelle, Ms Add. 15268, fol. 1v

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Figs. 20: a–d: London, British Library, Histoire Universelle, Ms Add. 15268, fol. 1v

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Fig. 21: Dijon, Bibliothèque municipal, 562, fol. 1r. *Histoire Universelle*

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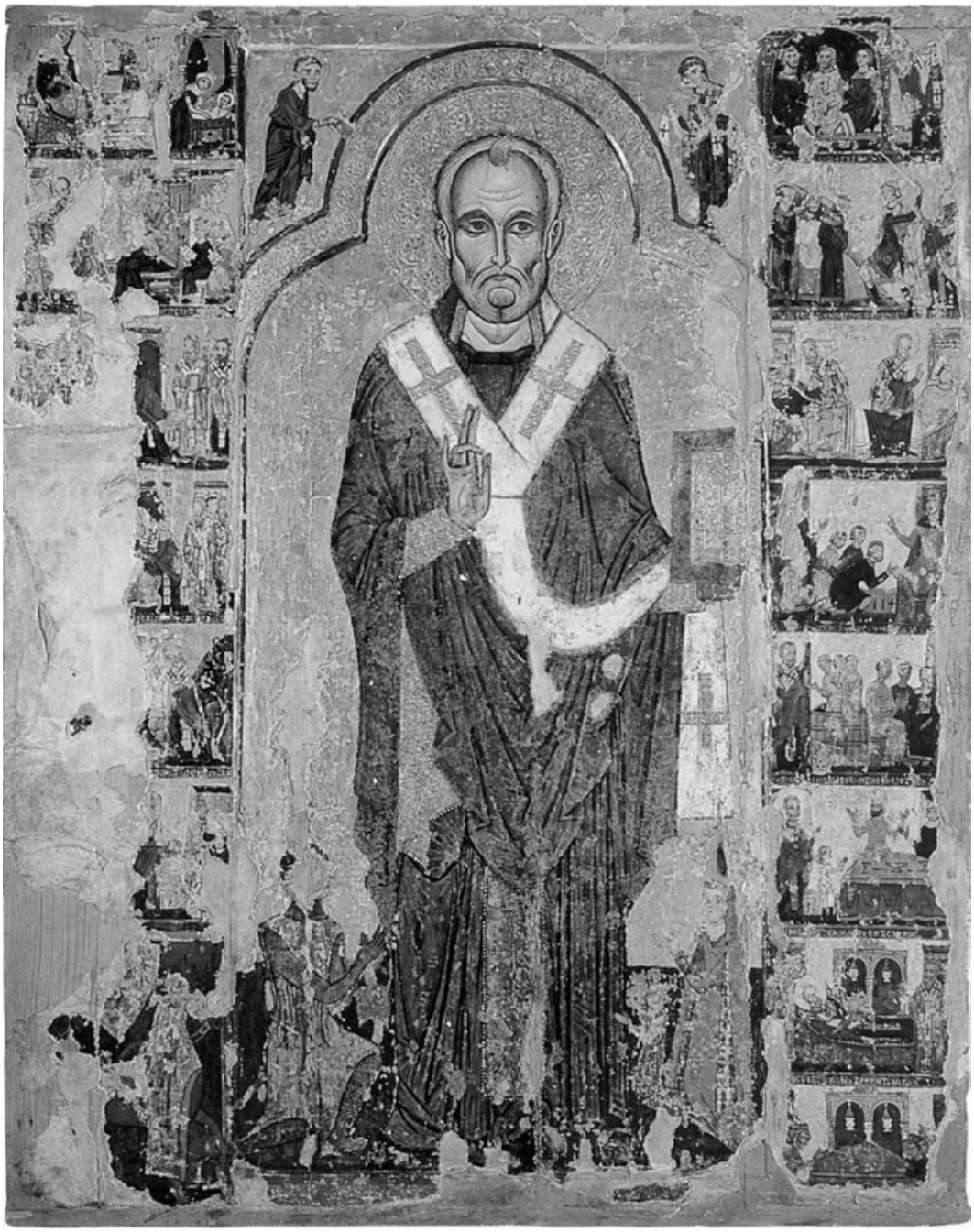


Fig. 22: Cyprus, Nicosia, Byzantine Museum of the Makarios III Foundation. Panel with St. Nicholas with scenes of his life from the church of Saint Nicholas of the Roof, ca. 1300 (203 x 158 cm)

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Fig. 23a–b: Cyprus, Nicosia, Byzantine Museum of the Makarios III Foundation. Panel with St. Nicholas with scenes of his life from the church of Saint Nicholas of the Roof. ca. 1300, (203 x 158 cm); detail: donor portraits

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Fig. 24: Cyprus, Asinou, Panagia Phorviotissa, narthex. Mary as *Schutzmantel* Virgin protecting a Frankish female donor with her mantle, with her husband and child on the other side. Late 13th century

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Chapter 7

Christopher R. Clason
(Oakland University, Rochester, Michigan)

Walther von der Vogelweide and the Middle East: "Holy Land" and the Heathen

In comparison to other poets of the German High Middle Ages, Walther von der Vogelweide[1] stands out as perhaps the most popular among modern readers. Well known as an innovator in courtly love lyrics, Walther expanded the boundaries

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[1] Representing the various critical approaches to Walther's poetry and presenting the seminal studies from each area in useful contexts, the following introductory works and collections of essays deserve special mention: *Walther von der Vogelweide*, ed. Siegfried Beyschlag. Wege der Forschung, 112 (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1971); *Walther von der Vogelweide: Beiträge zu Leben und Werk*, ed. Hans-Dieter Mück. Kulturwissenschaftliche Bibliothek, 1 (Stuttgart: Bernd Stöffler und Dieter Schütz, 1989); *Walther von der Vogelweide: Hamburger Kolloquium 1988 zum 65. Geburtstag von Karl-Heinz Borck*, ed. Jan-Dirk Müller and Franz Josef Worstbrock (Stuttgart: S. Hirzel, 1989); Theodor Nolte, *Walther von der Vogelweide: höfische Idealität und konkrete Erfahrung* (Stuttgart: S. Hirzel, 1991); Manfred Günter Scholz, *Walther von der Vogelweide*. Sammlung Metzler, 316 (Stuttgart: Metzler, 1999); *Walther von der Vogelweide: Textkritik und Edition*, ed. Thomas Bein (Berlin and New York: De Gruyter, 1999); *Walther lesen: Interpretationen und Überlegungen zu Walther von der Vogelweide: Festschrift für Ursula Schulze zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. Volker Mertens and Ulrich Müller. Göppingen Arbeiten zur Germanistik, 692 (Göppingen: Kümmerle, 2001); *Walther verstehen – Walter vermitteln*, ed. Thomas Bein. Walther-Studien, 2 (Frankfurt a. M., Berlin, et al.: Peter Lang, 2004); Thomas Bein, "'die ächte lesart:' Über mittelalterliche Texte und ihre Konstitutionen (am Beispiel Walthers von der Vogelweide)," *Text: kritische Beiträge* 9 (2004), 47–63; Will Hasty, "Walther von der Vogelweide," *German Literature of the High Middle Ages,* ed. Will Hasty. The Camden House History of German Literature, 3 (Rochester, NY: Camden House and Woodbridge, UK: Boydell and Brewer, 2006), 109–20; and Horst Brunner, Gerhard Hahn, Ulrich Müller, and Franz Viktor Spechtler, *Walther von der Vogelweide: Epoche – Werk – Wirkung*. 2nd rev. and expanded ed. (1996; Munich: C. H. Beck, 2009); two particularly useful bibliographies are Manfred Günther Scholz, *Bibliographie zu Walther von der Vogelweide*. Bibliographien zur deutschen Literatur des Mittelalters 4 (Berlin: E. Schmidt, 1969), and Manfred Günther Scholz, *Walther Bibliographie: 1968–2004*. Walther-Studien, 3 (Frankfurt a. M., Berlin, et al.: Peter Lang, 2005).

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of poetic form and the expressiveness of Middle High German poetic language, while he explored the concept of courtly love, *minne*. Great inventiveness marks his political lyrics, or *Spruchdichtung*, as well, and Walther's utterances regarding political power and his sharp criticism of social ills serve as intimate and insightful commentaries on historical events during his lifetime, from approximately 1170 until roughly 1230. Walther also composed several religiously tendentious poems, e.g., his *Kreuzzugslyrik*, or Crusader songs, that call on the Christian faithful, either explicitly or indirectly, to go on crusade to the Holy Land and "liberate" it from the non-Christians who currently hold it in their power.[2] Among medieval German poets, Walther is (with a very few exceptions) the first to keep these calls to crusade generally outside the context of love poetry, or *Minnelied*.[3] Instead, they properly belong to the genre of *Sangspruchdichtung*, political poems in which Walther discusses political and social issues of the day.

Walther's life spanned a period of no fewer than four major crusades; however, since clear lines of demarcation are difficult to establish for such huge military operations that involve the movement of so many persons and materials over such huge distances and over such great expanses of time, it has sometimes been suggested that "crusading" was more a constant condition than a singular event.[4] Because crusade warfare played such a significant role in politics, sociology and the personal lives of so many persons in the Middle East and in Europe for such a long period, and because the repeated invasions by Christian European knights brought the cultures of these two regions into intimate contact on many levels from around the turn of the eleventh century onward, literary texts from the period offer a unique opportunity to examine cultural attitudes toward the "Other." Signs of hostility and aggression toward Muslims and Jews can be found in many European literary works of the time, but one can also find evidence of less chauvinistic, more positive attitudes as well.

In any case, propagandistic support for the crusades occupies many a poet of the time, and Walther is no exception. Yet, there is very little that links his crusade poems into any kind of thematic unity, except that they generally call for a

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2 See Hilda Swineburne, "Walther von der Vogelweide and the Crusades," *Modern Language Review* 56 (1961): 349–53; Silvia Ranawake, "Walther von der Vogelweide und die Trobadors: zu den Liedern mit Kreuzzugsthematik und ihrem literarischen Umfeld, *Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen und Literaturen* 151 (1999): 1–32.

3 Christa Ortmann, Walthers *werdekeit*: Zur Typologie des 'Palästinalieds,'" *Fragen der Liedinterpretation*, ed. Hedda Ragotzky, Gisela Vollmann-Profe, and Gerhard Wolf (Stuttgart: S. Hirzel, 2001), 57–74; here, 57–58.

4 See Jill N. Claster, *Sacred Violence: The European Crusades to the Middle East, 1095–1396* (Plymouth, UK and Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2009), 201–35; Barbara H. Rosenwein, *A Short History of the Middle Ages*, 2nd ed. (2002; Petersborough, Ontario, Plymouth, UK, and Sydney, Australia: Broadview, 2004); and Manfred Günter Scholz, *Walther-Bibliographie: 1968–2004*. Walther-Studien 3 (Frankfurt a. M., Berlin, et al.: Peter Lang, 2004).

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Christian military force to travel into a geographical area where a religious conflict is taking place.[5] These poems also intend to serve Walther's political interest at court in several ways: not only do they demonstrate the poet's sense of social responsibility by upholding the cause (i.e., the Crusades) that he, as a proper Christian, would like to support, but also often display his brilliant rhetorical skills, through which he is usually able to place his patron into the best possible light as champion of that cause, and his detractors, even if they include the Pope himself, into inferior positions.

In the Crusader poems Walther treats space in a far different manner than in his domestic lyric. While space in his other poems obtains dynamic and nuanced descriptions and integrates in complex and subtle ways with the themes he develops there,[6] here it seems far less at issue. In fact, in some of these poems it virtually disappears, in that the poet scarcely identifies spatial features at all. Often, the land is associated with specific ethnic, cultural, and, especially, religious groups. Some of these spaces are described as inhabited by imagined foes, the "Other" in opposition to the explicitly Eurocentric-Christian "We," at a time when European identity had been solidifying through just such a rhetoric of conquest and colonization, since the early years of the Crusading movement at the end of the eleventh century.[7] The inhabitants are sometimes named specifically as "juden unde heiden": the Jews and Muslims who had lived in Palestinian lands for centuries.[8] In other poems Walther seems to be indicating that a kind of

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5 Silvia Ranawake, in her essay "Walthers 'Ottenton' (11,6ff) und der Kreuzzugsappell der Troubadours," *Walther von der Vogelweide: Beiträge zu Leben und Werk*, ed. Hans-Dieter Mück (see note 1), 315–30; here 315, summarizes this defining Walther's "Kreuzzugslyrik" as a "Gruppe von Liedern und Sangsprüchen recht unterschiedlichen Typs, verbunden nur dadurch, dass sie direkt oder indirekt auf das Kreuzzugsgeschehen Bezug nehmen" ("a group of songs and political lyrics of quite diverse types, connected only by the fact that they directly or indirectly take a stand on the action of crusading").

6 See Christopher R. Clason, "'Gebrochen bluomen unde gras': Medieval Ecological Consciousness in Selected Poems by Walther von der Vogelweide," *Rural Space in the Middle Ages and the Early Modern Age: The Spacial Turn in Premodern Studies*, ed. Albrecht Classen. Fundamentals of Medieval and Early Modern Culture 9 (Berlin and Boston: De Gruyter, 2012), 227–50.

7 In this context see especially the study by Robert Bartlett, *The Making of Europe: Conquest, Colonization and Cultural Change, 950–1350* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993), 250–55.

8 On the use of "heiden" for the Islamic "Other," see Jerold C. Frakes, *Vernacular and Latin Literary Discourses of the Muslim Other in Medieval Germany*. The New Middle Ages (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), 11–46, especially 37–40. Frakes presents a thoroughly scholarly introduction to the origins of such terms as "heiden" or "Saracen," and argues to reject (and therefore not use) both as racist and offensive. I agree that such terms are problematic, but I believe it is most important to confront them, for they are found throughout the corpus of medieval German literature on the Middle East. It is also important to keep in mind that they are reductive and racist, and reflect such tendencies in the culture from which they spring; however, ignoring their usage further complicates an open, academic discussion of them. In this essay, I will employ the term medieval poets commonly used, but I will render it in quotation marks to emphasize an

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brotherhood exists among all peoples of the world, and the poet attempts to create a new perspective that supports connections between Muslims, Jews, and Christians.

Thus, in describing the land in his *Kreuzzugslyrik*, Walther constructs various spatial discourses that differ dramatically from, for example, the concrete, natural settings informing many of his more domestic lyrics. While in one of his poems he claims to have seen the Holy Land with his own eyes, what he describes bears very little in common with the actual, observable Palestinian landscape. However, Walther's version of the Holy Land serves a significant function in support of political agendas underlying each of the crusade poems. Walther's literary constructions of both the physical environment to be found in the "Holy Land" and the religious-ethnic identity of the people who live there provide insight into how European culture, in over a century of contact with Muslims as opponents in the crusades, typically fashions a paradigm for comprehending the many, diverse Middle Eastern cultures whose individuals profess Islam. Usually, the image of Muslims in the poems evinces arbitrary and imagined characteristics, underscored by the use of the collective epithet "heiden," while the poet renders the land itself as a mythological space that has been corrupted by the very presence of Muslims and Jews. However, despite the preponderance in Walther's poems of a contentious and aggressive attitude toward the Muslim "Other," one can also find at least one instance of acceptance and perhaps even a plea for toleration of different cultures; each occurrence depends on the specific political function and context of the poem Walther is composing. In order to elucidate this phenomenon, Walther's treatment of the space and the people of the Middle East, in five of his most representative poems on the subject, provides the focus of this study.

The "Ottenton"

The six strophes that form Walther's intriguing "Ottenton" ("Herre bâbest, ich mac wol genesen" [L. 11, 6, "Sir Pope, I can certainly benefit"])[9] have inspired a large number of critical essays that attempt to identify and contextualize its numerous, obscure allusions, nuances and intentions.[10] It is likely that the song was finished

awareness that the term carries a heavy burden of bigotry and reductivity–thus serving one of the major themes of my analysis.

9 All original Middle High German texts are taken from *Walther von der Vogelweide, Leich, Lieder, Sangsprüche.* 14., völlig neubearbeitete Auflage der Ausgabe Karl Lachmanns mit Beiträgen von Thomas Bein und Horst Brunner, ed. Christoph Cormeau (Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1996), here 16–19; the translation of the title is my own to stay closer to the original.

10 The issues surrounding the various possibilities for these references are briefly outlined in Ulrich Müller, "Walthers Sangspruchdichtung," Brunner, Hahn et al., *Walther von der Vogelweide: Epoche*

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by March 18, 1212, and external evidence indicates that Walther may have composed it for the benefit of Dietrich of Meissen, who had been accused of conspiracy against Otto.[11] In the following explication of the "Ottenton," I wish to discuss the images, motifs, and issues the poem presents in the context of its internal logic of power and space, without speculation regarding Walther's intentions beyond the poem itself. In this way one can consider the poem as a rhetorical object that might serve Walther's possible aims in numerous potential scenarios, without specifically committing the poem to one particular situation or another.

The second, fourth, and fifth strophes bear particular relevance to the discussion of power and space in the "Ottenton." While a clear consensus has not yet been reached on some of the specific references within the text, the poem nevertheless provides an excellent starting point for our analysis of Walther's use of space when referring to the "Holy Land" as well as his identification of the people who inhabit that space. Its setting derives more from a Christian cosmology than from a specific, empirically ascertainable geography, although certain notions of earthly space do become occasionally important in the poem and illustrate Walther's use thereof for political aims. The space of the poem itself, meaning its syntax (therefore, the spatial arrangement of ideas) also becomes important, especially in the fourth strophe.

The first three strophes of the "Ottenton" sing the praises of the Holy Roman Emperor, the much embattled Otto IV, as judge over terrestrial matters, second only to the heavenly judge, God, and sharply criticizing the Pope, who has been Otto's chief detractor. In the second strophe (or *Spruch*), Walther ostracizes the Vatican by recalling a New Testament verse contained in Mark 12:17 ("Render to Caesar the things that are Caesar's and to God the things that are God's"),[12] thereby steering the historical background of the poem in an Easterly direction, to that of Jesus's incarnation as a human being in the historical/geographical Middle East.

– *Werk – Wirkung* (see note 1), 162–68, and in Manfred Günther Scholz, *Walther von der Vogelweide*, (see note 1), 75–78.

11 Various sides of this debate are discussed in the following studies of this poem: Matthias Nix, "Der Kreuzzugsaufruf Walthers im 'Ottenton' und der Kreuzzugsplan Kaiser Ottos IV," *Germanisch-Romanische Monatsschrift* 34 (1984): 278–94; Eberhard Nellmann, "Walthers unzeitgemässer Kreuzzugsappell: zur Funktion der *Her keiser*-Strophen des Ottentons," *Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie* 98 (1979): 22–60; and A[rthur] T. Hatto, "Walther von der Vogelweide's Ottonian Poems: a New Interpretation," *Speculum* 24 (1949): 543–53; see also Thomas Bein, *Walther von der Vogelweide* (Stuttgart: Reclam, 1997), 216–17; and George F. Jones, *Walther von der Vogelweide*. Twayne World Authors Series (New York: Twayne, 1968), 102.

12 *The "Authorized Version" of the King James Bible Online*, http://www.kingjamesbibleonline.org/ (last accessed on Jan. 1, 2013).

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Dô gotes sun hie in erde gie,
dô versuochten in die juden ie,
same tâtens eines tages mit dirre vrâge:
si vrâgeten, ob ir vrîez leben
dem künige iht zinses solte geben.
dô brach er in wol ir huote und al ir lâge.
Er hiesch ein münzîsen,
er sprach: "wes bilde ist hie ergraben?"
"des keisers," sprâchen dô die merkære.
dô riet er den unwîsen,
daz sî den keiser liezen haben
sîn küneges reht und got, swaz gotes wære. (II, 1–12)

[When the Son of God walked here on earth,
the Jews tried always to catch Him in His words;
and so, one day, with this new question they came trying.
They asked Him whether free men, as they were,
should give tribute to the Emperor.
Then he broke through their ambush and through all their spying.
He called for one of the minting-dies;
"Whose image is graven here?" he asked that crew.
"The Kaiser's," all those watching to waylay Him tendered.
Then He counseled the unwise:
let the Kaiser's rights unto
the Kaiser, and all that is God's unto God be rendered.[13]]

In the original gospel narrative, Jesus is being watched, and His words are being carefully examined, by enemies who would entrap Him for numerous crimes, including blasphemy and sedition. In the gospel narratives the scribes, chief priests, and elders constitute the traditional, infamous enemies of Jesus, but of course it is not because they are "the Jews," since Jesus and the Apostles are Jews as well, and ethnic heritage has nothing to do with it. Rather, it is their lack of virtue, as hypocritical authority figures, which earns the scribes, chief priests, and elders their notoriety in the context of the gospel. However, the "Ottenton" presents a much different context; Walther mentions specifically that it is "die juden" who are responsible for the temptation, the surveillance, and the entrapment. He is accusing "the Jews," that is, an entire culture and religion and not only a few individuals that comprised a specific, historical authority approximately twelve centuries earlier, for the transgression, over which Christ is triumphant.

13 Frederick Golding, *Walther von der Vogelweide: The Single-Stanza Lyrics*. Routledge Medieval Texts (New York: Routledge, 2003), 164–65.

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But the propagandistic aims of Walther's verses are far from exhausted on desultory of Pope Innocent or bashing of the Jews, for it soon becomes obvious that he wishes to call for a crusade. It is unclear at whose bidding he is urging Otto to take up the challenge, except that in the fourth strophe the poet claims to bring the call directly from God.[14]

Her keiser, ich bin frônebote
und bringe iu botschaft von gote:
ir habt die erde, er hât daz himelrîche.
er hiez iu clagen, ir sît sîn voget,
in sînes sunes lande broget
diu heidenschaft iu beiden lasterlîche.
Ir mugent im gerne rihten:
sîn sun, der ist geheizen Crist,
er hiez iu sagen, wie erz verschulden welle.
nû lât in zuo iu pflihten.
er rihtet iu, dâ er vogt ist,
clagt ir joch über den tievel ûz der helle. (IV, 1–12)

[Herr Kaiser, I am a messenger of my Lord
and bring you this message and mandate from God.
The earth is in your keeping; in His, the Kingdom of Heaven.
He has sent to you his regent, to complain:
That in the land of His own Son –
this shame falls on the two of you! – exults the heathen.
Get Him His rights! You can, surely:
His Son, God's Son, is called the Christ.
He bid me tell you how He wills it recompensed.
Now let Him make Himself your ally;
Where He is judge He will get you *your* rights,
if it's the Devil straight from Hell you bring your suit against.[15]]

Here, Walther creatively distributes power according to his own, subjective understanding of it, and for his own, propagandistic goals: the Emperor is allotted something; God claims something; and the Pope receives nothing at all –in fact, he is not even mentioned. Walther's message, straight from God (so he asserts), is a simple one: since the Emperor is the power and the authority on the earth, God would like him to do his bidding: to defeat the heathen in the Holy Land, and He will be on the Emperor's side.[16]

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14 See Manfred Günther Scholz, *Walther von der Vogelweide* (see note 1), 75–77.

15 Frederick Golding, *Walther von der Vogelweide: The Single-Stanza Lyrics* (see note 13), 159.

16 Walther's communicative role as "Vermittler" between God and human beings is examined in Albrecht Classen, *Verzweiflung und Hoffnung: Die Suche nach der kommunikativen Gemeinschaft in der deutschen Literatur des Mittelalters*. Beihefte zur Mediaevistik, 1 (Frankfurt a. M.: Peter Lang, 2002),

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Thus, the distribution of space in this strophe parallels that of Walther's assignment of power allotments. The tripartite division of the Christian-mythical cosmos includes the three customary, main divisions of heaven, earth, and hell, and Walther places a corresponding ruler in each. Rome does not deserve even to be mentioned. However, the earthly realm implicitly consists of two territories: the "here" where Otto rules, the poet sings, and we, the audience, listen; and a second realm, the land of God's Son (immediately, the reader thinks of the Holy Land commonplaces and clichés, essentially the same *locus* where the Jews tempted Christ, as in the previous strophe). Now, however, it is not the Jews who are making trouble, but rather Walther's collection of the Islamic peoples in a single word. It is, in fact, a far too diverse group to be placed under the arbitrary rubric that Walther designates as the "heidenschaft."

This collective term takes the place of another kind of "collective," which one might indeed consider more appropriate: the area designation "lantschaft" (modern German "Landschaft," or landscape), an assemblage of perceived, spatial attributes that combine to produce the synchronous environment of the Middle East. However, in this strophe Walther certainly is not identifying any landscape that exists in the real world. Rather he is painting a picture of a different sort in the minds of his Christian audience, a "Bild" that does not rely on perceptible, worldly space, but rather links to the mythic space suggested by the biblical descriptions in the previous strophe. His aim is indubitably propagandistic: to make the intrusion of the "heidenschaft" and its domination of the Holy Land a personal issue for Christians, especially for the Holy Roman Emperor, Otto.

Walther accomplishes this through his manipulation of word order in the lines: "in sînes sunes lande broget / diu heidenschaft iu beiden lasterlîche" (II, 5–6). He reports that the land of God's Son is endangered; the "heidenschaft" is rising up, to the insult of both the Lord and Otto. More important, however, the syntax of the two lines serves to create a sense of urgency: Walther interposes the increase of the heathen threat ("broget diu heidenschaft") between the Holy Land ("sînes sunes lande") and the two protagonists ("iu beiden"), while he isolates the "lande" and "iu beiden" from each other in separate verses. Furthermore, Walther situates "iu beiden" between two most unpleasant concepts: the heathens themselves, and the adverb "lasterlîche" that conveys their contempt and insult for both Lord and Emperor. Most effective, however, is Walther's strategy of fixing Otto and God in an extremely close relationship by referring to them together with the second person plural pronoun, "iu beiden." Walther's clever linkage offers hope for an eventually victorious outcome, since the poet leaves no possibility but that God

191–97. He argues that Walther essentially explored how people could establish a communicative link, meaning, how or whether they could engage in a constructive process to establish a harmonious community.

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and Otto stand in close alliance. Thus, the syntax of these verses makes it clear: the "heathen" has cut the Holy Land off from God and emperor, and the situation is blasphemous and repugnant; however, God and Otto are united, and in unity there is great strength.

The physical arrangement of the poem thus provides a third kind of space, in addition to the factual geography of the Levant[17] and the mythical environs of the Holy Land, in which Walther can represent the relative power of Christendom and Islam. One feels compelled, however, to pose the (from a modern point-of-view) somewhat disturbing question: in the poem's logic of power and space, if Otto is allied with God, would the "heidenschaft" be associated with the devil? Of course, there are copious instances in the Christian propagandistic literature and *Kreuzzugslyrik* of the Middle Ages that identify Islam with idolatry and paganism[18]; here, Walther takes such connections one step further, as he presents the devil as the hypothetical, extreme case of the kind of threat that Islam poses in the perspective he is representing in this poem. But the question remains: does Walther anticipate that Otto will have God on his side against an enemy that will be enjoying the devil's assistance?

The answer to this question comes in the remaining lines of the strophe: Walther assures Otto that Christ will aid him "dâ," that is, in whatever space the "Christian side" must do battle, be it in the reality of the Middle East, in the idealized space of the "Holy Land" that Walther has created in this poem, or against hell itself. But the devil, exiled syntactically to the very end of the strophe, possesses perhaps the least power of all possible combatants, and his dominion, "helle," seems to have the least relevance of all spaces of the poem. The "heidenschaft," separated from the diabolical by some six lines of text, is positioned very weakly in the poem's distribution of power, alone and without the supernatural support of the kind Otto enjoys. Thus, the arrangement of the strophe's lines and the ordering of elements within them indicate that there is danger afoot, but also that the Emperor, aligned with God's power, will prevail over an enemy whom Walther, through his syntactic arrangements, represents as much less formidable than "iu beiden."

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17 Although not appearing until 1497, this term denotes a particularly colonial, "collective" notion toward the area on the part of European Christians that often informs Crusader lyrics, especially Walther's "Kreuzlied" and "Palästinalied," see below.

18 Among numerous works that address the medieval European image of Islam are Frederick Quinn, *The Sum of all Heresies: The Image of Islam in Western Thought* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 17–35; Suzanne Conklin Akbari, *Idols in the East: European Representations of Islam and the Orient, 1100–1450* (Ithaca, NY, and London: Cornell University Press, 2009), 235–47; and Timothy R. Jackson, "'cristen, ketzer, heiden, jüden': Questions of Identity in the Middle Ages," *Encounters with Islam in German Literature and Culture*," ed. James Hodkinson and Jeffrey Morrison. Studies in German Literature, Linguistics, and Culture (Rochester, NY: Camden House, 2009), 19–35.

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The fifth strophe continues the rhetorical accumulation of power for Otto. For the first time in the poem, Walther portrays realistic space, although it is not that of the Middle East but rather of Europe. The key to Otto's influence throughout Europe, according to Walther, will be his ability to impose peace on his unruly empire, which will greatly impress the rest of Christianity:

> Her keiser, swenne ir Tiuschen vride
> gemachet stæte bî der wide,
> sô bietent iu die fremeden zungen êre.
> die sult ir nemen ân arbeit
> und süenen al die kristenheit:
> daz tiuret iuch, und müet die heiden sêre.
> Ir tragt zwei keisers ellen:
> des arn tugent, des lewen craft:
> die sint des hêrren zeichen an dem schilte.
> die zwêne hergesellen,
> wan woltens an die heidenschaft,
> waz widerstüende ir manheit und ir milte? (V, 1–12)
>
> [Herr Kaiser, once you've brought the Germans peace
> and made it stable with the noose,
> foreign tongues as well will give you honor—
> it's yours to take, the take unburdensome,
> and yours to reconcile all Christendom,
> to your great glory and the heathens' pain and horror.
> You wield two great imperial forces,
> the emblems of the lord upon his shield:
> the lion's strength and the eagle's magnanimity.
> Would they but go against the heathen masses,
> the two companions in the field!
> What could withstand their fierceness and their generosity?[19]]

Otto's most important task is to secure peace in the Empire, according to Walther, as a demonstration to those beyond its borders that the Emperor is indeed the legitimate, effective power in Germany. He further maintains that this would work persuasively in neighboring Christian lands toward uniting Christianity under the leadership, not of the Pope, but rather of the Holy Roman Emperor—thus, "foreign tongues as well will give you honor," since neighboring regions would be most interested in a peaceful, secure Empire, without violence spilling over into their realms.[20] For the first time in the poem Walter represents the reality of

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19 Frederick Golding, Walther von der Vogelweide: *The Single-Stanza Lyrics* (see note 13), 161.

20 George F. Jones, *Walther von der Vogelweide* (see note 11), 95–96 reports that "there were many non-Germans in the Holy Roman Empire, including speakers of French, Italian, Czech, Romansch, Wendish, and other languages," and therefore *fremede zungen* could exist within the boundaries

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boundary and people who dwell beyond it, although it is still the immediate, Christian environs of German lands and not the geographical Middle East. Nevertheless, Walther is establishing a geography of influence for Otto, implying that he will unite Christian Europe, for the purpose of inflicting harm on the "heiden"; again, Walther conspicuously does not mention the Pope. Christendom is united "to your great glory and the heathens' pain and horror," since, to continue the geographical logic of "neighboring regions" established previously, it would indicate that the "heathens" are at least in sufficiently close proximity to feel annoyance at a united Europe. Thus, the beginning lines of the fifth strophe establish a sense that beyond the borders of the Holy Roman Empire there are Christian lands that will unite with Otto, and that this united, Christian force will confront the heathens, located yet farther beyond the imperial borders, with sufficient military might to cause them harm.

In the remaining lines of the fifth strophe, Walther relies on his own interpretation of the heraldic symbols appearing in Otto's emblems, the lion (upon the imperial escutcheon) and the eagle (Otto's personal heraldic symbol) to convey his optimism for Otto's complete success in the conflict he is promoting. Of course, a lion's strength would indeed be a valuable quality to project through the image in one's crest, but what of the "tugent" that, as Walther emphasizes, is characteristic of the eagle? Here, too, the spatial, syntactical representation plays an important role in furthering Walther's propagandistic agenda. In other medieval literary contexts, raptor imagery[21] includes qualities that derive meaning from the birds' use in hunting, but these are primarily attached to the falcon.

However, the eagle, like the lion, represents the supreme levels of military virtues, especially courage, and Walther's parallel use of the Saxon genitive in each case binds the represented qualities directly to the animals: one literally reads "virtue-eagle" and "strength-lion," as if the emperor's crest provided the defining example of the qualities. Furthermore, both qualities appear on the same line; the economy with which Walther positions the phrases spatially enhances their combined effect: the line is concise, powerful, and irrefutable. Immediately thereafter, Walther poses a rhetorical question: what, indeed, in the distant heathen realm could withstand the onslaught of the military force Walther suggests in this strophe, directed by such a strong and virtuous leader as Otto? A united Christendom, under Emperor Otto's banner of "diu zwêne hergesellen,"

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of the Empire; however, Walther's specific reference here to foreign tongues positions the textual focus outside of the Empire, since, had he meant to contain that focus inside of the borders, he would most likely have accounted for *tiutsche zungen* as well.

21 See my article "Animals, Birds, and Fish," *Handbook of Medieval Culture: A Compendium of Critical Topics*, ed. Albrecht Classen (Berlin and Boston: De Gruyter, forthcoming); see also F[rancis] D. Klingender, *Animals in Art and Thought: to the End of the Middle Ages*, ed. Evelyn Antal and John Harthan (Cambridge, MA: M. I. T. Press, 1971), 302–03.

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the eagle and the lion, unleashed upon the heathen forces, could only be victorious. Again, Walther's spatial ordering of syntax, the "geography of the line," plays a crucially supportive role in presenting his case in favor of mounting a Crusade.

The final line of the strophe, which contains the rhetorical question I rephrased above regarding surviving the onslaught, establishes a remarkable pairing of qualities that Walther claims will make Otto's victory certain: "manheit" and "milte." Of course, the previous term suggests power and bravery typical in military discourse; however, the generosity implied by the more courtly term "milte"[22] is surprising in this context. How can generosity defeat a foe? Would not other virtues of the lion or the eagle fit better? One possible reason for Walther's special emphasis on "milte" (since it is the final word of the strophe and it acquires emphasis through rhyme) could be a plea for Otto's generosity in his treatment of "der Missenære," Margrave Dietrich von Meißen (1162–1221), to whom Walther feels allegiance.[23] Bringing up generosity at this point may also serve Walther's continuing quest for the reward of a fief from his patrons for his poetic services, something that eludes him for many years.[24]

As a third possibility, keeping within the poem's contrasts between the God-Otto partnership and the haughty heathens, Walther may be attempting to depict the enemy's character as the opposite of such qualities: the heathen forces do not evince "manheit" and "milte," but rather cowardice and cruelty. By implication, then, through the identification of these two virtues with Otto, and the other extreme with the enemy, Walther reminds Otto once more that the Christians in the Holy Land are in danger (since the heathens are not kind, but cruel), and that if he leads a crusade he will be victorious (since he is courageous and the heathens are not).

Thus, by the poem's concluding verse (which adds little beyond accusing the Pope to be a propagator of lies and half-truths), Walther has persuasively called for a crusade, and has skillfully crafted a poetic-rhetorical argument for its success. However, the notions of both the landscape of the Holy Land and the people who

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22 See Otfrid Ehrismann, with collaboration of Albrecht Classen, Winder McConnell, et al., *Ehre und Mut: Âventiure und Minne: höfische Wortgeschichten aus dem Mittelalter* (Munich: Beck, 1995), 91–103; "milte" describes the generosity of a ruler who would bestow gifts upon the attendees at a courtly festival, and, most significantly, upon the poor and needy (see note 46 below); see also Sabine Obermeier, *Von Nachtigallen und Handwerkern: Dichtung über Dichtung in Minnesang und Sangspruchdichtung.* Hermaea: Germanistische Forschungen, Neue Folge, 75 (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1995), 158–65, who discusses Walther's relationship with his patrons in regard to *milte* and *kargheit*.

23 Although he was allied with Otto at the time of this *Lied* appeared, Dietrich von Meißen later became one of Otto's staunchest opponents; see Ulrich Müller, "Walthers Sangspruchdichtung," (see note 10), 166–67.

24 See Ulrich Müller, "Walthers Sangspruchdichtung" (see note 10), 182–83.

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inhabit it are little more than a collection of clichés. He has provided a basic sketch of the geographical space stretching from Europe to the Levant: the distance seems vast, and he has suggested that there are well-disposed Christian peoples between the European "here" and the Levantine "there" who would aid Otto on his quest to free the Holy Land. The "heathens," whose forces threaten it, however, are depicted most simplistically: they are haughty, contemptuous of the Christian God, and Walther implies that they are unworthy opponents whom Otto and God, in partnership, will easily defeat. The poet furnishes the Islamic people he describes with no identifying, human characteristics, providing them only with an identity as warriors and a collective, deprecating label ("heidenschaft"). Clearly, in this respect the "Ottenton" serves as little more than a propaganda piece, in which the author presents a dehumanized and vanquishable foe for his tendentious aims. As we will see, this is not the most extreme example of Walther's reduction of the Middle Eastern landscape and the people who inhabit it to simplistic formulae. At the same time, however, it does reveal Walther's ability to manipulate the syntax of his poetic "space" in order to achieve his political goals.

The "Palästinalied"

One of Walther's most famous political *Sprüche*, the "Palästinalied,"("Nu alrêst lebe ich mir werde" [L. 14, 38, "Only now do I begin to live rightly"])[25] has drawn a good deal of attention from critics,[26] as the poet's recognition that each major Western religion's claim to the Holy Land bears some legitimacy, even if Walther may not be suggesting tolerance. After the analysis above of Walther's somewhat chauvinistic condemnation of Muslims in the "Ottenton," one feels compelled to ask: is such a humane and benevolent perspective for the poetic voice in the later poem (ca. 1228)[27] ultimately supportable? In the following discussion of space and religions represented in the poem I would like to test certain, potentially

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25 Walther von der Vogelweide, *Leich, Lieder, Sangsprüche* (see note 9), 24–29; translations of sections from the "Palästinalied" are my own.

26 See Hermann Ingebrand, "Interpretationen zur Kreuzzugslyrik Friedrichs von Hausen, Albrechts von Johansdorf, Heinrichs von Rugge, Hartmanns von Aue und Walthers von der Vogelweide," Ph. D. diss. Frankfurt a. M. 1966, 200–19; Thomas Bein, *Walther von der Vogelweide* (see note 11), 228–30; Christa Ortmann, "Walthers *werdekeit:* zur Typologie des Palästinalieds," *Fragen der Liedinterpretation* (see note 3), 57–74; Manfred Günter Scholz, *Walther von der Vogelweide* (see note 1), 163–66; see also Franz Viktor Spechtler, "Der Leich, Lieder zum Thema Heiliges Land und Kreuzzug, 'Alterslieder,'" *Walther von der Vogelweide: Epoche – Werk – Wirkung* (see note 1), 207–12.

27 Franz Viktor Spechtler, "Der Leich, Lieder zum Thema Heiliges Land und Kreuzzug, 'Alterslieder,'" *Walther von der Vogelweide: Epoche – Werk – Wirkung* (see note 1), 209–10.

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ambiguous references to the peoples and land in the "Palästinalied" for traces of such a modern and enlightened attitude.

To be sure, the song certainly represents Palestine in a manner that furthers propagandistic aims,[28] in much the same way that the previous "Ton" fashions a Holy Land purportedly in need of Christian military action in order to save it. While here the poet does not make a direct appeal to the audience to fight, it is clear nevertheless that he intends to incite his readership/audience to abandon family and home, to take up arms and march into the East in order to wrest control of the Holy Land from the imagined "Other." Again, Walther employs sophisticated rhetorical and syntactical relationships within the poem to achieve his goals; the resulting image of both the Holy Land and its inhabitants, while doubtlessly a politically useful one for such warmongering tendencies, is far from accurate, or even plausible.

In a study of the medieval European discourse of the Muslim "Other," Jerold C. Frakes attempts to set several Walther poems within a context of the historical and political realities of his age and to illuminate some of the possible motives for his formulations.[29] Frakes suggests that Walther had various purposes for his crusade poems, composed for several patrons over a long stretch of time that witnessed swift transformations in political climate and rapidly changing needs for political lyrics and propaganda. Therefore, according to Frakes, one would search Walther's poems in vain for a consistent, all-inclusive, and definitive perspective, for example, on precisely whom he means by the term "heiden." Nevertheless, Frakes asserts, Walther drew on a number of already well-established and iconic images of the followers of Islam who inhabited the Middle East. Similarly, in the European imagining of the region, readily available, iconic and fictional images, firmly entrenched in the mind's eye of the Christian faithful, become most significant factors in determining essential qualities of "space" in these poems, rather than any empirically or experientially verifiable characteristics.

In fact, the elements of Walther's Oriental ecology are carefully chosen in order that they contribute negatively to constructing the identity of the Judaic and Islamic "Others" –put differently, Walther paints a religiously tendentious picture of the Holy Land, and disenfranchises those "juden unde heiden" who live there, merely because they taint that vision through their disbelief.

Frakes's comments carry their condemnation of Walther's perspective too far, however, when he asserts, for example, that, with the exception of two lines in the "Wiener Hofton," "evidence from Walther's texts is nowhere inconsistent with a

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28 See Ulrich Müller, "Die mittelhochdeutsche Lyrik," *Lyrik des Mittelalters*, vol. II: *Probleme und Interpretationen: Mittelhochdeutsch, Mittelenglisch*, ed. Heinz Bergner (Stuttgart: Reclam, 1983), 7–227.

29 Jerold C. Frakes, *Vernacular and Latin Literary Discourses* (see note 8), 137–45.

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variety of extant contemporaneous bigoted modes of discourse of the Muslim Other."[30] Although the poet's perspective in this and several other poems is firmly grounded in Eurocentric, Christian discourse, and despite his demonization of the other two religions, the function of the poem, in the final analysis, is to prepare fellow citizens to march off to battle in a remote and unknown land, where it is likely that death awaits them. The "Palästinalied" is propaganda, and to expect the poet to phrase his descriptions in a less offensive manner misses that point.

Numerous other critics have examined Walther's *Kreuzzug* poetry as well, and have focused especially on the "Palästinalied" as perhaps his most extensive statement on the "Holy Land."[31] Some have noticed that the notion of "Holy Land" presented here rests for the greatest part upon a Waltherian version of the *Heilsgeschichte,* the Biblical narrative of salvation, told from an exclusively Christian perspective.[32] In the first verse, the lyrical voice claims authority through actual experience of the lands in question, for, he asserts, he has been there:

Nû alrêst lebe ich mir werde,
sît mîn sündic ouge siht
daz hêre lant und ouch die erde,
dem man vil der êren giht.
Mirst geschehen, des ich ie bat,
ich bin komen an die stat,
dâ got menschlîchen trat. (I, 1–7)

[Only now do I begin to live rightly
since my sinful eye has seen
the splendid land and also the earth
which receives much honor.
What has happened is something for which I have long wished,
I have arrived at the place
where God trod as a human being.]

In the second line one is struck by the descriptor for his eye, "mîn sündic ouge." Walther's audience would doubtlessly associate this combination with one of the most significant passages of the New Testament, occurring in Christ's Sermon on

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30 Jerold C. Frakes, *Vernacular and Latin Literary Discourses* (see note 8), 141.

31 See especially Wolfgang Haubrichs, "Grund und Hintergrund in der Kreuzzugsdichtung: Argumentationsstruktur und politische Intention in Walthers 'Elegie' und 'Palästinalied,'" *Philologie und Geschichtswissenschaft: Demonstrationen literarischer Texte d. Mittelalters*, ed. Heinz Rupp. Medium Literatur, 5 (Heidelberg: Quelle und Meyer, 1977), 12–62, and Hermann Ingebrand, *Interpretationen zur Kreuzzugslyrik* (see note 26), 200–19.

32 Particularly insightful on this issue, in addition to Frakes's analysis, is Christa Ortmann's study on the "Palästinalied," "Walthers werdekeit: zur Typologie des 'Palästinalieds,'" *Fragen der Liedinterpretation* (see note 3), 57–74; see also Helmut Brall-Tuchel, "Frömmigkeit und Herrschaft, Wonne und Weg: Landschaften in der Literatur des Mittelalters," *Das Mittelalter* 16 (2011): 104–30.

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the Mount, wherein he states, "And if thy right eye offend thee, pluck it out, and cast it from thee: for it is profitable for thee that one of thy members should perish, and not that thy whole body should be cast into hell."[33] The medieval text thus identifies the aperture to the spatial environment of the poem as a Biblical one, alerting the audience that the text will draw images not from an ecological reality but rather from the metaphorical-allegorical realm of scripture. Locating the ingress here serves two important functions: first, it strongly facilitates the economy of poetic language, by which a simple combination of noun and modifier carries with it an immense symbolic and semantic field of other associations useful for the poet's political agenda; and second, it fosters a sense of fellowship among the audience who would be familiar with such obviously religious references and who, after all, will be called to action to go crusading.

Indeed, the description of landscape by means of tendentious religious associations courses throughout the poem. Although one might expect to hear at some point an even minimally verisimilar description of the arid, desert environs of the Levant, one receives instead a formulaic listing of Biblical events that partly parallel the expressions of dogmatic faith familiar to and recited by all Christian faithful in the Nicene Creed, for example, and partly stem from popular Christian narrative traditions. Walther commences the poem's second strophe with what appears to be the beginnings of an actual description of land:

> Schoene lant, rîch unde hêre,
> swaz ich der noch hân gesehen,
> sô bist dûz ir aller êre.
> waz ist wunders hie geschehen.
> Daz ein maget ein kint gebar,
> hêre über aller engel schar,
> was daz niht ein wunder gar? (II, 1–7)
>
> [Beautiful land, rich and splendid,
> regardless of how many lands I have yet seen
> you are the greatest of them all.
> What miracles have transpired here!
> That a maiden bore a child,
> the lord above the throngs of all angels,
> was that not truly a miracle?]

While Walther makes the claim that his "sündig ouge" has seen a beautiful, rich and splendid land, in fact, the superlative of all those that the well-traveled poet has thus far experienced, there is very little substance and no detail that might indicate how the land appears objectively–are its beautiful qualities, for instance,

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[33] *The "Authorized Version" of the King James Bible Online* (see note 12) (last accessed on Jan. 1, 2013).

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like the Alpine summits, or the Austrian forests, or the shores of the Bodensee, or some other sublimely natural space? The listener does not discover the answer, but instead Walther makes reference to one of the central dogmatic tenets of Christianity: the virgin birth.

The beauty of the land is thus linked to a part of the biblical story concerning the birth of Jesus, from which the environment derives all its superlatively sublime and admirable qualities; hence, it is not the case that the landscape becomes an empirically identifiable and palpable container, but rather the content of the Christian mythology generates a backdrop for the scriptural tale. Thus, the poem fabricates a land of miracles and myths, and the environment requires no pretense of realistic depiction; in fact, a verisimilar description would needlessly distract from the "holy card" image[34] of what had transpired there. Walther's "Palästina" is like James Hilton's Shangri-la, a pure and ideal space beyond a "lost horizon"[35] of history and geography, and the poet takes some pains in the following strophes to accentuate further its unearthly and utopian character. At the same time, however, Walther includes enough objective concretization to remain grounded in a medieval sense of spatial and geographical relationship.

After all, his mission is to convince members of his audience to leave family, friends, home and livelihood, and take up the cause of a crusade; for this purpose, some solid references to objects and places would make good rhetorical sense, since such images guide the audience to agreement with the poem's political agenda.

As the poem continues, Walther narrates more biblical events, further reinforcing the mythological character of the space, including in the fourth strophe Christ's baptism (emphasizing his humanity and community with all who have been baptized), his betrayal by Judas (sounding the theme of loyalty that would find particular resonance with a feudal German audience), and his passion and death (which are suggested by the instruments of his torture and murder, the "sper, criuze unde dorn!" ["spear, cross and crown of thorns"]).

Walther turns these objects into weapons against the Christians' Islamic competitors in the Holy Land: "wê dir, heiden, daz ist dir zorn." ("Woe to you, heathen, they will be a plague to you!"). He suggests that Christ's willing death for humanity's salvation is the greatest of miracles, implying that Christians' debt to Him is immense as a result of this action. Thus, contemplation on the objects of his

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34 See Oskar Seidlin, "Der Taugenichts *ante portas*: Interpretation einer Eichendorff-Stelle," *Journal of English and Germanic Philology* 52 (1953): 509–24, in which Seidlin demonstrates how Eichendorff's subjective description creates a similarly whimsical, "holy card" image of that space, which amounts to a projection of the Taugenichts's inner, pious, childlike disposition and vivid imagination, neither of which are capable of grasping the Italian landscape realistically.

35 See James Hilton, *Lost Horizon* (New York: W. Morrow and Company, 1933).

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torture and death inspire Christians to pluck up courage and to take extreme measures.

Walther follows this in the sixth strophe with a description of the harrowing of hell, a passage that provides a glimpse at some specific geographical markers, although the space remains essentially mythical. The first two lines express the poem's sole reference to a concrete, identifiable and locatable object of that space: "Hinnen vuor der sun zer helle, / von dem grabe, dâ er inne lac" ("From there, the Son traveled to hell, from the grave in which he lay"). While this simple statement professes an element of church belief, deeply embedded within Christian Eastertide mythology,[36] it also provides the audience with some sense of the scope of the environment with which Walther is dealing, as well as a direction through it. Christ's grave, one of the most symbolically weighty and emotionally charged *loci* in the realm of Christian art and literature, serves the additional function here of anchoring one end of a journey into a completely mythic realm, that of the "underworld," which had evolved from its more ancient designation as the realm of all dead spirits to become the Christian region of torment, punishment and deprivation.

Walther's verse concretizes this: Christ's grave, for all its symbolic significance, still remains an identifiable place one can locate in the Holy Land, and provides a tangible beginning point for a journey that leads to an ending point, that of hell. The verb "vuor" is unremarkable and conveys the same sense of "traveling" that would describe a trip from one town to the next, or from one land to the next; it communicates concreteness and authenticity, not on a mythic-spiritual level but rather on a sober and realistic one. Thus, the other *terminus* of the journey, "helle," achieves something of a geographical dimension and concreteness from its association with what came before it. It is a locale that someone (of course, specifically, this refers to Christ in this instance) reaches by travel from his grave, on a direct line that does not require a perceivable emergence from the tomb. One has the sense that it is located inside the earth, situated at least somewhat in consonance with the same geographical and ecological principles that inform

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36 The "Harrowing of Hell," Christ's descent into hell to reclaim the souls of the unbaptized but savable ones from earlier historical times, was pieced together between the fourth and eighth centuries C.E. out of several scriptural allusions (e.g., 1 Peter 3: 19–20 and Ephesians 4: 8–10) and later became a (somewhat controversial) matter of faith after it had found its way into the Apostles' Creed; see Peter Dinzelbacher, "Harrowing of Hell," *Medieval Folklore: A Guide to Myths, Legends, Tales, Beliefs, and Customs*, ed. Carl Lindahl, John McNamara, and John Lindow (Oxford, New York, et al.: Oxford University Press, 2002), 192–93; and Karl Tamburr, *The Harrowing of Hell in Medieval England* (Woodbridge: D. S. Brewer, 2007), 16, 46. Cf. also J. A. MacCulloch, *The Harrowing of Hell: A Comparative Study of an Early Christian Doctrine* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1930).

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Dante's roadmap, from the "dark woods" into the Inferno, approximately a century later.

As we learn in the poem's seventh strophe, after having completed the journey in the company of his Father and the Holy Spirit, and having defeated the devil in hell, "daz nie keiser baz gestreit" ("better than any Kaiser could ever have fought Him"), Christ returned once again to the Holy Land: "dô vuor er her wider ze lande." Now the Jews can once more see alive "in . . . den ir hant sluoc unde stach" ("Him, whom their hands had beaten and stabbed"); indeed, at that moment "huob sich der juden leit" ("Then began the suffering of the Jews"). Once again the theme of aggression against a religious "Other" permeates the lyrical discourse, as a string of violent actions parallels the journey to and from hell. Jesus' crucifixion produces sacred objects that serve as weapons against one enemy; He travels to hell to battle a second foe and returns to combat a third, although Christ's final victory in this series lies in nothing more than confounding the Jews' surveillance of His tomb ("Daz er hêrre ir huote brach").

But by presenting the theme of violence and the "Other" in this way, Walther establishes an equivalence of evil: the figure of the devil (in the seventh strophe) is sandwiched between "heiden" (fourth strophe) and "juden" (seventh strophe), each paying for offenses against Christ. In the case of the "heiden," it is their mere presence in the Holy Land, to which Walther so stringently objects; and while one can easily protest that such reasoning is absurd, it is nonetheless clear that the *Lied* is not appealing to reason, but rather to emotion and religious fervor. Furthermore, the condemnation of all Jewry on account of the guilt of the few who took part in Christ's crucifixion[37] is patently unfair. Nevertheless, for Walther's lyrical voice in this poem, such non-transgressions as religious-cultural identity and coincidences of habitat and homeland are sufficient to represent Jews and Muslims figuratively on the same level of evil as the devil himself.

Among other things, Walther has revealed in these verses an underlying paradigm for understanding the space of the Holy Land as a geographical entity that functions to make contemporaneous the most sacred elements of Christian religious dogma. Temporally, the present reality of that land has all but evaporated from the poem, save for periodic reminders that there are zealots of other religious groups living there in violent competition with "us" Christians. Instead, the Levant serves as a connecting link between the Christians of Europe and their religious history, which the *Lied* attempts to bring into a present-tense. In a society where, with regard to religious symbolism, the concrete signifier

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[37] This anti-Judaic attitude, of course, has been common for centuries, even in modern times, and has often been given as an excuse for anti-Semitic racism on the part of "devout" Christians; see, for example, Jeremy Cohen, *Christ Killers: the Jews and the Passion from the Bible to the Big Screen* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2007).

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obtains the same sanctity as the signified, where the "Word was made flesh and dwelt among us"[38] and where the doctrine of transubstantiation leaves no doubt among the faithful that the host and the wine of communion are, in fact, the actual and authentic body and blood of the savior of Christianity, such connections become a facile means of awakening strong religious fervor.

Having made his case that the "lant" is, without doubt, the very same where Christ's foot touched the earth, where His body was buried, and to which He returned after the harrowing of hell, Walther repeats the word "lant" three times in three different contexts over the next three strophes (eighth through eleventh): first, referring to the Holy Land as Christ's departure point for his ascension into heaven;[39] second, as the *locus* where the last judgment will take place; and third, in combination with "réhter" in the phrase "Unserre lantrehtære" ("our local justices"), describing incompetent judges, nothing at all like Christ, who will render the Last Judgment swiftly and fiercely. These instances constitute a movement away from a mythic event in Christ's life (the ascension), through a future, religious-mythic event that will affect all people (the Apocalypse and Last Judgment), to the current, somewhat mundane and Eurocentric environment in which the audience finds itself (that where the "lantrehtære" sit in judgment). The "lant" thus serves to bridge myth and time to focus Walther's audience later in the poem on the "us."

While the term "lantrehtære" clearly lacks the *gravitas* of the previous two instances of "lant," "it nevertheless serves the important function of bringing the contemporary Christian audience members into the poem and forcing them to contextualize themselves within the poem's logic, which until now has been focused on the religious-mythic realm of Bible stories. And having come at the point just after Walther's introduction of the Apocalypse and Last Judgment (events which, in the mind of the audience, all will experience in the future), an element of fear, part and parcel of all such scary tales, necessarily accompanies the contextualization. The tenth strophe serves to reinforce these connections, and marks a turning point; from here on Walther will bring the present more into focus, creating the proper atmosphere and attitude for the audience to feel both the religious desire to travel to the land of miracles and the obligation to assist in gaining partisan control over it, in order to escape doomsday punishments.

In some Walther criticism, the twelfth strophe has offered hope to those who seek to rescue Walther, the iconic medieval *Spruchdichter*, from the charge that his Crusader lyrics are as blatantly religious-chauvinistic as those of many another

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38 John 1:14, *The "Authorized Version" of the King James Bible Online* (see note 12) (last accessed on Jan. 1, 2013).

39 This will occur in the Valley of Jehoshaphat, as prophesied in Joel 3; see Christa Ortmann, "Walthers *werdekeit*" (see note 32), 64.

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poet filled with Christian zeal. He points out that the three peoples claim the land to be their own:

> Cristen, juden unde heiden
> jehent, daz diz ir erbe sî.
> got sol uns ze reht bescheiden
> dur die sîne namen drî.
> Al diu werlt, diu strîtet her:
> wir sîn an der rehten ger.
> reht ist, daz er uns gewer. (XII, 1–7)
>
> Christians, Jews and Heathens
> claim that this (land) is their inheritance.
> God should render his judgment for us
> by way of his three names.
> All the world's battling here:
> we are on the right side.
> It is just that He lets us prevail.

The argument focuses on Walther's apparent granting of equal rights among the three competitors by listing them, "christen, juden unde heiden" together in sequence, and then stating that each claims it as a cultural/religious inheritance. The poet would then let God decide which group by rights can claim the Holy Land as its own. If we examine the entire strophe and its context, however, it is very clear in whose favor this judgment will fall. First, the God who decides will do so "dur die sîne namen drî" ("by way of his three names"). Two possibilities arise for interpreting this phrase: either the three religions identify the deity each through its own specific name, or the God whose being exists as a trinity will decide—only the Christian deity qualifies on that basis, and seems to provide a far more likely reference, particularly in context of the rest of the *Lied*. Second, in the last three lines of the poem, Walther proclaims: "Al diu werlt, diu strîtet her: / wir sîn an der rehten ger. / reht ist, daz er uns gewer" (XII, 5–7). If we read these lines as a suggestion for a compassionate, understanding perspective, we should perhaps render their sense as follows: each of the three major world religions is battling here and each claims that our position is correct and it is just that God permit us to prevail.

However, the poet has developed a strongly partisan, religiously chauvinistic point-of-view throughout the previous strophes, and a message of harmony and understanding of one's foes, as attractive as that might seem to a twenty-first century audience, strikes us as radically inconsistent with the rest of the "Palästinalied." It makes far more contextual sense that Walther is promoting an entirely pro-Christian agenda, and is referring to the Christian side as the just one, which God will ultimately support. Read this way, the lines leave little room for equivocation: the poet expresses complete certainty that the end result of the

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competition will be a vanquishing of both Levantine "Others" and the Christian domination of the Holy Land, what amounts to one of the most explicit statements of medieval "manifest destiny" in any of his verses. The "Palästinalied" may indeed fit into Frakes's category of "a generally bigoted mode of the early thriteenth-century discourses of the Muslim Other."[40]

Why, then, does Walther present the three religions in sequence at the beginning of the strophe? As John D. Martin points out, there is a tradition for this sequencing of Palestinian inhabitants before and after Walther's "Palästinalied," for example, somewhat in Boccaccio's *Decameron*, the Sixth Book of Wolfram's *Willehalm*, in Freidank's *Bescheidenheit*, 6, 11 ff., and even in the *Gesta Romanorum*, to which the "Ringparabel," employed centuries later by Lessing in his play *Nathan der Weise*, can be traced.[41] The reasons for the clumping together of the three groups are various in these examples, but point to purposes other than to inspire Christian warriors to go on crusade and vanquish the foes of Christ.

Underlying Walther's usage, however, there seems to be a definite political and rhetorical intentionality. For example, in the third strophe (in Lachmann the twelfth strophe, but reassigned as the third strophe by Cormeau), the poet states that, although he claims to have seen the Holy Land with his own sinful eye, he knows only as much about all the miracles that God has wrought there as a child might. However, if you would like to hear more, Walther has a suggestion regarding where one might find out: "swem des niht genuoge, der gê / zuo den juden, die sagent es mê" (III, 6–7; "For anyone who this does not suffice, / Let him go to the Jews, they will tell him more"). After all, the Jews live there, and have witnessed firsthand (although they have done so in an antagonistic manner) what Christ could do, especially in the aftermath of his resurrection.

As we have seen, Walther insists that they have paid and will pay for their malevolent actions and disbelief, but it is remarkable that Walther suggests to the reader/audience that they be called upon here to bear witness—that the Jews would thus acquire a status as source of information and knowledge. The sudden transformation, if we take it at its face value, seems to rescue the Jews from the desolation to which the previous strophes have relegated them.

However, the tone of the statement, understood in its context, strikes the audience as decidedly ironic. It unashamedly implies that, if one does not believe in all of the miracles that Walther is describing for the audience, then one is no better than the Jews, whose greatest failure (according to this chauvinistically Christian perspective) is their refusal to believe. However, if the disbeliever will just go to the Jews who have been punished for their disbelief, then perhaps (s)he

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40 Jerold C. Frakes, *Vernacular and Latin Literary Discourses* (see note 8), 141.

41 John D. Martin, "Christen und Andersgläubige in Wolframs 'Willehalm,'" *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum und deutsche Literatur* 133 (2004): 45–48.

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will find more convincing evidence. Indeed, the land itself will "tell you more," should you enter into the space where Christ touched the earth and *still* need more coaxing; as Walther implies rhetorically, there you will find those who suffer from their false idea that the land is merely mundane space, and their stubborn rejection of the great, miraculous profundity that the poet assiduously attaches to it throughout the poem.

Therefore, in Walther's "Palästinalied" the poet presents a *Heilsgeschichte* (Salvation History) of the life of Christ linked fundamentally and inseparably to the Holy Land itself, removing the space from any real notions of geography or ecology and transforming it into a tendentiously Christian-mythical *locus*. The inhabitants, especially the Jews, are vilified in the context of such stories; and the "heiden," the Muslim people inhabiting the region, are placed in a position strongly antagonistic to the partisan Christian poetic voice. In the "Palästinalied" there is no trace of any conciliatory attitude whatsoever.[42] Thus, without directly calling for a crusade, Walther prepares the audience for taking up arms against the "enemies" of Christianity by 1) sanctifying the space of the "Holy Land," 2) vilifying the non-Christian inhabitants for having desecrated the land through their disbelief, and 3) showing the land to be vulnerable to the desecration.

By reminding the Christian audience of Christ's great generosity for working profuse numbers of miracles and for having died so that Christians can achieve salvation, he implies again and again the feudal obligation that they owe to God: to come to the defense of God's land. The call for a "Holy War" lies a very short step away from here. It is nevertheless most striking that the call relies to such a great extent on a notion of a "Holy Land" lacking any concrete connection whatsoever to authentic, verifiable historicity and specific, ascertainable geography.

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[42] Ulrich Müller comes to a similar conclusion: "Das Lied des Palästina-Pilgers ist also nur vordergründig ein bloßes Preislied auf das Heilige Land; im Kern ist es ein eindeutiges Propagandalied, das, den christlichen Anspruch auf Palästina durch die Erzählung der Heilsgeschichte als den allein gerechtfertigten 'beweist' und damit die Voraussetzung für einen Kreuzzug schafft, der im Grunde nichts anderes mehr ist als die Exekution eines richterlichen Urteils" ("The Lied is thus only superficially a mere hymn of praise to the Holy Land; at its core it is unequivocally a propaganda song that 'proves' the Christian claim to Palestine through the narrative of the story of salvation as the only justifiable one, and thus creates the prerequisite for a Crusade, which is basically nothing other than the execution of a judicial decree"). Ulrich Müller, "Die mittelhochdeutsche Lyrik," *Lyrik des Mittelalters II: Probleme und Interpretationen: Mittelhochdeutsch, Mittelenglisch* (see note 28), 130.

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The "Kreuzlied"

Another of Walther's *Sprüche* to treat the Holy Land propagandistically is the so-called "Kreuzlied" ("Vil süeze wære minne" [L. 76, 22, "Very sweet, authentic love"]). [43] Dating the "Kreuzlied" has proven difficult, as is the case with most of Walther's Lieder; critics have maintained that internal evidence points to its early composition around 1200 or 1210 (Ingebrand, Wisniewski), while some claim that other features indicate a late appearance, possibly in 1228 (Ladenthin) or even that it may be one of Walther's final poems (Spechtler).[44] The variety of plausible dates assigned to this Lied suggests that the perspective represented in the poem can be found in his lyrics throughout Walther's life, and that, in the final analysis, his propagandistic use of that space to incite Christians to war against the Muslims in the Levant becomes his primary method of envisioning the geography of the region from a political-religious perspective.

The first verse and the first half of the second stanza essentially constitute a prayer that the Christian God arrive and help Christianity to battle against a sorrow that has spread throughout the world. The second strophe begins with a *memento mori* and a reminder of the ever-present threat of hell to anyone who does not join ranks with God. By the fifth line, the poet begins to provide geographical information about the source of the problem faced by the Christians, and even exhorts the help of the Blessed Virgin, a powerful symbol for pious European Christians:

> Diz kurze leben verswindet,
> der tôt uns sündic vindet,
> swer sich ze gote gesindet,
> der mac der helle engân.
> bî swære ist genâde funden:
> nû heilent kristes wunden.
> sîn lant wirt schiere enbunden,
> dest sicher sunder wân.
> künigin ob allen frowen,
> lâ werende helfe schowen.

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[43] See Walther von der Vogelweide, *Leich, Lieder, Sangsprüche,* (see note 9), 171–74; significant essays include Hermann Ingebrand, *Interpretationen zur Kreuzzugslyrik* (see note 26), 175–99; Volker Ladenthin, "Walthers Kreuzlied 76,22 vor dem Hintergrund mittelalterlicher Kreuzpredigten," *Euphorion* 77 (1983): 40–71; Roswitha Wisniewski, *Kreuzzugsdichtung: Idealität in der Wirklichkeit*. Wege der Forschung 44 (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1984), 111–15; Thomas Bein, *Walther von der Vogelweide,* (see note 11), 230; Manfred Günter Scholz, *Walther von der Vogelweide*, (see note 1), 162–63; Franz Viktor Spechtler, "Der Leich, Lieder zum Thema Heiliges Land und Kreuzzug, 'Alterslieder'" (see note 26), 213–14.

[44] See Manfred Günther Scholz, *Walther von der Vogelweide* (see note 1), 162.

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dîn kint wart dort verhowen,
sîn menscheit sich ergap. (II, 1–12)

[This short life disappears,
death finds us in a sinful state,
whoever allies with God,
may escape hell.
In time of need one finds grace:
Christ's wounds are healing.
His land will soon be freed,
of that one can be certain without doubt.
Queen of all women,
let us look upon your mercy!
Your Son was cut down there
and gave up His (mortal) humanity.[45]]

Once more, Walther subtly establishes his familiar pattern of identifying the geography of the Middle East with images from the Christian *Heilsgeschichte*, wherein Christ was "verhowen" ("cut down") in the Holy Land; he implies that the same thing is occurring to the Christians living there. In the final twelve lines of the second strophe we discover the specific nature of the conflict and the identity of the enemy victimizing those Christians:

sîn geist müeze uns gefristen,
daz wir die diet verlisten.
der touf si seit unkristen,
wan fürhtent sî den stap,
der ouch die juden villet?
ir schrîen lût erhillet.
manic lop dem kriuze erschillet:
erlœsen wir daz grap! (II, 13–20)

[May His Spirit sustain us,
so that we with cleverness conquer the people there.
(According to our law) they, unbaptized, are heathens;
why do they not fear the staff (of God)
which also smites the Jews?
Their anguished cry sounds loudly.
Many praises ring out even more loudly:
Let us free the Holy Sepulcher!]

The typical images of the Holy Land Walther develops in other poems are recalled here: in the midst of lines expressing praise, this time for the Blessed Virgin, Walther makes reference to a divine staff that metes out punishment to, for

[45] Translations of these lines from the "Kreuzlied" are my own.

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example, the Jews, making them cry out loudly, as well as to the grave of Jesus, which has been captured and needs to be liberated. Again he puts forward a tripartite division of heaven, earth and hell as the cosmos into which this *Lied* is set, describing the Middle East as a geographical space where an eternal war between the forces of good and evil is being ferociously waged, and in which European Christians of the early thirteenth century are playing a significant role.

The third strophe continues, reinforces and amplifies this atmosphere, recalling the cross, perhaps the most symbolically significant, tactilely material object arising from the New Testament story of Christ's passion and death. Connecting with the mood established in the second strophe, this fundamental symbol of Christianity is embedded within the remembrance that we, too, must die, and because of Christ's willing death we can enjoy the blessings of eternal life. Of course, the Christian's realization of divine munificence creates a sense of obligation: since the deity experienced such pain and sorrow, we should also be willing to suffer and die for a greater good. The beginning of the third strophe strongly suggests the utter vanity of "sinful life" and that we are already in death's possession, but there is a "reward" awaiting us because of Christ's generosity:

Diu menscheit muoz verderben,
suln wir den lôn erwerben,
got wolde dur uns sterben,
sîn drô ist ûf gespart.
sîn kriuze vil gehêret
hât maniges heil gemêret.
swer sich von zwîvel kêret,
der hât den geist bewart.
sündic lîp vergezzen,
dir sint diu jâr gemezzen,
der tôt hât uns besezzen
die veigen âne wer. (III, 1–12)

[Human beings have to pass away
if we are to earn the reward,
God wanted to die for us,
His threat has been set aside.
His cross, much exalted,
has increased blessings upon many.
Whoever turns away from doubt,
has kept the Spirit in sight.
Forget about the sinful life,
your years are numbered,
death has taken possession of us,
destroying us without our resistance.]

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The poet's line of argument in the third strophe is very clear: death is inevitable, and so it would be senseless for humans to cling to life. Through the redemptive act of His crucifixion and death, Christ offers the human being a reward that is only to be claimed after one's own death. Therefore, the poet's audience should turn toward God (i.e., do God's bidding as Walther, still in the persona of God's herald, will next describe it) and not fear doing what needs to be done; indeed, one should welcome death as a release from a sinful life, especially since Christ was so generous to give His life for us. In the land now dominated by "foreign" disbelievers and interlopers one can become an instrument of God's own will, and so find hero's glory by overcoming the unbaptized "heiden":

nû hellent hin gelîche,
daz wir daz himelrîche
erwerben sicherlîche
bî duldeklîcher zer.
got wil mit heldes handen
dort rechen sînen anden,
sich schar von manigen landen
des heilegeistes her! (III, 13–20)

[Now let us hasten immediately there,
where we the kingdom of Heaven
will earn with certainty
through endurance and sacrifice.
God will, by the hero's hands,
avenge there the hurts done unto Him,
(Therefore) come from many lands,
(O you) army of the Holy Spirit!]

As in both the "Ottenton" and the "Palästinalied," the poet asserts here that offenses have been done to God, and the audience is encouraged to serve Him as means to avenge the wrongdoings. The reward for this service will be entry to the Kingdom of Heaven after death. Most significantly, the poet claims the existence of a vast army from "many lands" that will join ranks and march on the Holy Land to reclaim it. Thus, in the poet's vision, the army is a Pan-Christian one. The image is mythic, like the one Walther creates of the Holy Land, greater than merely a political or geographical reality, but in effect a force equal to the spiritual quest on which it will embark.

The final fourteen lines of the poem personify the precious and endangered Holy Land as a hapless victim in need of rescue. As a result of the argument the poet has just made, every Christian should to come to its aid to repay the generosity that Christ has demonstrated in abundance by securing heavenly salvation for them.

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ez ist wol kunt uns allen,
wie jâmerlich ez stât,
daz hêre lant vil reine,
gar helfelôs und eine.
Ierusalêm, nû weine,
wie dîn vergezzen ist!
der heiden überhêre
hât dich verschelket sêre.
dur dîner namen êre
lâ dich erbarmen, Krist,
mit welher nôt si ringen,
die dort den borgen dingen,
daz si uns alsô betwingen,
daz wende in kurzer frist. (IV, 7–20)

[It is well-known to all of us
how woeful stands there
the splendid land, very pure,
completely helpless and alone.
Now cry, Jerusalem,
at how you are forgotten!
The arrogance of the heathen
has made you painfully subservient.
By the honor of your names (in the Trinity)
have mercy on them, Christ,
they who struggle under such distress,
whom the enemy there orders around.[46]]

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[46] See Roswitha Wisniewski, *Kreuzzugsdichtung: Idealität in der Wirklichkeit*. Impulse der Forschung, 44 (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1984), 107–26; in her discussion of the "Kreuzlied," she suggests several possibilities to what Walther might mean by "den borgen dingen," the last of which bears relevance to the current discussion: "Bleibt man bei der Lesart *den borgen dingen*, so wird am ehesten daran zu denken sein, daß *borge* eine Eindeutschung des Begriffs *burgens* oder *bourgeois* sein könnte, womit seit dem Ende des 12. Jahrhunderts jene Siedler bezeichnet wurden, die neben dem Adel als Freie betrachtet wurden. Da sie auch eigene Gerichtshöfe (*cour des bourgeois*) besitzen konnten, ist es tatsächlich als Zeichen der Knechtschaft zu werten, wenn nach Saladins Siegen die Sarazenen *den borgen* gegenüber *dingen*, nämlich Gericht halten oder ihnen befehlen. Damit wäre dann die Situation der fränkischen Siedler angesprochen, die, unter moslemischer Herrschaft lebend, vermutlich ihre allmähliche völlige Eingliederung in den moslemischen Staat erwarteten" (115; If one keeps with the reading *den borgen dingen*, it may first occur to us that *borge* could be a Germanization of the concept of *burgens* or "bourgeois," which, since the end of the twelfth century, designated those settlers who, next to the nobility, were considered to be freemen. Since they were also permitted to hold their own courts (*cour des bourgeois*), it is in fact to be considered a sign of servitude when, after Saladin's victories, the Saracens *den borgen dingen*, namely, hold court over them or command them. In that case, then, the situation of the Frankish settlers would be addressed, who, living under Moslem

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That they (the enemy) will soon be at our gates,
please prevent in short order.]

The visual depiction of the Holy Land as abandoned to bullying heathens, who arrogantly dishonor it and enslave it to their will, repeats what Walther has previously asserted in other *Sprüche*.[47] It is a loaded image, disturbing to any European Christian, whose understanding of the terrain and the geography depends largely on Bible stories and Christian mythological traditions. Implicitly, the poet recognizes that the loss of control over space in the Holy Land could undermine the faith of one whose mental images are dependent on the land remaining under Christian dominion, which would supposedly preserve its purity.

Furthermore, the personification of the land as victim and slave of an oppressive and uncivilized foe arouses protective instincts within the audience: the image deeply offends the Christian-knightly system of courtly virtue, such as *milte*, the generosity shown to the poor that lies at the core of medieval ethical social behavior,[48] or of *erbärmde*, the tactful humility and recognition of the need of others, such as that shown, for example, by Hartmann von Aue's Erec toward an impoverished knight and a humiliated woman.[49] One may indeed suspect that Walther's string of "feminized" attributive adjectives ("vil reine,/ gar helfelôs und eine" [IV, 9–10]) in apposition to the "lant" intends to evoke the metaphor of the land as an abused woman, languishing due to the neglect of European knights, who now owe it both to her and to God to end her suffering.

Echoing a motif from the New Testament,[50] Walther directs Jerusalem to "cry," in tacit agreement that "she" is a solitary and abandoned being. This fact (Walther implies) ought to shame the negligent warriors who should be protecting her.

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rule, presumably expected their gradual, complete incorporation into the Muslim state).

47 See for example the discussion of milte in the "Ottenton," above (see note 22).

48 See Otfrid Ehrismann, *Ehre und Mut* (see note 22), 91–103.

49 Described in Helmut de Boor, *Die höfische Literatur: Vorbereitung Blüte, Ausklang 1170–1250.* Geschichte der deutschen Literatur: von den Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart, vol. 2 (Munich: Beck, 1962), 70; see also Hartmann von Aue, *Erec: mittelhochdeutscher Text und Übertragung* (1972; Frankfurt a. M.: Fischer Taschenbuch, 2000), lines 430–55, 503–87.

50 In the Gospel according to Luke, it is Jesus who cries over a personified Jerusalem, as he foretells the occupation of the Holy City by "foreign" forces; see Luke 19: 41–44, "And when He was come near, He beheld the city, and wept over it, saying, If thou hadst known, even thou, at least in this thy day, the things which belong unto thy peace! but now they are hid from thine eyes. For the days shall come upon thee, that thine enemies shall cast a trench about thee, and compass thee round, and keep thee in on every side, and shall lay thee even with the ground, and thy children within thee; and they shall not leave in thee one stone upon another; because thou knewest not the time of thy visitation" (see *The "Authorized Version" of the King James Bible Online* [see note 12], last accessed on Jan. 1, 2013).

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In the final two lines of the fourth strophe Walther asserts that the heathen must be stopped in the Holy Land, since Jerusalem is an important geographical symbol for all of Christendom. If Jerusalem falls, so might Christian Europe, as well. Thus, the final lines indicate that, as this battle goes for Jerusalem, so will it go for Europe in the not-too-distant future. Walther's warning – imagining the heathen at the gates of Europe ("daz si uns alsô betwingen") – sounds a note of alarm among the knights, that if they do not save Jerusalem then there is nothing to prevent the Islamic armies from marching on the more distant bastions of Christianity. The "Kreuzlied" thus concludes with an image of imminent danger, with which the poet clearly intends to frighten reticent knights into action; the image should inspire them to envision their European homeland and family under attack by the same arrogant, heathen hordes that have conquered Jerusalem, and so would feel compelled to engage them in the Holy Land and not in close proximity to their precious home turf.

The "Wiener Hofton" (strophes IV & V)

A much different note is sounded in the fourth and fifth strophes of the so-called "Wiener Hofton" (L. 20, 16; "Waz wunders in der werlte vert!"["What strangeness goes forth in this world"])[51]; indeed, this poem presents an entirely new perspective on the Muslim (and Jewish) "Other" in a non-propagandistic context. In the fourth strophe, Walther sounds the call to awaken, for the end is near, but not as a result of dangers posed by heathens to the Holy Land, as in the previous poems; rather, the danger stems from something that has developed within human nature itself, without regard to confession:

> Nû wachet! uns gêt zuo der tac,
> gegen dem wol angest haben mac
> ein ieglich kristen, juden unde heiden.
> wir hân der zeichen vil gesehen,
> dar an wir sîne kunft wol spehen,
> als uns diu schrift mit wârheit hât bescheiden.
> Diu sunne hât ir schîn verkêret,
> untriuwe ir sâmen ûz gerêret
> allenthalben zuo den wegen.
> der vater bî dem kinde untriuwe vindet,
> der bruoder sînem bruoder liuget,
> geistlich orden in kappen triuget,
> die uns ze himel solten stegen.

51 Walther von der Vogelweide, *Leich, Lieder, Sangsprüche* (see note 9), 39–47.

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gewalt gêt ûf, reht vor gerihte swindet.
wol ûf! hie ist ze vil gelegen! (IV, 1–15)

[Awake, and watch! The day draws near,
that everyone must come to fear –
that day – every Christian, Jew, and Heathen.
The signs abounding we have seen,
we read its coming clear therein.
as Scripture teaches us, where truth is written.
The sun has cast dark on its splendor;
Disloyalty in every quarter
has scattered its seed upon the ways –
the father comes upon a traitor in the child,
brother lies to brother, Churchmen
in hooded robes bring forth deception,
ordained to clear our path to Paradise;
Justice withers in the law-court, Violence grows wild.
Too long the slumbering here, arise![52]]

By employing images of opposition, strife, and chaos juxtaposed with biblical language, Walther establishes an inescapable, apocalyptic atmosphere: disturbances in nature and the demise of basic social, familial and religious institutions are identified as "signs" which indicate the approach of the day of fear, the biblical Judgment Day, as foretold by scriptural texts. The strophe thus functions as an interpretation, explaining how one should "read" the signs the audience can perceive for itself in the natural and social environment.

Furthermore, in the third line of the strophe Walther gathers all three religions that are significant from the medieval European perspective in the phrase "kristen, juden unde heiden." This formula, already encountered in Walther's "Palästinalied" (see above), presents here a collection of all human beings, no matter what their confession might be. The poet implies that all must fear the apocalypse, for there is no escaping it, no matter to which religious confession one might belong.

To be sure, the cause for the grouping of the three religious confessions cannot be more negative and unfortunate (the demise and destruction of all), but unlike the rhetorical manipulations in the "Palästinalied" the text of the "Wiener Hofton" offers a perspective that unites all human beings in their fate. In the "Palästinalied" Walther points out that the Christian point-of-view is correct and will prevail; in the "Wiener Hofton" the signs of apocalypse are for all to read and assure that no one will prevail.

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52 Translation from Frederick Golding, *Walther von der Vogelweide: The Single-Stanza Lyrics* (see note 13), 111.

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The fifth strophe carries forward this idea and offers the greatest hope for a new perspective on the three confessions that have evinced great enmity in the poems we have previously examined.[53] To be sure, the idea that the single deity worshipped in Christianity, Judaism, and Islam is one and the same entity comes through clearly in this poem, and although the sense of "us" and "them" is strongly perceptible, the division is not defined by religion, but rather by how humans treat one another ethically:

Swer âne vorhte, hêrre got,
wil sprechen dîniu zehen gebot
und brichet diu, daz ist niht rehtiu minne.
dich heizet vater maniger vil,
swer mîn ze bruoder niht enwil,
der sprichet diu starken wort ûz krankem sinne.
Wir wahsen ûz gelîchem dinge.
spîse frumet uns, diu wirt ringe,
sô si dur den munt gevert.
wer kan den hêrren von dem knehte gescheiden,
swâ er ir gebeine blôzez fünde,
het er ir joch lebender künde,
sô gewürme daz fleisch verzert?
im dienent kristen, juden unde heiden,
der elliu lebendiu wunder nert. (V, 1–15)

[Whoever, Lord, will fearless speak
Your Ten Commandments and then break
them—there's no perfect love there, no true merit.
So many people call you Father:
the man who won't have me as brother
speaks the mighty words out of a feeble spirit.
We all grow from the same poor matter,
the food that forms us has no fine nature
once passed through our mouths, turns vile.
Who can tell the master from the servant,
wherever he found their bare bones lying,
though he knew them well enough when they were living –
who, once the worms eat off their flesh, can tell?
All serve Him—Christian, Jew, and Heathen—
Who nurtures every living miracle.[54]]

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53 See Wolfgang Beutin, "'*im dienent kristen juden unde heiden*': Das Gleichheitspostulat im Spruch L. 22,3ff. oder: Zeigen sich in Walthers Dichtung Anfänge 'moderner" Humanität?" *Walther von der Vogelweide: Beiträge zu Leben und Werk* (see note 1), 299–314.

54 Frederick Golding, *Walther von der Vogelweide: The Single-Stanza Lyrics* (see note 13), 91.

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The fifth strophe presents a striking image and describes the digestive process in some detail in order to make an unforgettable point. All persons know well what happens to food as it is being digested: almost immediately it becomes disgusting to everyone when "regurgitated" textually (as it is here), and yet it is the stuff from which our bodies are replenished and grow. It does not matter if the food is chewed by a Christian, a Jew, or a Heathen, it is rendered repulsive by the actions necessary to make it biologically nourishing.

Similarly, if one unearths human remains, one cannot distinguish whether that body, having already been food for worms and insects and thus providing or having provided nourishment for the lowest of biological forms, belonged to a master, a servant, or whether that person had been a Christian, Jew or Heathen. Such natural processes nurture life, but then also lead to death and decay. In all such processes, nature (God's will revealed in creation) makes no distinction between humans of various economic classes or confessional affiliations; all are engaged in the cycle of birth, growth, and death. After the bodies die off, parts of Muslims and Jews might indeed mix as food inside the body of the earthworm with parts of Christians, to be excreted for the nourishment of plants, beasts, and other humans, thus continuing the cyclical "lebendiu wunder." In this amazing passage Walther proposes a kind of digestive mixing in nature through death and decomposition, which leads to the realization of humans' identity with all things, including with each other.

The perspective he establishes here diverges sharply from the tendentious, somewhat chauvinistic, and extremely pro-Christian discourse typifying the other Walther poems described above. The "Wiener Hofton" thus presents a unique attitude toward other human beings. However, there is a great difference between the large groupings of "heiden" in the previous poems, whose identity has been linked to desecrating a religious-mythological space, whether it be the entire Holy Land or Christ's grave, and the very individual, concrete and human image presented here. Walther's previous indictment of "heidenschaft" rests upon his condemnation of Islam as an antagonistic group, a foe of the Christian group, in competition for dominance in the geographical space of the Levant. In the "Wiener Hofton," however, the Muslim, the Jew, and the Christian are all human beings, subject to the same biological requirements for their lives, the satisfaction of which, for the poetic voice in this strophe, is a gift from God, the true "lebendiu wunder." With the different grouping comes a much different attitude, demonstrating once more how in Walther's poetry the propagandistic intention latent in the discourse can fashion an entirely distinctive political point-of-view.

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Walther's "Elegie"

Walther's late political *Spruch,* "Owê, war sint verswunden alliu mîniu jâr" (L. 124, 1, "Alas, where have all my years disappeared"),[55] traditionally referred to as his "Elegie," has often been characterized as Walther's somewhat pessimistic look back on life and society.[56] Nevertheless, Walther uses the poem as an opportunity to comment tangentially on the crusading theme, and therefore we include this very famous, late Walther lyric as the final poem of our discussion. It presents the notorious complaint of the aging poet, who has ostensibly grown weary of many historical, social and political developments he has witnessed in his surroundings, and who finds great fault with the new-fangled ways that have lost a traditional sense of value and meaning. In the final thirteen lines of the poem's third verse, however, Walther seems to have discovered a way out of the dilemma:

swen si nû verleitet habe, der schouwe sînen trôst:
er wirt mit swacher buoze grôzer sünde erlôst.
dar an gedenkent, ritter, ez ist iuwer dinc.
ir tragent die liehten helme und manigen herten rinc,
dar zuo die vesten schilte und die gewîhten swert.
wolte got, wær ich der signünfte wert!
sô wolte ich nôtic man verdienen rîchen solt.
joch meine ich nit die huoben noch der hêrren golt,
ich wolte selbe crône êweklîchen tragen,
die möhte ein soldener mit sîme sper bejagen.
möhte ich die lieben reise gevarn über sê,
sô wolte ich denne singen wol und niemer mêr ouwê,
niemer mêr ouwê. (III, 5–17)

[Whomever the world has led astray should look for salvation:
He will be forgiven of great sin through small penance.
Think about this, Knights, it is your business.
You wear bright helmets and many hard rings (of chain mail),
And carry as well strong shields and blessed swords.
With God's will, I too might be worthy of this triumph!
Thus (even) I , a poor man, should earn the rich reward.
However, I don't mean land, nor the wealth of lords,
I would, for myself, want to wear the eternal crown,

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55 Walther von der Vogelweide, *Leich, Lieder, Sangsprüche* (see note 9), 264–66.

56 The critical literature on this poem is prodigious; bibliographic guides include: Franz Viktor Spechtler, "Der Leich, Lieder zum Thema Heiliges Land und Kreuzzug, 'Alterslieder,' *Walther von der Vogelweide: Epoche, Werk, Wirkung* (see note 1), 222–27; Manfred Günther Scholz, *Walther-Bibliographie 1968–2004* (see note 4), 156–58; Manfred Günther Scholz, *Walther von der Vogelweide* (see note 1), 166–69.

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which a soldier could win with his spear.
If I could take the dear voyage over the sea (to the Holy Land),
then I would be singing "hurray!" and never again "alas,"
and never again "alas."[57]]

Again, the poet calls for a crusade to the Holy Land, but the tonal difference between previously discussed songs and his "Elegie" could not be greater. The negative images that populated the lines of other strophes are gone; what remains is a kind of salvation-narrative, but not one in which Christ plays a direct and significant role, nor is this a Bible-story of the type Walther customarily employed in reminding his audience of the land's significance in Christian scripture and tradition. Instead, Walther suggests a transformed Holy Land, which, while he does not mention it specifically, he evokes as the destination of the "lieben reise," where one can win for oneself the "crône êweklîchen" by making good use of the concrete objects, weapons and other equipment of knighthood.

He does not make reference to a foe nor to the dire need of the Christians living in the land to be relieved or liberated as one finds in the poems we have previously discussed. Instead, the final strophe of the "Elegie" empowers the knight to become part of the salvation-narrative himself: by completing this voyage and performing knightly deeds (with armor, helmet, sword and spear), he will gain the salvation of his own soul, through his own merit. Walther is not such a knight, but rather a poet and performer, who must remain behind and ply his trade as best he can while he observes his once familiar surroundings becoming ever stranger to him. However, if he were able, he would eagerly participate in the knightly endeavors he is promoting, which would change his sour disposition from disgruntled misanthropy to the joyful certainty of eternal reward after death. Thus, he would sing a much different song than that of the poem's previous lines.

This final section of the "Elegie" contrasts so starkly with the rest of the poem that it startles its audience into an awareness of the verse's extreme other-worldliness. The shift in tone is introduced by the line "dar an gedenkent, ritter, ez ist iuwer dinc," a direct statement to the audience that snaps the listeners out of the tonal negativity dominating the first stanzas and steers their focus toward a new, fresh and invigorating environment, where one has power to take command of one's fate. The dissimilarity of the poem's positive final section (in contrast to the pessimistic first part) emphasizes the remoteness of the destination to which the "lieben reise" leads, since in Walther's domestic surroundings his experiences are chaotic and negative, while "there" at the journey's end one can experience the bliss of salvation. As in earlier poems, it is a mythic environment, but not the one determined by other texts, such as the Bible; rather, a knight can lay claim to, and

[57] Translation is my own.

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enter into, his own mythic realm. The "eternal crown" thus functions as a mythic object similar to Christ's grave in the "Palästinalied," symbolizing a transcendental space associated with salvation and ecstasy; in the space encountered here at the end of the "Elegie," however, no "heiden" is even mentioned; there is only the spear, the emblem of knighthood, which will ultimately make the knight's success a certainty.

Conclusion

In Walther's poems regarding the Middle East, especially in his numerous calls for crusades, one usually encounters a consistent mode of representing the space and people of the Middle East. The examples we have examined above establish a somewhat consistent perspective on the region, focusing on no more than a few concrete, realistic or contemporary objects and places to define the space. In order to create atmosphere, Walther relies rather upon stories and settings from the Bible and Christian traditions to fashion a "Holy Land" environment; he gives the setting very little in the way of detail, but briefly suggests a few sacred objects or events with which all European Christians are immediately familiar, and which establish a religious discourse for the poems that is both powerful and irrefutable.

Walther's context confirms beyond doubt that European Christianity "owns" this land as a spiritual inheritance. It reduces the various peoples who currently inhabit the region, such as the Turks and Fatimids, to a singular "Other" defined by their Islamic beliefs, despite the fact that they are very diverse culturally, linguistically and otherwise.[58] Furthermore, by gathering them together under a highly disparaging, generic term, "heiden," Walther merges his chauvinistic notion of Islamic peoples conveniently with the negative image of "juden" that he simultaneously develops in some of his *Kreuzzugslyrik*. The "juden" are different, in that they have been there longer than Christianity, but they are villainous disbelievers and enemies of Christ, and are therefore "outsiders." He insists that the believers in Islam are militaristic invaders, and similarly do not belong in the land of Christ's birth and death. Their armies threaten the "Holy Land," which is weak, vulnerable and needs protection. The proposition that the most sacred space of Christianity is endangered by interlopers and disbelievers should call out all Christian warriors to come to the aid of the land, and thereby win spiritual glory and certain salvation.

Thus, in some poems (such as the "Ottenton"), Walther, claiming to be the herald of God Himself, attempts to convince a Holy Roman Emperor that leading

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58 See Barbara H. Rosenwein, *A Short History of the Middle Ages* (see note 4), 138–42.

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a crusade to the Holy Land is just, and that the "heiden" are mere bullies and can be defeated with God's assistance. In his "Palästinalied," Walther addresses the knightly class and asserts that the Holy Land, "rightly" seen as the land where the fundamental, mythological stories of the Christian religion supposedly took place, is endangered and that it is the feudal obligation of the faithful to wrest control of that land from the "heidenschaft" and return to it the honor and dignity it deserves. With the "Kreuzlied," the peril becomes ever more focused and imminent, but it not only threatens the distant Holy Land; rather, Walther brings the danger home to the European Christian individual, who in each respective religion is in debt to God for his/her life anyhow, and who furthermore should fear not only her or his own death as a spiritual apocalypse but also the distinct possibility that, if the "heiden" succeed in winning the Middle East, they may soon thereafter invade the spaces of Europe. Finally, the "Elegie" calls once again for a crusade, but now to a Holy Land that is less bound to Biblical stories and more a *locus* where a knight can win his own spiritual glory.

However, in at least one poem, Walther shows that he is capable of creating a much different point-of-view as well. In the fifth strophe of his "Wiener Hofton," Walther provides a radical departure from his usual, chauvinistic championing of Christianity against the "heiden" and "juden." In the "Hofton" the three religious cultures in conflict in the Middle East, "kristen, juden unde heiden," are grouped together and characterized through their biological and cultural commonalities, as human beings and as worshipers of the same deity, who is different in name only. Speculation as to why Walther does so in this poetic *locus* is pointless. Furthermore, to label these lines an "epidemiological 'isolate,'" as Frakes does, ignores the great aesthetic skill Walther displays in the fifth strophe of the "Hofton," describing the cycle of life wherein all humans eat food and become food after death, thus serving the biological destiny that is part of nature, a revelation of God's will.[59]

In conclusion, it is most important to note that Walther's skillful shifting of perspective sheds light on the other instances of his propagandistic use of space and religious identity to further his call for holy war. Walther's lyric poetry was capable of achieving great eloquence and dignity, especially in the realm of *minne*; as a political poet, he was also eminently adept at "spin," and could fashion lyrics to please whatever political standpoint he might choose. The majority of *Kreuzzugslieder* that we have examined bear witness to Walther's highly developed talent for lyrical propaganda. However, in other contexts, his brilliance as a lyrical poet shines brightly through, reminding us that Walther could also treat similar subjects from different points of view and offer profound and valid insights.

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[59] Jerold C. Frakes, *Vernacular and Latin Literary Discourses* (see note 8), 143.

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Chapter 8

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Wolfram's Islam
The Beliefs of the Muslim Pagans in *Parzival* and *Willehalm*

"The existence of Islam was
the most far-reaching problem
in medieval Christendom."[1]

In medieval times, the attitude adopted by Western Christianity toward the younger religion of Islam was unambiguous. Islam was perceived as being the enemy, Muslims were understood to be followers of the devil, and their religion was considered to be the worst possible form of paganism (*dogma perversum*). This is why medievalist Jacques Le Goff described Islam as being the "focal point of Christian xenophobia."[2] In his *Inferno*, Dante Alighieri counts Muhammad among those sinners who, because they caused discord and controversy, are being hacked constantly by the devil's sword (28th canto).[3] In European pictorial tradition, the prophet was commonly depicted together with the Antichrist or among the condemned at the Last Judgment.[4] Muhammad was seen as an idolater and

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1 Richard W. Southern, *Western Views of Islam in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge, MA, and London: Harvard University Press, 1978), 3.

2 Jacques Le Goff, *Kultur des europäischen Mittelalters*. Knaurs Große Kulturgeschichte, translated into German by G. Kurz and S. Summerer (1st ed. Paris: Arthaud, 1964; Munich and Zürich: Droemer Knaur, 1970), 774. [transl. H. H.]

3 Cf. Dante Alighieri, *Die Göttliche Komödie*, transl. Wilhelm G. Hertz (Munich and Zürich: Artemis & Winkler, 1994), 123–27.

4 Cf. *Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie*, ed. Engelbert Kirschbaum et al., 8 vols. (Freiburg i. Br.: Herder, 1971), vol. 3, 273–74; Wolfgang Metternich, *Teufel, Geister und Dämonen: Das Unheimliche in der Kunst des Mittelalters* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2011), 120–22.

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instrument of the devil, and the religion he had founded and that appears in the crusade sources as *impietas* and *falsitas* had to be battled uncompromisingly, *ad maiorem Dei gloriam*. Nearly all Western scholars agreed in this matter. These ideas provided the basis for the far-reaching inhumanity of Christian crusade ideology.[5]

In the lifetime of Wolfram von Eschenbach, that is around 1200, Islam had, in fact, become a religious and political world power that constituted a great threat to Christianity.[6] Its dominion comprised the entire Mediterranean region. Arabia and northern Africa, as well as large areas of Spain, central Asia, and India were under Muslim control. Founded in the seventh century, Islam was from the beginning a strictly monotheistic religion, rejecting both the Old Arabic polytheism and the Christian doctrine of the Trinity. It does, however, count Jesus of Nazareth among its important prophets.

The main source of divine revelation and the Holy Scripture of Islam is the *Qu'ran*. According to a legend, its 114 *suras* were revealed to Muhammad through the archangel Gabriel. Through to the present day, the main duties of every Muslim comprise the commitment to Allah as the one god, the five daily prayers in the direction of Mecca, the observation of Ramadan, the month of fasting, the granting of alms, and the pilgrimage to Mecca at least once in a person's lifetime.[7]

In medieval times, the Islamic East was in numerous aspects superior to the culture of Central Europe. Islamic achievements in art, architecture, engineering, and science were admired by Western merchants, diplomats, pilgrims, crusaders, and scholars, leading to a vibrant cultural and economic exchange, despite official hostilities and the disapproval of the church.[8] For a certain period of time, the Holy

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5 Cf. Southern, *Western Views* (see note 1), 27–33; John V. Tolan, "Mahomet et l'Antéchrist dans l'Espagne du IXe siècle," *Orient und Okzident in der Kultur des Mittelalters / Monde oriental et monde occidental dans la culture medievale*, ed. Danielle Buschinger and Wolfgang Spiewok. Wodan: Greifswalder Beiträge zum Mittelalter, 68 (Greifswald: Reineke Verlag, 1997), 167–80; Hannes Möhring, "The Christian Concept of the Muslim Enemy during Crusades," *Transcultural Wars from the Middle Ages to the 21st Century*, ed. Hans-Henning Kortüm (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2006), 185–93; Folkert Reichert, "Der eiserne Sarg des Propheten: Doppelte Grenzen im Islambild des Mittelalters," *Grenze und Grenzüberschreitung im Mittelalter*, ed. Ulrich Knefelkamp and Kristian Bosselmann-Cyran (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2007), 453–69; here 453–58.

6 Cf. Southern, *Western Views* (see note 1), 1–12; Kay Peter Jankrift, *Europa und der Orient im Mittelalter* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2007), 18–36.

7 Cf. Gerhard Endress, *Einführung in die islamische Geschichte*. Beck'sche Elementarbücher (Munich: C. H. Beck, 1982), 32–92; Gerhard J. Bellinger, *Knaurs großer Religionsführer: 670 Religionen, Kirchen und Kulte, weltanschaulich-religiöse Bewegungen und Gesellschaften sowie religionsphilosophische Schulen* (Munich: Droemer Knaur, 1986), 232–57; Werner Dahlheim, *Die Antike: Griechenland und Rom von den Anfängen bis zur Expansion des Islam* (Paderborn: Schöningh, 6th edition, 2002), 659–66; *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche*, ed. Walter Kasper et al., 11 vols. (1st ed. 1930–1938; 2nd ed. 1957–1968; Freiburg i. Br.: Herder, 3rd edition 1993–2001, special edition, 2009), vol. 5, 621–31.

8 Cf. *Kommunikation zwischen Orient und Okzident: Alltag und Sachkultur*, ed. Harry Kühnel. Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Phil.-hist. Klasse, Sitzungsberichte, 619 /

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Land even saw a peaceful coexistence of Christians and Muslims.[9] Surprisingly, in the conquered territories the Muslims treated Jews and Christians with permissive toleration.[10] And still, as Gustave Edmund von Grunebaum put it:

> Hatred, fear, admiration and the attraction of the unknown seem to have coexisted in Christendom throughout the Middle Ages, events determining the paramount emotion of the moment. The foreignness of the Muslim world was keenly felt and the enigma never solved to satisfaction why so large a part of mankind would cling so staunchly to the manifest errors of its faith.[11]

The economic, political and cultural contacts between the East and the West were reflected in European and German literature of the Middle Ages in numerous ways. This is true of Middle High German epic poems in the tradition of the *chansons de geste*, for instance the *Rolandslied* (ca. 1170), which relates the events of the violent Christian crusade under Charlemagne against the Muslims of Spain, as well as the epic works *Graf Rudolf* (ca. 1185), *König Rother* (ca. 1160), and *Herzog Ernst* (ca. 1160), which use the miraculous Eastern world as a setting for chivalric adventures and Muslim-Christian encounters, some of which are depicted as being peaceful, others as belligerent. Several late twelfth-century legendary tales such as the *Münchner Oswald*, *Orendel*, and *Salman and Morolf* tell of conflicts between pagans and Christians in an Oriental world described as being marvelous and fantastical.[12] A large number of Oriental motifs are artistically elaborated in the

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Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für Realienkunde des Mittelalters u. der Frühen Neuzeit, 16 (Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1994); Jankrift, *Europa und der Orient* (see note 6), 94–122; Stephanie L. Hathaway, *Saracens and Conversion: Chivalric Ideals in 'Aliscans' and Wolfram's 'Willehalm'*. Studies in Old Germanic Languages and Literatures, 6 (Bern, Oxford, et al.: Peter Lang, 2012), 23–43. (See also the contribution to this volume by Jens T. Wollesen and the introduction by Albrecht Classen.)

9 Cf. Gustave E. von Grunebaum, *Medieval Islam: A Study in Cultural Orientation* (1st ed. 1946; Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2nd edition, 1953), 31–63; Le Goff, *Kultur* (see note 2), 257–59; *Sachwörterbuch der Mediävistik*, ed. Peter Dinzelbacher. Kröners Taschenausgabe, 477 (Stuttgart: Kröner, 1992), 392–94; Wolfgang Hage, *Das Christentum im frühen Mittelalter (476–1054): Vom Ende des weströmischen Reiches bis zum west-östlichen Schisma.* Zugänge zur Kirchengeschichte, 4 / Kleine Vandenhoeck-Reihe, 1567 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1993), 41–50; *Lexikon des Mittelalters*, 9 vols. (Stuttgart and Weimar: Metzler, 1999), vol. 5, 679–86; Peter Heine, *Einführung in die Islamwissenschaft.* Akademie Studienbücher (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2009), 197–201.

10 Cf. Gudrun Krämer, "Toleranz im Islam: Ein Blick in Geschichte und Gegenwart," *Europa im Nahen Osten – Der Nahe Osten in Europa*, ed. Angelika Neuwirth and Günter Stock (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2010), 39–52.

11 Von Grunebaum, *Medieval Islam* (see note 9), 42–43.

12 Cf. Hans Szklenar, *Studien zum Bild des Orients in vorhöfischen deutschen Epen.* Palaestra, 243 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1966); Moustafa Maher, "Der Orient in der deutschen erzählenden Literatur des Mittelalters," *Araber und Deutsche: Begegnungen in einem Jahrtausend*, ed. Friedrich H. Kochwasser and Hans R. Roemer. Deutsch-ausländische Beziehungen, 11 (Tübingen

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works of one of the most important German-speaking poets of the Middle Ages, Wolfram von Eschenbach. He has been described as having responded most comprehensively to the Oriental challenge among the great poets of medieval Germany or possibly even Europe.[13] In what follows, we will take a closer look at Wolfram's view of Islam, his sources, and the reasons for his misjudgments and misunderstandings.

I. Eastern Culture and Religion in Wolfram's Works

Wolfram, who lived and wrote around 1200, was probably from the Franconian town of Eschenbach (not far from Nuremberg and just south of Ansbach). We can only speculate about his social status and education. However, the works that have been passed down to us under his name—nine *Minnelieder* or dawn songs, the famous epic poem *Parzival* comprising nearly 25,000 verses and centered around the Holy Grail (ca. 1200/10), the epic fragment *Titurel* (ca. 1217/20), and the great heroic epic *Willehalm* (ca. 1210/20)—show him as a masterful poet and language artist, well versed not only in contemporary literature, but also in numerous fields of science, for example astronomy, medicine, and geography.[14] Even though Wolfram claims to be illiterate in a narrator's speech in *Parzival* ("ine kan decheinen buochstap", I cannot read nor write; *Pz.* 115,27),[15] nobody holds this to be true today. Probably Wolfram rather intends to stress that he is not learned in Latin (like the clerics were).[16]

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and Basel: Erdmann, 1974), 92–121; Marianne Ott-Meimberg, "Karl, Roland, Guillaume," *Epische Stoffe des Mittelalters*, ed. Volker Mertens and Ulrich Müller. Kröners Taschenausgabe, 483 (Stuttgart: Kröner, 1984), 81–110.

13 Cf. Paul Kunitzsch, "Der Orient bei Wolfram von Eschenbach – Phantasie und Wirklichkeit," *Orientalische Kultur und europäisches Mittelalter*, ed. Albert Zimmermann and Ingrid Craemer-Ruegenberg. Miscellanea Mediaevalia, 17 (Berlin and New York: De Gruyter, 1985), 112–22; here 112–13; cf. Alfred Raucheisen, *Orient und Abendland: Ethisch-moralische Aspekte in Wolframs Epen 'Parzival' und 'Willehalm'*. Bremer Beiträge zur Literatur- und Ideengeschichte, 17 (Frankfurt a. M., Bern, et al.: Peter Lang, 1997).

14 Cf. Eberhard Nellmann, "Zu Wolframs Bildung und zum Literaturkonzept des *Parzival*," *Poetica* 28 (1996): 327–44.

15 Quoted from: Wolfram von Eschenbach, *Parzival*, nach der Ausgabe Karl Lachmanns revidiert u. kommentiert von Eberhard Nellmann, übertragen von Dieter Kühn, 2 vols. Bibliothek deutscher Klassiker, 110 / Bibliothek des Mittelalters, 8,1/2 (Frankfurt a. M.: Suhrkamp Insel, 1994).

16 Cf. Joachim Bumke, *Wolfram von Eschenbach*. Sammlung Metzler, 36 (Stuttgart and Weimar: Metzler, 8th edition, 2004), 5–9. See also Albrecht Classen, "Reading, Writing, and Learning in Wolfram von Eschenbach's *Parzival*," *A Companion to Wolfram von Eschenbach*. Ed. Will Hasty. Studies in German Literature, Linguistics, and Culture (Columbia, SC: Camden House, 1999), 189-202.

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We do not know whether he ever traveled to the Orient or went to Jerusalem. And neither do we know where he attained his knowledge of the Orient, which sometimes proves to be quite detailed, for instance with regard to Arabic names of places and planets. Chrétien's *Perceval* (ca. 1190), the main source of Wolfram's *Parzival*, contains no such information. It has been suggested that Wolfram had access to Latin sources, for example William of Tyrus's chronicle (ca. 1184) or Gerard of Cremona's translations of Arabic authors (ca. 1145–1187). He might also have been in contact with a knowledgeable informant who directly passed information on to him or at least read French sources to him.[17] As we will see, he seems to have borrowed a lot of details mainly from vernacular works which were more easily accessible than specialized texts on Oriental philosophy and science—even if attempts were made to prove that the latter did, in fact, constitute his direct sources.[18]

In *Parzival*, it is mainly the frame story that introduces the Orient as a topic of this Grail romance (books I/II and XV/XVI). Gahmuret, Parzival's father, travels to the Orient, where he fights as a knight under the caliph of Baghdad and fathers, with the dark-skinned pagan queen Belacane, Parzival's half-brother Feirefiz, whose skin is mottled black and white. After a short stay in Wales, where he fathers Parzival with the widowed queen Herzeloyde, Gahmuret returns to his service for the Caliph and falls in a battle against the Caliph's enemies. At the end of the story, Parzival and Feirefiz encounter each other on the battlefield, recognize one another, and proceed to Arthur's court together, where the pagan is admitted to the Round Table. After Parzival is called to the kingship, both arrive in Munsalvaesche where Parzival is made Grail King and Feirefiz is baptized. Feirefiz marries the Grail Maiden Repanse de Schoye and will later disseminate the Christian faith in India (their son is Prester John). At the end of the romance, the Western and Eastern worlds are thus united in the utopian dream of a universal Christian reign of peace with Parzival and Feirefiz as its saviors and the castle of the Grail and the Indian empire of Prester John as its geographical centers in the West and East respectively.[19]

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17 Cf. Fritz Peter Knapp, "Der Lautstand der Eigennamen im *Willehalm* und das Problem von Wolframs 'Schriftlosigkeit'," *Wolfram-Studien II*, ed. Werner Schröder. Veröffentlichungen der Wolfram-von-Eschenbach-Gesellschaft (Berlin: Erich Schmidt, 1974), 193–218; Eberhard Nellmann, "Der *Lucidarius* als Quelle Wolframs," *Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie* 122 (2003): 48–72; here 49.

18 Cf. Paul Kunitzsch, "Die Arabica im *Parzival* Wolframs von Eschenbach," *Wolfram-Studien II*, ed. Werner Schröder. Veröffentlichungen der Wolfram-von-Eschenbach-Gesellschaft (Berlin: Erich Schmidt, 1974), 9–35; here 35; Bumke, *Wolfram von Eschenbach* (see note 16), 1–12 and 237–44; Bernd Schirok, "Wolfram und seine Werke im Mittelalter," *Wolfram von Eschenbach: Ein Handbuch*, ed. Joachim Heinzle, 2 vols. (Berlin and Boston: De Gruyter, 2011), vol. 1, 1–81.

19 Cf. Bumke, *Wolfram von Eschenbach* (see note 16), 189–92.

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Willehalm, on the other hand, is characterized from the very beginning by the war between Christians and pagans, as it deals with the defense of the region of Provence against the Muslims advancing from the south. They aim to take revenge on Margrave Willehalm because he had escaped to Orange with Arabel, the daughter of Terramer, the pagan sovereign. Arabel, who now calls herself Gyburg, has been baptized and married to Willehalm. In the first battle on the plains of Alischanz, the Christians suffer a devastating defeat. Willehalm, the only one who manages to escape, persuades King Louis to send out a large army to Orange to repel the Muslims who pose a threat to the empire. In the second battle of Alischanz, the united Christian troops beat Terramer's enormous army. Willehalm pays his respect to the pagans by having the bodies of the fallen Oriental kings embalmed and transferred to their homelands. Even if in the foreground *Willehalm* relates the military events between the Muslims and the Franconian rulers, the main focus of the epic is the conflict between the two religions. The battles of Alischanz are portrayed as a holy war, thus following the *Rolandslied*, while Willehalm's fight for southern France appears as a crusade mission (cf. *Wh.* 199,16–23; 304,17–30).[20]

Generally speaking, in both epics Wolfram describes the Muslims as being on a par with the Christians in terms of their wealth, splendor, their courtly nobleness, education, and bravery. In no way inferior to the knights and princes of Western lands, they show similar dignity, civilized behavior, and audacity. Not only do they mourn their own fallen men, but also honor those Christians who died in the war (cf. *Pz.* 106,29–108,28). Quite unusual for his time, Wolfram even lets Gyburg say that, because Christians and pagans were both creatures of god ("gotes hantgetât"; *Wh.* 306,28),[21] the pagans had to be treated respectfully and humanely even in a situation of war and could not be slaughtered "alsam ein vihe" (*Wh.* 450,17; like meat stock; cf. 309,6), for the sake of the Christians' "sêle sigenunft" (*Wh.* 420,13), that is, for the salvation of their own souls.[22]

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20 Cf. Joachim Heinzle, "Themen und Motive," *Wolfram von Eschenbach: Handbuch* (see note 18), vol. 1, 653–75; here 654–57 and 663–64.

21 Quoted from: Wolfram von Eschenbach, *Willehalm*. Nach der Handschrift 857 der Stiftsbibliothek St. Gallen: Mittelhochdeutscher Text, Übersetzung, Kommentar, ed. Joachim Heinzle. Bibliothek deutscher Klassiker, 69 / Bibliothek des Mittelalters, 9 (Frankfurt a. M.: Suhrkamp Insel, 1991).

22 Cf. Karl Bertau, "Das Recht des Anderen. Über den Ursprung der Vorstellung von einer Schonung der Irrgläubigen bei Wolfram von Eschenbach," *Wolfram von Eschenbach. Neun Versuche über Subjektivität und Ursprünglichkeit in der Geschichte* (Munich: C. H. Beck, 1983), 241–58; Rüdiger Schnell, "Die Christen und die 'Anderen': Mittelalterliche Positionen und germanistische Perspektiven," *Die Begegnung des Westens mit dem Osten*, ed. Odilo Engels and Peter Schreiner (Sigmaringen: Thorbecke, 1993), 185–202; here 192–202; David A. Wells, "Religious Disputation Literature and the Theology of *Willehalm*: An Aspect of Wolfram's Education," *Wolfram's Willehalm: Fifteen Essays*, ed. Martin H. Jones and Timothy McFarland. Studies in German Literature, Linguistics, and Culture (Rochester and Woodbridge: Camden House, 2002), 145–65;

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There is only one great exception to this relatively well-balanced picture, and that is religion. Never does Wolfram question that Christianity is superior to all other religions and constitutes the only possible way to salvation.[23] He considers baptism to be the true armor to fight off the enemy (cf. *Wh.* 435,10–11), that is, the devil and evil. Baptism alone guarantees admittance to the Kingdom of Heaven and eternal life. The Muslims, on the other hand, are to face eternal damnation unless they convert to the triune god and accept Christ as their Lord (cf. *Wh.* 110,24–30). The pagans who fall in the battle without being baptized and who despise Jesus as a "zouberaere" (*Wh.* 357,23; sorcerer), will all go to hell (cf. *Wh.* 38,25–30), while the fallen Christians will be received by angels as martyrs and saints (cf. *Wh.* 259,4–12; 299,26–27; 322,4–13; 420,6–18). In comparison with the powers of the Christian creator god, the pagan deities are but feeble idols (cf. *Wh.* 215,10–217,8; 309,12–310,4). Even if the Muslims may be equal by worldly standards, they are undoubtedly inferior when it comes to religion. Despite certain tendencies of putting matters into perspective, and despite Gyburg's much-quoted speech of tolerance, Wolfram shows himself to be completely in line with churchly doctrines and the crusade theology of his time as reflected in his sources, namely the *Rolandslied*.[24]

II. Wolfram's View of Islam

In Wolfram's epic works, Islam is characterized by the following aspects:

1. Muslims are polytheists. They venerate numerous gods, including the Roman deities Apollo, Jupiter, and Juno,[25] as well as Muhammad (!) and the (unknown)

Bumke, *Wolfram von Eschenbach* (see note 16), 303–05; Michael Dallapiazza, "Der Orient im Werk Wolframs von Eschenbach," *Deutsche Kultur und Islam am Mittelmeer*, ed. Laura Auteri and Margherita Cottone. Göppinger Arbeiten zur Germanistik, 725 (Göppingen: Kümmerle, 2005), 107–19; Heinzle, "Themen und Motive" (see note 18), 669–72.

23 Cf. Bertau, "Recht des Anderen" (see note 22), 252.

24 Cf. Helmut Brackert, "Wolframs von Eschenbach *Willehalm*: Annäherung an einen mittelalterlichen Text," *Literaturwissenschaft: Ein Grundkurs*, ed. Helmut Brackert and Jörn Stückrath. Rowohlts Enzyklopädie, 523 (Reinbek: Rowohlt, 4th edition, 1996), 160–73; David A. Wells, "Christliche Apologetik, die mittelhochdeutsche Silvesterlegende, Wolframs von Eschenbach *Willehalm* und die Toleranz gegenüber Andersgläubigen im Mittelalter," *Mediävistik* 14 (2001): 179–224; here 219–24; Bumke, *Wolfram von Eschenbach* (see note 16), 335–38; Christa Jochum-Godglück, "Die Christen und die 'Anderen': Namen in Wolframs von Eschenbach *Willehalm*," *Integration und Desintegration der Kulturen im europäischen Mittelalter*, ed. Michael Borgolte, Julia Dücker, Marcel Müllerburg, and Bernd Schneidmüller. Europa im Mittelalter, 18 (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2011), 208–18; Jerold C. Frakes, *Vernacular and Latin Literary Discourse of the Muslim Other in Medieval Germany.* The New Middle Ages (New York and Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), 97–122.

25 Cf. *Lexikon der antiken Gestalten in den deutschen Texten des Mittelalters*, ed. Manfred Kern and

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gods Kahun and Tervagant. Some of them even worship a golden calf like the Israelites did in the Old Testament. In *Willehalm*, the Muslim army is led by chariots displaying statues of their gods, despite the Islamic ban on images (cf. *Wh.* 352,1–17), while the Christians carry crusade banners.[26]

2. Muslims worship outstanding human beings as gods (euhemerism). For example, Gahmuret is venerated as a god, just like ancient heroes, following his death in the service of the caliph (cf. *Pz.* 107,19–20).

3. Muslims cannot see Christian sacred objects because they do not belong to the community of those redeemed by Christ. Thus, Feirefiz catches sight of the Grail only after having been baptized. Before that, all he can see is the silk cloth the stone is placed on, and Repanse de Schoye carrying it (cf. *Pz.* 810,10–13; 813,9–30; 818,20–23).[27]

4. In Wolfram's Islamic world, the caliph of Baghdad is both the religious and the worldly sovereign of the Muslims. On the one hand, his rank is comparable to that of the Christian pope, while on the other hand he holds the majestic title of "admirât" (*Wh.* 434,2; emir)[28] and possesses the same universal powers as the German emperor in Rome. In this aspect, Wolfram draws on a *topos* that commonly featured in chronicles of that time, for example in the works of Guibert of Nogent and Otto of Freising.[29]

5. Islam strives after political and religious dominance of the entire world (as it was known at that time). Two thirds of the earth, that is Asia and Africa, are already subjected to the caliph of Baghdad (cf. *Pz.* 13,16–19),[30] but Terramer aims for more. He wants to conquer the centers of the Western world, Aachen and Rome, as the seats of emperor and pope respectively, obtain the emperor's crown for himself, and kill all Christians: "Sus wold er roemische krône / vor sînen goten schône / und vor al der heidenschefte tragen" (*Wh.* 340,9–11; In this way he endeavored to carry splendidly the Roman crown before the gods and all pagan peoples). Pursuing this aggressive expansion strategy, Islam constitutes an existential threat to Christian Europe.[31]

Alfred Ebenbauer (Berlin and New York: De Gruyter, 2003), 91–99 ('Apollo'), 329–34 ('Iuno'), 335–45 ('Iuppiter'). See also *Mythenrezeption: Die antike Mythologie in Literatur, Musik und Kunst von den Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart*, ed. Maria Moog-Grünewald. Der Neue Pauly, Supplement, 5 (Stuttgart and Weimar: Metzler, 2008).

26 Cf. Heinzle, "Themen und Motive" (see note 18), 656–57.

27 On parallels in Old French (hagiographic) literature cf. Nellmann, *Parzival* (see note 15), vol. 2, 781–82 (on *Pz.* 813,17–22).

28 Cf. Heinzle, *Willehalm* (see note 21), 1079 (on *Wh.* 432,16).

29 Cf. Kunitzsch, "Arabica" (see note 18), 16.

30 Cf. Nellmann, *Parzival* (see note 15), vol. 2, 461 (on *Pz.* 13,18–19).

31 Cf. Heinzle, "Themen und Motive" (see note 18), 664–66.

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6. In defiance of the chivalry they normally display, Muslims commit terrible atrocities in the lands they have conquered. They massacre women and children without mercy, while men are either directly killed or abused as targets for firing practices. In accordance with contemporary stereotypes, Wolfram characterizes the "gunêrten Sarrazîn" (*Wh.* 58,15; dishonored Saracens) as murderous devils, even though another passage positively describes them as "gotes hantgetât" (creatures of God).[32]

7. The Muslims use dishonorable and deceitful methods in the battle. They wet, for instance, Gahmuret's helmet with the blood of a he-goat (cf. *Pz.* 105,14–21), seriously injure Anfortas, the king of the Grail, with a poisoned lance (cf. *Pz.* 479,8–24), and among their troops we find frightening monstrous warriors from Far Eastern regions with green scaly skin and iron clubs (cf. *Wh.* 35,10–28; 351,16–18; 395,22–26).

Compared with historical realities, Wolfram's concept of Islam is, of course, almost completely incorrect. It is a well-known fact that Islam rejects any form of polytheism and prohibits the pictorial representation of God. As a successor to Muhammad, the caliph was indeed the supreme worldly and religious leader, but he was never at the top of church hierarchy and did not, like the pope, represent an infallible authority in all dogmatic matters.[33] Historically, the medieval Holy Roman Empire was at no point in direct danger of being conquered by the Arabs.[34] And the cruelty of Oriental warriors must have been fully matched—if not surpassed—by the massacres and pillages committed by Christian crusaders on their way to the Holy Land and during the storming of Jerusalem.[35]

III. Wolfram's Sources

Without deeper knowledge and independent reflection, Wolfram adopted the conventional image of Islam as it was conveyed in literary works of his time. In order to do so, he did not have to resort to sources that were difficult to access or even written in Arabic, as almost all motifs could be found in vernacular epic works and chronicles.[36] As he says himself on several occasions, he knew the

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32 Cf. Heinzle, *Willehalm* (see note 21), 1017–18 (on *Wh.* 297,14–19).

33 Cf. *Sachwörterbuch der Mediävistik* (see note 9), 408 ('Kalif').

34 Cf. Michael Borgolte, "Das christliche und das nichtchristliche Europa um die erste Jahrtausendwende," *Wege in die Himmelsstadt. Bischof – Glaube – Herrschaft 800–1550*, ed. Clemens Bergstedt and Heinz-Dieter Heimann. Veröffentlichungen des Museums für brandenburgische Kirchen- und Kulturgeschichte des Mittelalters, 2 (Berlin: Lukas Verlag, 2005), 68–76.

35 Cf. Norbert Ohler, *Krieg und Frieden im Mittelalter.* Beck'sche Reihe 1226 (Munich: C. H. Beck, 1997), 208–19.

36 Cf. Kunitzsch, "Orient" (see note 13), 118; Hathaway, *Saracens* (see note 8), 98–102.

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Middle High German *Rolandslied* and Heinrich von Veldeke's *Eneas Romance* very well, which is also reflected in numerous direct allusions to motifs and figures. These two Middle High German epic writings provide complete prefigurations of his view of Islam.

According to the *Rolandslied*, the Muslims venerate 700 different gods (cf. *Rol.* 3492).[37] They worship them in their "apgothûs" (*Rol.* 341; temples of false gods). Among the venerated deities are Apollo, Jupiter, Muhammad, and Tervagant. The pagans are cruel, aim to conquer Aachen and Rome and obtain the crowns of both emperor and pope for themselves. They "versmahent ir rechten schephare, / den unseren wâren heilare" (*Rol.* 3483–84; despise their real creator, our true savior), and they are thus condemned to hell.

Reading Veldeke's *Eneas Romance*, Wolfram came upon the entire pantheon of ancient gods: Amor, Apollo, Diana, Fama, Fortuna, Jupiter, Juno, Cupido, Mars, Pallas, Venus, and Vulcan.[38] On the basis of that, he seems to have concluded that all pagans must be polytheists. Both in *Parzival* and *Willehalm*, we encounter Apollo, Juno, and Jupiter, portrayed as Muslim gods.

Other vernacular texts which Wolfram probably knew, for instance the *Kaiserchronik* (ca. 1150), decidedly reinforced this image of the Muslims and their polytheism.[39] As we learn from Otto of Freising's *Chronica* (1146), as well as other works, the West was well aware of the fact that Islam was in fact a monotheistic religion.[40] Even Peter the Venerable, ninth abbot of Cluny (1092/94–1156), who vehemently polemicized against Islam in his writings, wishing to show to his contemporaries that "tota scriptura Mahumeti nihil aliud sit quam faeces horridae" (*Cap. Petri Pictavensis* IV,5; Muhammad's entire scripture is nothing but terrible feces), knew the Qu'ran very well and was aware, for example, that Muslims strictly dismiss any form of idolatry and worship Allah alone (cf. *Contra Sectam Saracenorum* II,90).[41] The Anglo-Norman monk and chronicler William of

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37 Quoted from: *Das Rolandslied des Pfaffen Konrad*: Text [ed. Maurer], Nacherzählung, Wort- u. Begriffserklärungen, Wortliste by Horst Richter (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1981).

38 Cf. the list of names by Dieter Kartschoke: Heinrich von Veldeke, *Eneasroman*: Mittelhochdeutsch/Neuhochdeutsch, nach dem Text von Ludwig Ettmüller ins Nhd. übersetzt, mit einem Stellenkommentar u. einem Nachwort von Dieter Kartschoke. Universal-Bibliothek, 8303[10] (Stuttgart: Reclam, 1986), 883–94.

39 Cf. *Kaiserchronik eines Regensburger Geistlichen*, ed. Edward Schröder. Monumenta Germaniae Historica: Deutsche Chroniken, 1/1 (Hannover: Hahnsche Buchhandlung, 1892); for relevant passages cf. *Lexikon der antiken Gestalten* (see note 25), 688–89.

40 Cf. Otto von Freising, *Chronik oder Die Geschichte der zwei Staaten*, transl. Adolf Schmidt, ed. Walther Lammers. Ausgew. Quellen zur deutschen Geschichte des Mittelalters: Freiherr-vom-Stein-Gedächtnisausgabe, 16 (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 6th edition, 2011), 511, chapter VII,7.

41 Quoted from: Petrus Venerabilis, *Schriften zum Islam*, ed. Reinhold F. Glei. Corpus Islamo-

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Malmesbury (ca. 1095–1143) clearly knew that Islam is a monotheistic religion and that Muhammad is no god, but its prophet.[42] Such detailed knowledge, however, was reserved for scholars and not reflected in the popular clichés which persisted in literary works and sermons. Only the separation of these knowledge discourses can explain why, at the end of the fifteenth century, that is after hundreds of years of cultural contact between Europe and the East, the savant physician and humanist Hartmann Schedel (1440–1514) in his famous *World Chronicle* (1493) still claims that before Muhammad became a prophet, he adhered to damnable sects, worshipped idols, practiced magic arts, threatened the Roman Empire with his army, and died a terrible death due to the numerous adulteries he had committed and due to constant drunkenness.[43]

IV. Summary

Like that of many of his contemporaries, Wolfram's knowledge of Islam was merely superficial.[44] This is reflected in motifs, such as the alleged Islamic polytheism. His entirely stereotypical image of Islamic religion is mainly drawn from vernacular sources which took up traditional Western misjudgments and developed them further. His depictions of the Oriental world, which Paul Kunitzsch described as generally "fantastical and nebulous,"[45] do not spare the pagans' gods and customs. Even if he was surprisingly well versed in the literature of his time, Wolfram certainly was not a "veritable savant,"[46] as Eberhard Nellmann put it, at least not with respect to the religions and peoples of the East.[47]

Christianum: Series latina, 1 (Altenberge: CIS, 1985); cf. Ludwig Hagemann, "Die erste lateinische Koranübersetzung: Mittel zur Verständigung zwischen Christen und Muslimen im Mittelalter?," *Orientalische Kultur und europäisches Mittelalter*, ed. Albert Zimmermann and Ingrid Craemer-Ruegenberg. Miscellanea Mediaevalia, 17 (Berlin and New York: De Gruyter, 1985), 45–58; Christian Saßenscheidt, "Die Konstruktion des Anderen am Beispiel des Islam in der *Summa totius haeresis Saracenorum* des Petrus Venerabilis," *Integration und Desintegration* (see note 24), 228–38.

42 Cf. Southern, *Western Views* (see note 1), 34–35.

43 Quoted from: Hartmann Schedel, *Weltchronik: Kolorierte Gesamtausgabe von 1493*, Einleitung u. Kommentar von Stephan Füssel (Köln: Dumont, 2001), CLIv.

44 Cf. Southern, *Western Views* (see note 1), 28–33; Suzanne Conklin Akbari, *Idols in the East: European Representations of Islam and the Orient 1100–1450* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 2012), 200–47.

45 Kunitzsch, "Arabica" (see note 18), 11. [transl. H. H.]

46 Nellmann, *Parzival* (see note 15), vol. 2, 421. [transl. H. H.]

47 Cf. Fritz Peter Knapp, "Leien munt nie baz gesprach: Zur angeblichen lateinischen Buchgelehrsamkeit und zum Islambild Wolframs von Eschenbach," *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum und deutsche Literatur* 138 (2009): 173–84.

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Similarly to other authors of thirteenth-century vernacular literature, Wolfram does not differentiate between Islamic and non-Islamic pagans.[48] He is convinced that pagans in general worship numerous gods, are versed in astronomy and magic, either look glamorous and fairytale-like or ugly and alien, are black as hell, etc. Wolfram did not have a more specific concept of Islam. To him, the Saracens (*Sarrazîne*) are the epitome of anything non-Christian and repugnant. Various peoples from all continents count among them. In Wolfram's works, particularly in his *Willehalm*, they serve as the antagonists of the victorious Christians. Wolfram does not have the slightest doubt that Christians are superior on the level of salvation history.

In fact, although Gyburg's speech of tolerance does not mean a general paradigm shift,[49] and "humanitarian or humanistic tolerance"[50] truly cannot be accredited to Wolfram, it is inappropriate to accuse Wolfram of "racism,"[51] as Frakes does in his recent publication on the literary discourse of the Muslims in medieval Germany. Frakes's claim that "for Wolfram the only good Muslim is a former, forcibly distanced, or dead one"[52] is completely wrong. This thesis cannot be deduced from the complex and polyphonic narratives of *Parzival* and *Willehalm*. Wolfram did not write ideological manifestos but romances that follow their own literary rules. Therefore, it is not possible to deduct Wolfram's attitude toward Islam directly from the plot and the themes of his epics. Frakes battles against undifferentiated scholarly positions of the past that have long been abandoned many years ago. He (sometimes polemically) fights against biased theses that nobody holds today.[53] Thus the new dimensions that Wolfram adds to the medieval literary discourse on the Muslim religion and that go far beyond his sources, as Peter Johnson points out, inevitably escape him:

> Wolfram emphasizes that all humans are the artwork ("hantgetât") of God because in contrast to all other creatures he created Adam and Eve with his own hands. Tolerance does not solve the conflict between Christianity and paganism. The difference remains. However, on both sides the adversaries have to respect and to treat the other as human beings. This concept is Wolfram's contribution, at least in comparison with *Aliscans*.[54]

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48 Cf. Stephanie Seidl, Julia Zimmermann, "Jenseits des Kategorischen: Konzeptionen des 'Heidnischen' in volkssprachigen literarischen und chronikalischen Texten des 13. Jahrhunderts," *Integration und Desintegration* (see note 24), 325–81. See also the comments by Albrecht Classen on Wolfram in his Introduction to this vol. Cf. also Hathaway, *Saracens and Conversion* (see note 8).

49 Cf. Frakes, *Vernacular and Latin Literary Discourse* (see note 24), 96.

50 Ibid., 98.

51 Ibid., 61.

52 Ibid., 120.

53 Cf. Fritz Peter Knapp, "Willehalm. Perspektiven der Interpretation," *Wolfram von Eschenbach: Handbuch* (see note 18), vol. 1, 676–702, here 690–93.

54 Leslie Peter Johnson, *Die höfische Literatur der Blütezeit (1160/70–1220/30).* Geschichte der deutschen

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However, Wolfram is a poet and not a historian. Because of that, we should not expect works like *Parzival* or *Willehalm* to report correct historical facts. We are looking at a world of fiction here and at epic poems, not at chronicles or scholarly literature. Wolfram is, of course, free to depict the Muslims as enemy pagans in a way that helps him underline the intentions of his narration, for example by incorporating contrasts and exotic motifs, or simply by creating an appealing "Oriental atmosphere."[55] This methodical constraint must be taken into account when we try to assess the use and quality of Oriental elements in Wolfram's writings. His Islam is, after all, a poetic construction that does not claim to reproduce reality but constitutes part of a literary constellation.

Wolfram writes his romance for an audience that has specific expectations and biases. His intention is to appeal to his Christian audience whose favors he depends on. Hence he draws a picture of the Islam that suits the world views and beliefs of his listeners and readers, thus preserving the prejudices of his time to satisfy his courtly audience.

Though almost always the adversary, the Saracen provided a rich cultural backdrop for stories that reinforced the superiority of European Christianity and the values, ideals and ambitions that signified medieval European culture as it had developed.[56]

Our results show that different discourses on the same topic, taking place at the same historical time in different genres and spheres of knowledge, can diverge considerably in substance. They happen synchronically, but they are asynchronous in terms of their truth content.[57] With regard to Western knowledge of Islam, Wolfram is stuck in his time of ignorance and clichés, although scholars before him, like Peter the Venerable, Otto of Freising, and William of Malmesbury, had extensively, though certainly not exhaustively, studied Islam and more or less accurately described its doctrine. Thus, we see the literary sphere lagging far behind the academic discourse and holding on to misapprehensions about Islam that had long been overcome by some theologians and chroniclers.[58] It is this

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Literatur von den Anfängen bis zum Beginn der Neuzeit, ed. by Joachim Heinzle, II/1 (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer, 1999), 363. [transl. H. H.]

55 Kunitzsch, "Orient" (see note 13), 120. [transl. H. H.]

56 Hathaway, *Saracens* (see note 8), 32.

57 Cf. Jerold C. Frakes: "One of the more significant shifts in recent studies in this subfield has been the recognition that the medieval Christian discourse of the Muslim Other was not a monolithic anti-Muslim diatribe, nor a single, unified discourse, but rather a multiplicity of such discourses, all sharing some aspects of the preceding historical tradition," *Contextualizing the Muslim Other in Medieval Christian Discourse*, ed. Jerold C. Frakes. The New Middle Ages (New York and Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), XVIII, "Foreword."

58 Cf. Southern, *Western Views* (see note 1), 34–66; John Victor Tolan, "Afterword," *Contextualizing*

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finding, particularly, which shows us once more that, for a lasting understanding between peoples and religions and for a peaceful and tolerant coexistence, one thing is needed more than anything else: having knowledge of each other. In this aspect, the Middle Ages differ in no way from our modern world today.

the Muslim Other (see note 57), 173–74. See also the Introduction to this volume by Albrecht Classen for further reflections on Frakes's approach.

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Appendix
Catalog of relevant text passages in Wolfram's works

Subject	Quotations from		Sources (selection)
	Parzival	*Willehalm*	
Muslims are polytheists	**Gods**: 17,6; 21,7; 27,7; 36,20; 42,18; 45,1; 748,16; 818,9 **(Golden) Calf**: 454,2–3 **Juno**: 748,17; 750,5; 753,7; 767,3 **Jupiter**: 748,19; 749,16; 750,2; 752,20; 763,14; 768,30; 810,27; 812,28; 815,6	**Gods**: 9,9; 18,29; 34,24; 43,3; 43,9; 44,7; 44,10; 44,21; 75,5; 86,15; 86,22; 107,26–27; 185,28; 216,16; 217,14; 217,30; 219,15; 220,1; 256,17; 261,14; 292,23; 338,2; 338,14–15; 339,4; 339,29; 340,6; 340,10; 345,12; 348,10; 349,8; 349,16; 350,11; 351,20; 352,2; 352,13; 353,12; 354,10; 354,20; 358,10; 358,18; 360,26; 398,27–399,5; 400,14; 404,15–21; 449,25; 463,12 **Apollo**: 17,20; 106,7; 291,23; 339,11; 358,12; 399,6; 449,18 **Kahun**: 358,13; 399,3; 441,4; 441,14; 442,9; 449,24; 463,17 **Muhammad**: 9,8; 11,16; 88,18; 106,8; 193,3; 215,16; 217,19; 291,23; 339,10; 358,13; 383,16; 399,3; 408,15; 449,23 **Tervagant**: 11,16; 17,20; 17,21; 18,28; 20,11; 71,25; 106,7; 110,29; 216,4; 291,22;	***Aliscans***[1] **Kahun**: 1142, 5884, 6722, 7453, CXXI,3 & 13, CXLVII,3, CLXII,3 (*Mahomet et Cahu(s)*) ***Bible*** **Golden Calf**: *Exod.* 32; *1 Kings* 26–30; *2 Kings* 17,16; *Tob.* 1,5 ***Eneas Romance* (Veldeke)** **Gods**: 112,30–37 **Juno:** e. g. 21,16; 21,30; 27,28–28,3 **Jupiter:** 30,29 ***Rolandslied* (Pf. Konrad)** **Gods**: e.g. 3492, 7137, 8487 **Apollo**: e.g. 308, 4683, 8137 **Jupiter**: 2651 **Muhammad**: e.g. 309, 2485, 8136 **Tervagant**: e.g. 7049, 8134, 8495

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		(**Tervagant** cont.) 310,2; 339,9; 351,30; 358,12; 399,6; 449,23	
Muslims worship men as gods	102,4–7; 107,19–24		***Rolandslied***: 5591–5592
Unbaptized pagans cannot see Christian sanctuaries (Grail)	810,7–13; 813,17–30; 818,20–23		Parallels: e.g. Old French (Robert de Boron) and hagiographic literature (legends of the saints)[2]
Caliph of Baghdad is comparable to the Christian Pope and the Roman Emperor	13,16–14,2	434,1–21	Parallels: e. g. medieval chronicles[3]
Muslims strive for global dominance		338,15–340,11; 345,11–13; 443,28–30; 450,21–25	***Rolandslied***: 7229–7233, 7300–7304
Muslims commit atrocities toward Christians		297,13–22	***Rolandslied***: 200–206, 6189–6190
Muslims use deceitful methods in the battle	105,14–21; 479,8–24	35,10–28; 351,16–18; 395,22–26	***Rolandslied***: 425–567, 1750–1993

1 Cf. *Aliscans*: Kritischer Text, ed. Erich Wienbeck, Wilhelm Hartnacke, and Paul Rasch (Halle a. d. Saale: Max Niemeyer, 1903).

2 Cf. Nellmann, *Parzival* (see footnote 15), vol. 2, 781–82 (on *Pz.* 813,17–22).

3 Cf. Kunitzsch, "Arabica" (see footnote 18), 16.

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Chapter 9

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Crusading against Barbarians: Muslims as Barbarians in Crusades Era Sources

In an August 2005 *Le Monde Diplomatique* article provocatively titled, "Malevolent Fantasy of Islam," author Alain Gresh describes the anxiety and fear some Europeans in the post 9/11 world have developed in response to Muslim immigration in Europe.[1] Gresh refers to a Dutch politician who cited Bernard Lewis's oft quoted line that "Europe will be Islamic by the end of the century" to rally support for restrictions on Muslim immigration and blocking Turkey's admittance to the E.U.[2] Interestingly, Gresh also makes reference to the emerging phenomenon in Europe of identifying (or viewing) modern European Muslims, on account of their differing religious, social, and cultural beliefs and practices, as the "new barbarians."[3]

The notion that modern Muslims represent "new barbarians" suggests that Europeans had not previously viewed Muslims as barbarians. Indeed, perhaps the most well known barbarians are those traditionally associated with the decline of the Roman Empire in the West during the fourth and fifth centuries.[4] Hence, it is more likely that, for most Europeans, the mention of barbarians brings to mind their cultural ancestors; the Visigoths, Ostrogoths, Franks, Lombards, and other

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1 Alain Gresh, "Malevolent Fantasy of Islam," *Le Monde Diplomatique*, http://mondediplo.com/2005/08/16lewis (last accessed on Dec. 27, 2012).

2 Lewis initially made the comment in an interview with the German newspaper *Die Welt*. See "Europa wird islamisch," *Die Welt*, http://www.welt.de/print-welt/article211310/Europa-wird-islamisch.html (last accessed on Dec. 27, 2012).

3 Gresh, "Malevolent Fantasy of Islam" (see note 1).

4 See Walter A. Goffart, *Barbarian Tides: The Migration Age and the Later Roman Empire* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2006).

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barbarian groups that were present in Europe during late antiquity and are often associated with the decline of the Roman Empire. When discussing barbarians, little thought seems to be given to medieval Muslim societies. To the contrary, many historians depict medieval European Christians as having recognized the sophistication of Islamic societies in their era.[5]

Some scholars have even argued that medieval Christians did not view Muslims as barbarians because they were aware of the sophistication of the Muslim world and the strengths of the Muslim character in relation to their own.[6] Historians have seemingly remained steadfast in such claims, arguing that only in rare instances did medieval Europeans refer to Muslims as barbarians, and such instances were an aberation that was not reflective of broader European societal views until after the later fifteenth century when the Ottoman Turks became a serious threat to Western European security.[7]

This paper will argue that the traditional and current view of historians that medieval Europeans did not view Muslims as barbarians, is incorrect. Indeed, in contrast to traditional scholarship on the issue, there is abundant evidence to show that the adherents of Islam were widely perceived, on many levels of medieval European society, as inferior to Latin Christians throughout the Crusading era. While some medieval European authors may have praised particular virtues or certain achievements of Muslims, as is often noted by modern historians, this did not exclude the same authors from generally viewing Muslims as primitive in other important ways.[8] Such an apparent contradiction is not without precedent, as even earlier Roman authors sometimes praised the barbarians of their time while maintaining they were, nevertheless, still barbarians.[9] Similarly, this essay

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5 See, for example, Dana Carleton Munro, "The Western Attitude Toward Islam during the Period of the Crusades," *Speculum* 6.3 (1931): 329–43.

6 W. R. Jones, "The Image of the Barbarian in Medieval Europe" *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 13.4 (1971): 376–407; here 392.

7 Substantial research has shown that during the Renaissance, at time when Western European nations were increasingly under threat of invasion by Ottoman forces, Western authors, who were immersed in the study of classical authors, began to apply consistantly the classical label of barbarian to their Muslim opponents. See, for example, Nancy Bisaha, *Creating East and West Renaissance Humanists and the Ottoman Turks* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004).

8 See the contributions to this volume by Christopher R. Clason, Heiko Hartmann, and Albrecht Classen.

9 Perhaps the best example is found in *The Germania*, by the first century Roman writer Tacitus. In his account of the barbarians of Germania, Tacitus highlighted the sometimes-superior morality from these rugged and primitive people to shame his more sophisticated, but less restrained, fellow Romans. In English translation, see Tacitus, *The Agricola and The Germania*, trans. Harold Mattingly (Middlesex: Penguin, 1970), 101–41. Cf. now also Walter Goffart, *Barbarian Tides* (see note 4).

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will consider how medieval Christian authors in the era of the Crusades might at times praise particular virtues of Muslims, while nevertheless maintaining the overall cultural inferiority of the Islamic world to Christendom.

This essay will highlight how the above-mentioned effort of crusades era propagandists to diminish and to demonize Islam is demonstrated (contrary to traditional scholarship on the issue) by the widespread use of the specific term "barbarian" to describe their Muslim opponents and to equate them with a particular type of "other" that informed medieval Europeans would have found fearful and destructive. Just as ancient barbarians were believed to have destroyed the once great Roman Empire, now a new type of barbarian (e.g., the Muslim) represented a similar threat to Christendom. Moreover, the widespread use of the term in Crusades sources throughout the high Middle Ages suggests the perceived effectiveness of the image the term conveyed to medieval Christians in stirring support for the crusading movement and animosity toward the crusaders' Muslim opponents.

Modern Historians and Medieval European Perceptions of Muslims

Before considering the Christian sources that depicted medieval Muslims as barbarians, it is important to highlight the extent to which modern historians have either not addressed the issue, or directly contradicted it. Rather than emphasizing a negative view of Muslims along the specific model of the barbarian, historical writers from the early twentieth century until the present have steadfastly maintained that while medieval Christian writers may have often expressed hostility to the adherents of Islam, they nevertheless also recognized the cultural achievements or virtues of Muslims. Such recognition, as modern historians have explicitly or implicitly implied, prevented the barbarian stereotype from ever being applied to medieval Muslims.

In a 1931 article for *Speculum*, for example, Dana Carleton Munro affirmed that just as the Muslim world knew little about their Christian neighbors prior to the Crusades, Christians also knew little about their Islamic neighbors.[10] Munro notes that while Muslims and Christians had engaged each other in Spain and Italy for centuries before the crusades, and although thousands of Western Christians had traveled to Muslim lands on pilgrimage, the sources provide "little if any information about the Prophet [Muhammad] or the beliefs of Islam and very little

[10] Munro, *Western Attitude* (see note 5), 329–43.

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about the character and customs of the Saracens."[11] Yet on the more specific issue of whether Latin Christians viewed medieval Muslims as barbarians, Munro nowhere mentions this phenomenon. To the contrary, Munro notes that sympathetic views of Muslims emerged among Christians living in the Holy Land during the time of the Crusades. Indeed, Munro describes many instances of Christian admiration for Muslims and their customs, virtues, and achievements, even if such views were not broadly embraced at home in the West.[12]

Perhaps the most important work to follow Munro was Norman Daniel's 1960 study *Islam and the West: The Making of an Image*.[13] Daniel's analysis is more emotionally charged and carries a strain of moral condemnation of medieval Westerners for their combative and hostile views of Islam. Indeed, Daniel essentially charges medieval Western authors with cultural and intellectual dishonesty, noting that traditionally negative views of Muslims were essential to the medieval Christian world view and therefore were not altered even when such authors should have known otherwise.[14] In his lengthy work Daniel systematically covers seemingly every possible perception medieval Christians had of Muslims, including negative views of Muhammad, the Qur'an, jihad, marriage, and various theological issues, but nowhere does he suggest Latin Christians equated Muslims with the primitive barbarian stereotype as it would have been understood by Latin Christians in the Middle Ages.

In Richard W. Southern's now classic monograph, *Western Views of Islam in the Middle Ages*, published only two years after Daniels's work, the author takes a different approach.[15] He argues that the success of the medieval Islamic world was genuinely mystifying to medieval Latin Christians. He notes, for example, that while medieval Christians could justify their disdainful view of Jews as inferior culturally and religiously, by virtue of their economic and political subordination in medieval Europe, medieval Muslims and the strengths they exhibited in their dealings with Christians did not allow them to fit into such a view. To the contrary, Southern describes how the "astonishing growth" and "worldly success" of medieval Islam was a constant source of concern for contemporary Christian commentators.[16] Thus, for Southern, it is not surprising that Latin Christian authors generally portrayed medieval Muslims (whom they saw as a military and

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11 Munro, *Western Attitude* (see note 5), 329.

12 Munro, *Western Attitude* (see note 5), 338–39.

13 Norman Daniel, *Islam and the West: The Making of an Image* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1960).

14 Daniel, *Islam and the West* (see note 12), 33. Daniel notes, "Christian opinion was an erection which could not be demolished . . . ."

15 R. W. Southern, *Western Views of Islam in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1962).

16 Southern, *Western Views* (see note 14), 5–6.

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cultural threat) in negative terms, but he nowhere suggests they portrayed them in the primitive stereotype of the barbarian.

More significantly, for our focus here, Southern highlights how troubling it was to medieval Christian intellectuals that the "Muslim system of thought" had the "adherence of men whom the West learned increasingly, and sometimes extravagantly, to admire—scholars, philosophers, and scientists like Alfarabi, Avicenna, and Averroes, and chivalric heroes like Saladin."[17] Indeed, Southern provides a stunning contrast of the medieval Islamic world and Christian Europe in which he dismissively describes the early medieval West as simply "barbarian Europe" while simultaneously highlighting how, after the fall of the Roman Empire, it was medieval Islam that became the "chief inheritor" of the science and philosophy of ancient Greece.[18] Only in two other instances does Southern use the term barbarian; when he describes the Germanic groups that "destroyed" the Roman Empire[19] and in a generic sense in which he contrasts the unlettered with the gentleman.[20] Thus, for Southern, the view of Muslims as barbarians by medieval Westerners is never considered or suggested, either implicitly or explicitly. To the contrary, it is only the West that Southern labels as such.

More recently, there have been other works focusing specifically on medieval Christian views of Islam and they represent some of the best current scholarship on the issue. Among them are John Tolan's 1996 edited volume *Medieval Christian Perceptions of Islam*,[21] and his 2002 work *Saracens: Islam in the Medieval European Imagination*.[22] The collection of essays in the first volume covers a broad range of Christian perspectives of Islam. Yet Tolan's later work, *Saracens*, seems the more impressive of the two and provides the most coherent overview of the subject. Tolan's work focuses on the foundations of Western views of Muslims that emerged in the seventh and eighth centuries and then provided a framework for the development of standard polemical images of Muslims from the eighth to twelfth centuries. Tolen describes how in the thirteenth century views of Muslims hardened as demonstrated by European laws seperating Christians and Muslims and how during this period images of Muslims became even more negative. Using this chronological approach Tolan gives a strong sense of how changing historical conditions influenced medieval Christian views of Islam.

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17 Southern, *Western Views* (see note 14), 6–7.
18 Southern, *Western Views* (see note 14), 8.
19 Southern, *Western Views* (see note 14), 23.
20 Southern, *Western Views* (see note 14), 99.
21 John Victor Tolan, *Medieval Christian Perceptions of Islam A Book of Essays* (New York: Garland Pub, 1996).
22 John Victor Tolan, *Saracens: Islam in the Medieval European Imagination* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002).

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With Tolan's *Saracens*, we finally at least see the use of the word barbarian, but usually only when he is referring to those better known barbarians of late antiquity,[23] to non-European uses of the term to describe Muslims,[24] or, in one instance, when Tolan is not even sure if a source is refering to Vandals or Muslims as barbarians.[25] Indeed, the only clear reference in all of Tolan's work to medieval European sources that describe Muslims as barbarians is found in the introduction, in which he mentions that the Venerable Bede ". . . made little effort to distinguish these Saracens from the other "barbarian" invaders ravishing Euope at the time."[26]

Aside from this single reference to Bede in the introduction, there is no other reference to medival European views of Muslims as barbarians and certainly no consideration of the term as a common polemic for Muslims in medieval Europe. Picking up where Tolan left off in the thirteenth century, Nancy Bisaha's 2004 monograph, *Creating East and West: Renaissance Humanists and the Ottoman Turks*, examines Western views of Islam during the Renaissance and early modern era.[27] Bisaha notes that medieval Christians, prior to the Renaissance, emphatically characterized Muslims as enemies of the Christian faith, whereas later humanist thinkers also portrayed Muslims negatively in social and cultural ways. With Bisaha's work we finally come to an author who is at least willing to consider explicitly whether or not medieval Christians viewed Muslims as barbarians, and she responds in the negative.

Bisaha, who acknowledges that 'barbarian' was a common term used by European humanists to describe Muslims from the mid-fifteenth century throughout the early modern period,[28] notes that the term was rarely used in the Middle Ages.[29] As a result, while Bisaha examines the classical, early modern, and modern use of the term barbarian, she provides no such study for the Middle Ages

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23 Tolan, *Saracens* (see note 22), 41, 66, 77.

24 Tolan, *Saracens* (see note 22), 42, 43, 48, 118, 125. Tolan cites, for example, a letter written by Maximus the Confessor, from Alexandria, between 634–40 that describes Muslims as coming from "a barbarous nation." In another instance, Tolan cites the late seventh century *Apocalypse of Pseudo-Methodius*, originally written in Syriac, which describes the Muslim conquest of the Near East and refers to the Muslim rulers as "barbarians." Finally, a number of Byzantine authors are cited who describeMuslims as barbarians.

25 Tolan, *Saracens* (see note 22), writes, ". . . which barbarians (Vandals? Saracens?) he [Bede] does not say" (76).

26 Tolan, *Saracens* (see note 22), xx.

27 See note 7 for full reference.

28 Bisaha, *Creating East and West* (see note 7), 60.

29 Bisaha, *Creating East and West* (see note 7), 29. Refering to Benedetto Accolti (1415–1464), Bisaha notes "Consider Accolti's account of Urban II's speech, which repeatedly features the anachronistic *barbari*—a term that connotes a sense of cultural superiority rarely found in Western accounts of the Muslims before the fifteenth century. . . . . Accuracy, it seems, was not his primary goal." Bisaha also suggests that the European use of the term babrbarian to describe Muslims may have begun with the fourteenth century humanist Petrarch (53).

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and instead only dismisses its use during the period.[30] On a related note, a more recent 2012 work co-authored by John Tolan, Giles Veinstein, and Henry Laurens, *Europe and the Islamic World: A History*, confirms Bisaha's recognition of the existence of early modern Christian stereotypes of Muslims as barbarians, but like Bisaha they acknowledge such views only emerging in the mid-fifteenth century.[31] The authors make no reference to medieval Christian views of Muslims as barbarians prior to the Turkish conquest of Constantinople in 1453.

This phenomenon, in which modern scholars either deny or do not address the medieval European image of Muslims as barbarians, has perhaps been best explained in a 1971 article by W.R. Jones. Jones examined, as illustrated by the title of his work, *The Image of the Barbarian in Medieval Europe*.[32] Jones writes, "The Moslem did not conform to the medieval stereotype of the barbarian, and the word was seldom applied to the Arab, the Persian, the Seljuk Turk or, until the fifteenth century, the Ottoman. . . . . "[33] So while Jones clearly lends support to Bisaha's claim that barbarian was not a common term for Muslims in medieval Europe, he also takes it a step further as he tries to provide a reason that such views did not take hold; he notes, " European acquaintance with the wealth and power of the Moslem states and the martial prowess of Arab, Persian, and Seljuk, who were sometimes viewed as the chivalric counterparts of Christian knights, made the conventional image of the barbarian quite irrelevant as an apt description of them. . . ."[34] Jones is willing to concede that the term barbarian was used infrequently during the crusading era, but ". . . only as a pallid synonym for non Christian."[35]

The list of works cited so far is by no means exhaustive, as there has been an enormous amount of rearch on these subjects.[36] Yet these works represent some

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30 For classical usage, see Bisaha, *Creating East and West* (see note 7), 45–50, and for early modern and modern usage, see eadem,175,177, 179, 181–85.

31 John Tolan, Giles Veinstein, and Henry Laurens, *Europe and the Islamic World: A History* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2012), 174–81.

32 See note 6 for full citation.

33 Jones, "The Image of the Barbarian" (see note 6), 392.

34 Jones, "The Image of the Barbarian" (see note 6), 392.

35 Jones, "The Image of the Barbarian" (see note 6), 392. Jones cites Leo II of Armenia, writing to Pope Innocent III, as having spoken of the struggle between "barbares nationes" and "Christianitas," represented by himself and his allies, but according to Jones, this was exceptional. Jones also mentions Humbert of Romans as using the term barbarian to describe Muslims, as did Pierre Dubois, and even Frederick II in a letter to the prelates of Europe. Yet again, Jones downplays these references as exceptional and notes that it was not until the fifteenth century that the term 'barbarian' came into more regular use in describing Muslims.

36 Perhaps the most obvious omission is Edward Said's highly controversial 1978 work *Orientalism* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1978), which is undoubtedly the best known and most debated book ever published on Western views of Islam. Said argues two major points: there exists a long tradition among Western writers of presenting false and Romanticized images of Asia and the

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of the best historical scholarship on the issue of medieval Christian views of Muslims. While these authors cover broad time spans and geographical regions, it is clear that all of them are in agreement that medieval Western views of Muslims were generally negative, but the same works either implicitly or explicitly reject the notion that such negative views went so far (in light of the various achievements of the medieval Islamic world) as to consider medieval Muslims as barbarians.

Muslims as Barbarians in Sources for the First Crusade

As previously noted, this essay takes issue with the notion that medieval European Christians did not view, or at least portray, Muslims as barbarians. To the contrary, a careful review of sources from the crusading era will show that the stereotype of Muslims as barbarians was as common as any other stereotype of the time. Indeed, popes, bishops, priests, monks, poets, emperors, and knights, i.e., essentially the entire range of literate medieval European society, all portrayed Muslims as barbarians and did so in specific and unmistakable language. Such views are recorded from the very beginning of the crusading era and provide both a foundation and a bridge by which later Renaissance authors may have adopted such imagery.

From the beginning of the Crusading movement, crusades preachers used the image of the Muslim as a barbarian to stir their listeners to action. Indeed, according to Fulcher of Chartres's account of Pope Urban II's calling of the First Crusade at Clermont in 1095, the pope called on his listeners to make immediate peace amongst themselves so that they could now, as *Christi milites*, wage righteous wars *contra barbaros*.[37] The barbarians in this case were Turkish Muslims

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Middle East as a means of justifying European and American colonial ambitions; and that such authors are incapable of writing about the Middle East without a framework that is inspired by such bias. Yet Said was no historian nor did his book consider the Middle Ages, which is the focus of my paper here. His work is also riddled with major factual errors (e.g., the claim that Arabs conquered the region of what is today modern Turkey before they conquered North Africa). But it is not my purpose here to attack Said, but only to point out the reasons for my hesistation in referencing him. See now the contribution to this volume by Allison P. Coudert for a much needed critical review of Said's work from the point of view of early modern history. See also the Introduction to this volume by Albrecht Classen for further elucidations on this critical issue.

37 Fulcherio Carnotensi, "Historia Iherosolymitana," *Recueil des Historiens des Croisades: Histories Occidentaux* 3 (Paris: L'Academie des inscriptions et belles-lettres, 1866), 311–486; here 324: "Nunc fiant Christi milites, qui dudum exstiterunt raptores. Nunc jure contra barbaros pugnent, qui olim adversus fratres et consanguineos dimicabant." For a recent work that more generally considers

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whom the pope had just earlier told his listeners were brutally abusing Christians and rioteously desecrating Christian holy places in the Holy Land.[38] The pope, seeking to win his listeners to the crusade, undoubtedly knew that his listeners would understand the reference to their future Muslim opponents as barbarians in light of the behavior he ascribed to them. Pope Urban II continued with this theme, when in a letter to Flanders, he described Muslims as barbarians who in a frenzy invaded and ravaged the churches of God in the Eastern regions.[39] In using the imagery of the barbarian, the pope was trying to excite his listeners to take up the cross out of sympathy for those Christians suffering under the primative rule of Muslims.

It seems obvious that clergy members familiar with the pope's speech at Clermont would have seen the use of the term barbarian acceptable, if not desirable, to describe Muslims during the First Crusade. Indeed, this was the case, as we have examples of bishops, priests, and monks who described Muslims this way during this period. Bishop Gerald of Cahors, for instance, praised the efforts of Raymond of St. Gilles during the First Crusade for waging war against the "barbaric nations" and liberating the Holy Land.[40] Abbot Guibert of Nogent also refers to the Turks of the First Crusade as barbarians when praising the bravery of the Franks whom he claimed attacked the *barbariem* everywhere they found them.[41] The monk Robert of Rheims, in his history of the First Crusade, also refers to the *multitudo Turcorum et Sarracenorum* as *barbari*.[42] Finally, the priest Peter Tudebode, in his eyewitness account of the First Crusade, made multiple references to Muslims as "barbari."[43]

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papal efforts in relation to the broader crusading movement, see Balard, Michel, ed., *La Papauté et les croisades/The Papacy and the Crusades: Actes du VIIe congress de la Society for the Study of the Crusades and the Latin East: Proceedings of the VIIth Conference of the Society for the Study of the Crusades and the Latin East* (Farnham, Surrey, and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2011).

38 Fulcherio Carnotensi, "Historia Iherosolymitana" (see note 37), 323–24: "Invaserunt enim eos, sicuti plerisque vestrum jam dictum est, usque mare Mediterraneum, ad illud scilicet quod dicunt Brachium Sancti Georgii, Turci, gens Persica, qui, apud Romaniae fines, terras Christianorum, magis magisque occupando, lite bellica jam septuplicata victos superaverunt multos occidendo vel captivando, ecclesias subvertendo, regnum Dei vastando."

39 Heinrich Hagenmeyer, *Die Kreuzzugsbriefe aus den Jahren 1088–1100* (Innsbruck: Wagner, 1901), 136.

40 As cited and translated in Jonathan Riley-Smith, *The First Crusaders: 1095–1131* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 62.

41 Guiberti Abbatis, "Gesta Dei per Francos," *Recueil des Historiens des Croisades: Histories Occidentaux*, 4 (Paris: L'Academie des inscriptions et belles-lettres, 1879), 117–263; here 136. In English translation, see Guibert of Nogent, *The Deeds of God Through the Franks: A Translation of Guibert of Nogent's gesta Dei per Francos*, trans. Robert Levine (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1997), 41

42 Roberti Monachi, "Historia Iherosolimitana," *Recueil des Historiens des Croisades, Occidentaux* 3 (Paris: L'Academie des inscriptions et belles-lettres, 1866), 717–882; here 838.

43 Petrus Tudebodus, "Historia de Hierosolymitano Itinere," *Recueil des Historiens des Croisades,*

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Nor were the clergy the only ones to refer to the Muslim opponents of the crusaders as barbarians. The anonymous author of the *Gesta Francorum et Aliorum Hierosolimitanorum*, for example, a lesser knight who participated in the First Crusade and composed what is perhaps its most important source, refers to his Muslim opponents as barbarians on several occasions.[44] Beginning with the battle of Dorylaeum in 1097, the author of the *Gesta* describes how the opposing Muslim army was composed of *Turci et Arabes, et Saraceni et Agulani* (likely a corruption of *Agareni*) and all the rest of the *barbarae nationes*.[45] Then again, during the siege of Antioch in 1098, the author of the *Gesta* makes several additional references to his Muslim foes as barbarians. In one instance, he notes how a small force under the command of the crusading prince Bohemund was attacked by Muslims, whom he calls *barbari*;[46] while in another instance he describes a Muslim force that tried to surround the crusaders as *barbari*.[47]

And in yet another instance, when several Christian knights are killed by their Muslim opponents, he refers to their killers as *inquissimi barbari*.[48] Indeed, the author of the *Gesta* frequently uses the word *barbari* to describe only Muslims suggests its use was not, as W.R. Jones has argued, a "pallid synonym for non Christian."[49] Indeed, the author of the *Gesta* never applies the term to native Jews or any other Eastern peoples he came across during the course of the crusade, only to the *Turci et Arabes, et Saraceni et Agulani*, who for him represent the *barbarae nationes*; and the only connecting threads between Turks and Arabs, in this case,

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Occidentaux 3 (Paris: L'Academie des inscriptions et belles-lettres, 1866), 1–118; here 22–26. See books 2 through 4 for additional uses of the term.

44 August C. Krey, *The First Crusade: The Accounts of Eyewitnessess and Participants* (Princeton, NJ: Princton University Press, 1921), 7. Historians have mostly assumed that the author of the *Gesta Francorum* was a knight. August C. Krey best explains why, "His somewhat secular point of view in regard to events, occasional impersonal remarks upon the clergy, or participation in battle, have led modern critics to the belief that he was a knight, though his lack of intimacy with the leaders would indicate that he was a lesser knight." Yet it should also be pointed out that the more recent account of the First Crusade by Thomas Asbridge holds out the possibility that the author of the *Gesta Francorum* was a cleric. See Thomas Asbridge, *The First Crusade: A New History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 95. Also, while the author may have composed parts of the *Gesta Francorum* during the Crusade, it was completed no later than 1101.

45 *Gesta Francorum et Aliorum Hierosolimitanorum*, ed. Rosalind Hill (London: Thomas Nelson, 1962), 20: "Statim autem uenientibus militibus nostris, Turci et Arabes, et Saraceni et Agulani omnesque barbarae nationes dederunt uelociter fugam, per compendia montium et per plana loca."

46 *Gesta Francorum* (see note 45), 29: "Hoc audiens Boamundus surrexit cum suis ut fortissimus Christi athleta, et barbari irruerunt contra illos, eo quod nostri erant pauci;"

47 *Gesta Francorum* (see note 45), 31: "Diuiseruntque se barbari et fecerunt duas acies, unam ante et aliam retro, cupientes ex omni parte circumcingere nos."

48 *Gesta Francorum* (see note 45), 32: "Venerunt uero iniquissimi barbari caute, et irruerunt uehementer super nos, et incautos occiderunt multos ex nostris militibus et peditibus."

49 Jones, "The Image of the Barbarian" (see note 6), 392.

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as they were not unified politically or militarily, is their religion and their opposition to the crusaders.

The use of the term *barbarae nationes* by the author of the *Gesta*, in reference to Turks, Arabs, and Saracens, was in no way unique during the era of the First Crusade. Indeed, the authors of several crusading texts make an identical reference in regard to Muslims in the East. This was the case with the already cited Bishop Gerald of Cahors, but also Pope Urban II (*barbarae nationes*), who used the term in one of his letters,[50] Peter Tudebode (*barbarae nationes*), and his account of the First Crusades,[51] Albert of Aix (*barbarae nationes*), who wrote a history of the First Crusade,[52] Baldric of Dol (*barbarae nationes*), who wrote a history of the crusade,[53] and even one of the Clermont decrees, used such language in describing the Muslim opponents of the First Crusade.[54]

Muslims as Barbarians in Later Crusades Sources

One may argue that sources written before, during, or even shortly after the First Crusade, in some case by non participants who were never significantly involved in the later affairs of the Holy Land, are misleading of the broader Christian opinions of Muslims after the two cultures came in contact in the Holy Land. Indeed, Dana Carleton Munro and, to a lesser extent, Norman Daniel have argued that as medieval Christians became more aware of Muslims they also became more appreciative. Yet Western Christian views of Muslims as barbarians continued throughout the crusading era and such views were often held even by Christians who had considerable knowledge of Islam. Few Western Christians of the twelfth-century, for example, made as much of an effort to understand Islam as Peter the Venerable of Cluny.[55] Peter sought to study Islam through their own writings,

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50 Urbanus II, "Orationes in Consilio Claromontano Habitae de Expeditione Hierosolymitana," *Patrologia Latina*, Vol. 151 (1853), 566: "Sed quid templum Salomonis, imo Domini, praetermittimus, in quo simulacra sua barbarae nationes contra jus et fas modo collocata venerantur? De sepulcro Dominico ideo reminisci supersedemus, quoniam oculis vestris vidistis quantae abominationi traditum sit."

51 Petrus Tudebodus, "Historia de Hierosolymitano Itinere" (see note 43), 26.

52 Albericus Aquensis, "Historia Hierosolymitanae Expeditionis," *Recueil des Historiens des Croisades, Occidentaux* 4 (Paris: L'Academie des inscriptions et belles-lettres, 1879), 271–713; here 408. See also book 6.

53 Baldrici, *Episcopi Dolensis*, Historia Jerosolimitana," *Recueil des Historiens des Croisades, Occidentaux* 4 (Paris: L'Academie des inscriptions et belles-lettres, 1879), 9–111; here 13. See also page 12 ("gens barbara ").

54 *Actes des comtes de Flandre 1071–1128*, ed. Fernand Vercauteren. Commission royale d'histoire. Recueil des actes des princes Bleges (Brussels: Palais des academies, 1938), 63.

55 For an overview of Peter's life, see James Kritzeck, *Peter the Venerable and Islam* (Princeton, NJ:

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many of which he had translated from the Arabic. He then used these texts to compose detailed refutations of the "heresy" of Islam. Yet the same Peter, who had devoted his life to the study or Islam and so was presumably better informed on the topic than most of his contemporaries, could still refer to Muslims as *barbari*.[56]

Twelfth-century theologians like Peter were not alone in describing Muslims as barbarians. Even in the popular literature of middle twelfth-century Europe, Muslims were often referred to as barbarians. In the Old French *Song of Roland*, for example, the saracen King Corsablix is referred to as *barbarins*.[57] Perhaps unsurprisingly, the great historian of the Latin East, William of Tyre (d. 1186), also referred to Muslims threatening the crusader states as *barbari*.[58] Western Christian portrayals of Muslims as barbarians naturally continued in the wake of Saladin's conquest of Jerusalem in 1187. Indeed, a number of sources from the era of the Third Crusade regularly refer to Muslims as barbarians.

Beginning with Pope Gregory VIII's calling of the Third Crusade in October 1187, the pope warned potential crusaders of the "ferocity" of Saladin and his forces whom he described as "barbarians thirsting for the blood of Christians."[59] The anonymous chronicler of the *De Expugatione Terrae Sanctae per Saladinum*, an eyewitness to Saladin's capture of Jerusalem by Saladin, also referred to Muslims as barbarians. In one instance he describes the fear of the Christian inhabitants from "the noise and tumult of the barbarians," while in another instance he relates

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Princeton University Press, 1964). On Peter's efforts to secure the first Latin translation of the Qur'an through the work of scholars of Arabic like Robert of Ketton, see Thomas E. Burman, "Tafsīr and Translation: Traditional Arabic Qu'rān Exegesis and the Latin Qu'rāns of Robert of Ketton and Mark of Toledo," *Speculum*, 73 (1998): 703–32; here 704–05.

56 See Petrus Venerabilis Cluniacensis, "Libro Contra Sectam Sive Haeresim Saracenorum," *Patrologia Latina*, vol. 189 (1854) 15: "Saraceni Mahumeth nomen erat. Qui intima ipsa barbarae gentis armaria" and "Nam homines contra quos agere disponis, alieni sunt, barbari sunt, non solum moribus, sed et lingua ipsa…" See also Petrus Venerabilis Cluniacensis, "Noni Adversus Nefandam Sectam Saracenorum," *Patrologia Latina*, vol.189 (1854): "Nam homines contra quos agere disponis, alieni sunt, barbari sunt, non solum moribus, sed et lingua ipsa, nil sibi Latinisque commune esse fatentur. Quomodo igitur audiet, ne dicam exaudiet Arabs Latinum, Persa Romanum, Aethiops vel Aegyptius Gallum?"

57 *La Chanson de Roland* : The French Corpus, ed. Joseph J. Duggan (Turnhout: Brepols, 2005), vol. I: *The Oxford Version*, ed. Ian Short, laisse XCV, 1235–1236: ". . . uns reis i est, si ad num Corsablix, barbarins est, d'un etrange païs."

58 Willermi Tyrensis Archiepiscopi, "Historia Rerum in Partibus Transmarinis Gestarum," in *Recueil des Historiens des Croisades, Occidentaux* 1 (Paris: L'Academie des inscriptions et belles-lettres, 1844), 9–1134; here 113: *"Adventum hujus infelicis et barbari populi, qui circa urbem nostram obsidionem locare praesumpsit, non est opus ut multum formidetis."*

59 Pope Gregory VIII, "The Epistle of Pope Gregory," *The Church Historians of England: Vol. 1V, Part II; Containing The History of William of Newburgh & The Chronicles of Robert de Monte*, trans. Joseph Stevenson (London: Seeley's, 1861), 398–672; here 543.

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a story about how the Christian guards of the city were caught off guard and startled "by the noise of the barbarians."[60]

In 1198 Pope Innocent III came to power as one of the most enthusiastic and energetic of all the crusader popes. Innocent III also regularly employed the term barbarian when referring to Muslims in his many letters dealing with events in the Holy Land. In several instances, especially in his *Hortatur ad sacrum bellum contra Saracenos pro recuperatione terrae sanctae*, the pope called on Western Christians to defend the Christian people and *impugnes barbariem paganorum*.[61]

Innocent III was not a lone voice during the thirteenth century in this regard, as there seems to have been several European Christians who referred to Muslims as barbarians throughout the thirteenth century. W. R. Jones himself provided such references from several important voices of the later crusading movement including the Emperor Frederick II, the Dominican Humbert of Romans, and the publicist Pierre Dubois. Jones downplayed the significance of their use of the term barbarian(s) by claiming it was "infrequent."[62] Yet if Jones had done a broader analysis of the entire crusading era, he would have found that that there existed a substantial foundation for the use of the term in the late eleventh and twelfth centuries; and that the use of the term was actually quite frequent and often applied specifically to Muslims, rather than simply to all non-Christians. Indeed, in contrast to Jones and others who argue that the later stereotype of the "barbarous character of the Turk" emerged only after the conquest of Constantinople in 1453, it must be pointed out that such terms were used throughout literate European society during the crusading era to describe Turks, Arabs, and other Muslims.

In addition to the specific use of the term, barbarian, as found throughout crusading sources, one might also point to the behavior often attributed to Muslims by Christian authors as a way of portraying Muslims as barbarians when the term is not actually used. Indeed, varying accounts of the Muslim plunder, rape, killing, and abuse of Eastern Christians in crusades sources certainly present a barbaric image of Muslims in the Holy Land. Such propaganda was rarely employed with restraint, as incredibly graphic stories of such abuse are relatively common in the crusading literature. Crusades propagandists no doubt saw tremendous values in such stories, true or otherwise, in recruiting for crusades, as it gave a moral purpose to the crusaders who believed they were doing the will of

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60 *De Expugatione Terrae Sanctae per Saladinum*, ed. Joseph Stevenson. Rolls Series (London: Longmans, 1875), trans. James A. Brundage, *The Crusades: A Documentary History* (Milwaukee, WI: Marquette University Press, 1962), 159–63.

61 Innocentii III, "Romani Pontificis Regestorum Sive Epistolarum," *Patrologia Latina*, vol. 214 (1855). There are several references to the Saracen as *barbariem* throughout this collection of letters.

62 Jones, "The Image of the Barbarian" (see note 6), 392.

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God by their efforts to stop such abuse. The image of the barbarous Muslim also contributed to a Christian sense of military superiority over Muslims in the wake of the First Crusade and successful efforts in Spain and Italy. Disorganized barbarians, even if they were more vicious and cruel, ultimately could not fight as well as disciplined knights. Finally, while it may be true, as many scholars have pointed out, that many Christian authors showed respect, or even admiration for their Muslim foes, this in itself does not challenge the notion that many European Christians viewed Muslims as barbarians during the crusading era, as even classical authors, especially Tacitus, sometimes praised the virtues of the same barbarians they feared.

Clearly, more careful work and analysis needs to be done on the question of whether or not medieval European Christians viewed Muslims as barbarians. The declarations of some historians that they did not is unsustainable without further qualification in light of the enormous textual evidence that argues to the contrary. Indeed, it can be demonstrated that the full spectrum of literate medieval European society employed the term; from popes to monks or emperors to lesser knights. In some cases particular authors used the term quite frequently and with a specific meaning in which the term could only be applied to Muslims. Thus, it is not so certain, as some historians have suggested, that the Latin Christian West of the High Middle Ages recognized, much less acknowledged, the cultural superiority of the Islamic world. That many European scientists, architects, medical researchers, artists, and craftsmen adapted Islamic ideas and concepts, knowledge and teachings does not impinge on this observation since here we have dealt mostly with the propagandistic strategies in the West to strengthen the Crusaders' resolve against their enemies.[63]

[63] See the Introduction to this volume by Albrecht Classen for a comprehensive overview and critical discussion of the kaleidoscope of contacts and interactions between East and West.

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Chapter 10

Albrecht Classen
(The University of Arizona, Tucson)

The Encounter with the Foreign in Medieval and Early Modern German Literature: Fictionality as a Springboard for Non-Xenophobic Approaches in the Middle Ages. *Herzog Ernst*, Wolfram von Eschenbach, Konrad von Würzburg, *Die Heidin*, and *Fortunatus*

I. Racism, Prejudice, Xenophobia in the Middle Ages Theoretical Reflections—Postmodern and Medieval

From a postcolonial perspective, many scholars tend to argue that medieval poets commonly espoused xenophobia, racism, and ethnic hatred in the name of their Christian religion and perceived the others, whoever they might have been, only through the lens of fear and ignorance, hostility and aggression. After all, East and West have perceived each other as an existential threat since the seventh century, both in religious and military terms, and to some extent that polarity does not seem to have been overcome completely until today.[1] Following that lead, the world of the European Middle Ages is hence described as hostile to all foreigners

[1] See, for instance, the contributions to *La chrétienté au péril sarrasin: Actes du colloque de la section française de la société internationale Rencesvals (Ais-en-Provence, 30 septembre – 1er octobre 1999*). Senefiance, 46 (Aix-en-Provence: Université de Provence, 2000); Siobhain Bly Calkin, *Saracens and the Making of English Identity: The Auchinleck Manuscript*. Studies in Medieval History and Culture (New York and London: Routledge, 2005); for a counter example, see *Medieval Muslims, Christians, and Jews in Dialogue:* The Apparicion Maistre Jehan de Meun *of Honorat Bovet. A Critical Edition with English Translation* by Michael Hanly. Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, 283 (Tempe: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2005).

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and everything foreign because of its own sense of insecurity, internal conflicts with the Christian Church, with the Jewish minority, and the lack of strong national units, to mention just a few aspects.[2]

But perhaps that stereotype, commonly promulgated in popular literature, but then also in many modern scholarly books, might not be so far off as to represent a correct assessment of the history of mentality according to which this actual confrontation of self and other constitutes a critical basis for the search of identity. As many literary examples demonstrate, there is always the fear of the other in oneself, perhaps the beast, the monster, or the berserk. If outside forces do not threaten the individual, then demons and devils attack the Christian hermit, anchorite, or monk, whether we think of the many writings by the Church Fathers in Egypt or the many saints in early medieval Ireland.[3]

Marie de France's *lai* "Bisclavret" (ca. 1190) with its werewolf motif might be the best example for that internal struggle.[4] Fighting against actual foreigners, then, might have been a useful strategy to project that internal insecurity outward by imagining the stranger as the threatening polarity.[5] After all, whenever we hear of military encounters between Christians and Saracens, that is, Muslims, or any other people from a non-Christian world somewhere to the East, most brutal and bloody rhetoric comes into play, and the Christian knights are encouraged to fight to their utmost because even if they die, their souls would then quickly rise to heaven. By the same token, the killed Saracens would be condemned to hell for all eternity.[6] Of course, this phenomenon would not be limited to the Middle Ages, as all armies throughout time have been trained and influenced to see the enemy in those terms; otherwise wars would have been impossible.

Both the *chansons de geste* and many heroic epics seem to confirm this impression and offer even many more details as to the explicit hatred which the crusaders

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2 See my Introduction, "The Self, the Other, and Everything in Between: Xenological Phenomenology of the Middle Ages," *Meeting the Foreign in the Middle Ages*, ed. Albrecht Classen (New York and London: Routledge, 2002), xi–lxxiii.

3 See the contribution to this volume by Diane Peters Auslander. See also Nancy Caciola, *Discerning Spirits: Divine and Demonic Possession in the Middle Ages*. Conjunctions of Religions & Power in the Medieval Past (Ithaca, NY, and London: Cornell University Press, 2003).

4 For a very solid, until today probably the best edition, see *Die Lais der Marie de* France, ed. Karl Warnke. 3rd ed. (1885; Halle: Max Niemeyer, 1925); for an English translation, see *The Lays of Marie de France*, trans., with Introd. and Commentary by Edward J. Gallagher (Indianapolis and Cambridge: Hacket Publishing, 2010), 29–33; see also Matilda Tomaryn Bruckner, "Of Men and Beasts in *Bisclavret*," *Romanic Review* 83.3 (1991): 255–69.

5 Harry Kühnel, "Das Fremde und das Eigene: Mittelalter," *Europäische Mentalitätsgeschichte: Hauptthemen in Einzeldarstellungen*, ed. Peter Dinzelbacher. 2nd, rev. and expanded ed. (1993; Stuttgart: Alfred Kröner, 2008), 477–92.

6 Marianne Ott-Meimberg, *Kreuzzugsepos oder Staatsroman? Strukturen adeliger Heilsversicherung im deutschen 'Rolandslied'*. Münchener Texte und Untersuchungen zur deutschen Literatur des Mittelalters, 70 (Munich: Artemis Verlag, 1980).

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spewed forth in their military efforts to defeat the Muslim/Saracen enemy. At issue here proves to be the very nature of the two world religions, Christianity and Islam (not to discount Judaism, but it does not matter so much in our context), since both are monotheistic and predicated on an absolutist claim to worship the true and only God. Virtually all of medieval and early modern history is determined by the perennial struggle between both religious groups, regularly associated in a rather unholy alliance with imperialist, colonialist endeavors. First the Arabs conquered huge swaths of land both in the entire Near and Middle East and in Northern Africa, before they marched into the Iberian Peninsula and tried to occupy the Frankish territory as well. This effort ultimately failed, as the battle of Poitiers in 732 indicated, and hundreds of years later, as a result of the Reconquista, even the last Arabic fortress, in Granada, fell to the Spanish troops in 1492, ringing in the end of all Arabic cultures on the European mainland.[7]

Once medieval western Europe had established itself and had acquired sufficient resources beginning in the eleventh century, they turned their aggression toward the eastern Mediterranean in their effort to recover the Holy Land and to establish Christian kingdoms along its shores during the ca. two hundred years of Crusades after 1096. The fall of Acre in 1291, however, also marked the end to all those endeavors, almost in a repeat of history as experienced by the Arabs in the Carolingian Empire. But by the close of the Middle Ages the Turkish world rose to new power under the rule of the Ottomans, and even before the fall of Constantinople in 1453 the Turkish threat against southeastern Europe had constantly increased, though even they did not achieve their ultimate goals.[8]

In other words, the image of the Other in the European Middle Ages was consistently and deeply determined by hostile and racial concepts as a result of steady military conflicts, colonial efforts, and religious ideologies. Most likely, the Muslims viewed their Christian neighbors in not very different terms, again as a result of their monotheistic perspective and a similarly colonialist ideology. Each side continually condemned the other in radical, outrageous, vicious, debasing, ridiculing, mocking, and blatantly aggressive and intolerant terms, and this already since the seventh and eighth centuries, resorting, ironically, in that process mostly to using vey similar, actually familiar terms and concepts about the other.[9]

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7 Alexander Pierre Bronisch, *Reconquista und heiliger Krieg: die Deutung des Krieges im christlichen Spanien von den Westgoten bis ins frühe 12. Jahrhundert*. Spanische Forschungen der Görresgesellschaft. Zweite Reihe, 35 (Münster: Aschendorff, 1998); Philippe Conrad, *Histoire de la Reconquista*. Que sais-je?, 3287 (Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1998); Joseph F O'Callaghan, *Reconquest and Crusade in Medieval Spain*. The Middle Ages Series (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2003).

8 Andrew Holt, "Crusades Historiography," *Handbook of Medieval Studies*, ed. Albrecht Classen. Vol. 1 (Berlin and New York: De Gruyter, 2010), 379–92.

9 Alexandra Cuffel, *Gendering Disgust in Medieval Religious Polemic* (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2007).

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For most Christians, at least for those who have left any traces in the documents for us to study, the prophet Muhammad was nothing less than but "the Beast of the Apocalypse or a false prophet and a heretic who was taught by a Nestorian Christian and then perverted that teaching. . . . Medieval writers noted not only his heresy and lasciviousness but identified him as a criminal who secretly killed neighbors he envied. According to medieval beliefs, Muhammad's life of criminal behavior, perversion of the faith, deception of the Arabs, and lasciviousness ended in an equally monstrous way."[10]

Undoubtedly, it would be not too far from historical reality to identify the medieval world, as R. I. Moore has suggested, as a "persecuting society," profoundly infused with fear of alterity and difference, especially in religious terms, regularly inviting Christians to turn against their Jewish neighbors, threatening, and even killing them in one of the countless pogroms.[11] By analogy, the Christians would have done the same with any Muslim populations if they had lived in closer proximity to European, Christian societies. But as recent research has increasingly discovered, if we allow an analogy to help us understand the larger issue here at stake, despite the seemingly endless flood of murderous actions by the Christian mob against their Jewish neighbors, the concept of *convivencia* was not completely impossible and was actually practiced in many parts of the Iberian Peninsula and then also in other European countries.[12] After all, modern historians tend to listen more to the dramatic accounts of bloodshed and war than to those that simply reveal fairly decent and harmonious relationships between the representatives of different religions, especially if they live next door to each other in their respective communities.[13]

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10 Michael Frassetto, "Medieval Attitudes Toward Muslims and Jews," *Misconceptions About the Middle Ages*, ed. Stephen J. Harris and Bryon L. Brigsby. Routledge Studies in Medieval Religion and Culture (New York and London: Routledge, 2008), 76–82; here 77.

11 R. I. Moore, *The Formation of a Persecuting Society: Power and Deviance in Western Europe, 950–1250* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1987).

12 Birgit Wiedl, "Jews and the City: Parameters of Jewish Urban Life in Late Medieval Austria," *Urban Space in the Middle Ages and Early Modern Times*, ed. Albrecht Classen. Fundamentals of Medieval and Early Modern Culture, 4 (Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2009), 273–308.

13 Elisheva Baumgarten, *Mothers and Children: Jewish Family Life in Medieval Europe*. Jews, Christians, and Muslims From the Ancient to the Modern world (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2004); Albrecht Classen, "Jewish–Christian Relations in Medieval Literature," *German Literature Between Faiths: Jew and Christian at Odds and in Harmony*. Studies in German Jewish History, 6 (Oxford, Bern, et al.: Peter, Lang, 2004), 53–65. For the very opposite, indeed, horrible, conclusions, based on a different set of data, see Miri Rubin, *Gentile Tales: The Narrative Assault on Late Medieval Jews*. The Middle Ages Series (1999; Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2005). Unfortunately, we do not know much about the relationships between Christians and Muslims within medieval Europe. We can be certain that they must have been extremely difficult, but there must have been more contacts than we commonly assume, especially in Italy and Spain. This is now discussed in a well-balanced manner by Klaus Herbers, "Miteinander – nebeneinander – gegeneinander: Die vielen Facetten des Zusammenlebens im spanischen Mittelalter," *Projektion*

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As Thomas F. Glick and Vivian B. Mann could show with respect to the history and artwork produced in the lands of the Crown of Aragon during the late Middle Ages, there is a striking amount of evidence confirming close collaboration of Jewish and Christian artists and scholars, philosophers and medical doctors.[14] Many altarpieces, for instance, clearly demonstrate either that Jewish artists were involved or that the painters were intimately familiar with Jewish culture. Of course, this did not, in the long run, prevent the tragic history which the Jewish population had to suffer when they were all ultimately expelled from Spain in 1492, or forced to convert, which, however, never completely integrated them into the Christian society there.

Unfortunately, as history teaches us, differences in religion, ethnicity, and gender have often served as the critical catalysts for broad-ranging violence. Stereotypes, racism, and religious fanaticism were as much problems in the past as they are huge challenges still for us today. Whether scholarship can break the traditional mold of thinking among the majority of people remains to be seen, but we can nevertheless be certain that already in the Middle Ages a plurality of opinions and ideas existed, irrespective of many tendencies to project all foreigners in black and white terms. As Michael Frassetto concludes, for instance "Medieval Christian views of Islam and Judaism . . . were a complex blend of animosity and respect, of stereotypes and understanding."[15]

The struggle to identify where medieval writers stood vis-à-vis the Muslim Other, not to speak of monsters and a whole array of additional and strange creatures as presented in *mappaemundi* and fanciful travelogues (John Mandeville), continues until the present, and the discourse has vacillated between glorifying terms and condemnatory statements.[16] Jerold C. Frakes argues, for instance, with respect to Wolfram von Eschenbach's *Willehalm* (ca. 1218), that for the Middle High German poet "Muslim men are sometimes bestial warriors, who fight with clubs

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– *Reflexion – Ferne: Räumliche Vorstellungen und Denkfiguren im Mittelalter*, ed. Sonja Glauch, Susanne Köbele, and Uta Störmer-Caysa (Berlin and New York: De Gruyter, 2011), 239–61. See also the contribution to the present volume by Connie Scarborough. For further reflections, especially on Arabic and Jewish contributions, see my Introduction to this volume.

14 Thomas F. Glick, "Jews and Christians in the Medieval Crown of Aragon" (10–44); Vivian B. Mann, "Jews and Altarpieces in Medieval Spain" (76–127), *Uneasy Communion: Jews, Christians, and the Altarpieces of Medieval Spain*, ed. Vivian B. Mann (London: Museum of Biblical Art, 2010).

15 Frassetto, "Medieval Attitudes" (see note 10), 80.

16 There is a legion of critical studies on monsters; see, for instance, Jeffery Jerome Cohen, *Monster Theory: Reading Culture* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1996); cf. the contributions to *The Monstrous Middle Ages*, ed. Bettina Bildhauer and Robert Mills (Toronto and Buffalo: University of Toronto Press, 2003); and to *Marvels, Monsters, and Miracles: Studies in the Medieval and Early Modern Imagination*, ed. Timoth S. Jones and David A. Sprunger (Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications, 2002); cf. also Asa Simon Mittman, *Maps and Monsters in Medieval England*. Studies in Medieval History and Culture (New York and London: Routledge, 2006); see also the contribution to this volume by Courtney Catherine Barajas.

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and stakes (e.g., Rennewart), sometimes courtly and refined, but almost always fanatical, frenzied warriors who are characteristically described by means of images of wild animals . . . ."[17] Indeed, that comment proves to be correct in many cases, but it can also be falsified in many others, not to mention the wrong categorization of Rennewart. It would be appropriate to claim that Gyburg's famous speech at the military council, in which she reminds the warriors that some of the enemies are her own family members, cannot be claimed as an expression of tolerance at all, since she as well wants the Christian side to win the battle.[18] At the same time, this profoundly military epic reflects, even if only so tentatively, at least at its closure, a sense of humanity and a feeling that killing the enemy can only be the result of the constraints of war and not something which Christianity itself would have endorsed. Gyburg deeply laments the loss of her family, but she has converted to Christianity and does not ask her in-laws or her own husband to stop fighting against the infidels, that is, even against her father, her former husband, and her own son.[19]

What can we hence reasonably expect from medieval writers in their approach toward the eastern world, toward Islam, and Muslim societies? Was any medieval person capable of perceiving the 'Orient' in any other terms but those that constituted the foundation of the universal stereotypes? Asked more poignantly, can people ever liberate themselves from stereotypes or racism? This rhetorical question must be answered in the positive, otherwise we would deny people's ability ever to learn. And our research in the humanities clearly shows in abundant measure that progress is possible, that changes can be achieved, that stereotypes do not rule for ever, that prejudice can be and must be overcome. The process in all that regard might be very slow, but it takes place. Significantly, it also took place in the Middle Ages, and that is precisely the topic of my subsequent investigations.[20] As much as we can easily extend the concept of Orientalism, as

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17 Jerold C. Frakes, *Vernacular and Latin Literary Discourses of the Muslim Other in Medieval Germany*. The New Middle Ages (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), 33.

18 Frakes, *Vernacular and Latin Literary Discourse* (see note 17), 97–122. He comments that "for Wolfram the only good Muslim is a former, forcibly distanced, or dead one" (120). And: "While the narrator at one point regrets that dead Muslims must go to Hell, the fact remains that the narrator *accepts without question* the premise that dead Muslims do go to Hell, *and* that it is their own 'god' Tervigant who is responsible for their going there" (121). See now the contribution to this volume by Heiko Hartmann.

19 Elke Brüggen and Joachim Bumke, "Figuren-Lexikon," *Wolfram von Eschenbach: Ein Handbuch*, ed. Joachim Heinzle. Vol. II (Berlin and New York: De Gruyter, 2011), 881–83.

20 See, for instance, Len Scales, "Medieval Barbarism? Ethnic Strife in the Middle Ages," *History Today* 49 (1999): 42–44; Robert Bartlett, "Medieval and Modern Concepts of Race and Ethnicity," *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 31 (2001): 39–56; Thomas Hahn, "The Difference the Middle Ages Makes: Color and Race Before the Modern World," *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 31 (2001): 1–37; Diane Auslander, "Race and Ethnicity in the Middle Ages," *Handbook of Medieval Studies*, ed. Albrecht Classen. Vol. 2 (Berlin and New York: De Gruyter, 2010),

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defined by Edward Said, back into the Middle Ages, as much we must be very cautious not to commit the common mistake of arguing anachronistically in this and many other cases.[21]

It has been mostly rather easy to identify specific sources from that time which strongly confirm an overarching stereotype and a pernicious xenophobia born from a fundamentalist Christian perspective, since these aspects represent the official spearheads in a universal propaganda campaign successfully launched and maintained throughout that age. After all, the absolute dominance of the Christian Church made it mandatory for all writers, artists, and philosophers to advocate the Christian ideology and to cast the foreigners, i.e., non-Christians, in extremely negative light and to realize a supersessionist agenda.[22] In other words, the official discourse aimed at the global malignment of the non-European cultures and people and strongly supported and advocated for the 'universal' truth of Christianity as the destiny manifest.

However, medieval writers consistently also expressed rather more complex attitudes and did not necessarily distinguish all people simply by their skin color. As Suzanne Conklin Akbari emphasizes, "Because 'Saracen' identity, like 'Jewish' identity, is depicted in medieval texts as being the product simultaneously of religious and ethnic difference, it partakes in both the binarism of religious alterity and the spectrum of bodily diversity."[23] Much depends on the narrative context and the poet's specific intentions, but we can certainly affirm that wide-spread racism was not the common *modus operandi* in medieval society and in medieval romance literature, as racist many comments or statements might sound to us today, especially because ethnic difference is regularly interconnected with religious difference, which complicates the whole matter much more.[24]

1155–70. See also Suzanne Conklin Akbari, *Idols in the East: European Representations of Islam and the Orient, 1100-1450* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2009). See further the contributions to *The Origins of Racism in the West*, ed. Miriam Eliav-Feldon, Benjamin Isaac and Joseph Ziegler (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009).

21 Edward W. Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1978); see now Ulrich Müller, "Toleranz zwischen Christen und Muslimen im Mittelalter? Zur Archäologie der Beziehungen zwischen dem christlich-lateinischen Okzident und dem islamischen Orient," *Kulturthema Toleranz: Zur Grundlegung einer interdisziplinären und interkulturellen Toleranzforschung*, ed. Alois Wierlacher (Munich: iudicium, 1996), 307–53.

22 This has already been discussed from a variety of perspectives; see, most notably, Lisa Lampert, *Gender and Jewish Difference from Paul to Shakespeare*. The Middle Ages Series (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004), who focuses on supersessionism; cf. also Calkin, *Saracens and the Making of English Identity* (see note 1); see also the contributions to *Medieval Christian Perceptions of Islam: A Book of Essays*, ed. John Victor Tolan. Garland Medieval Casebooks (New York and London: Garland, 1996).

23 Conklin Akbari, *Idols in the East* (see note 20), 161.

24 Jeffrey Jerome Cohen, *Hybridity, Identity, and Monstrosity in Medieval Britain: On Difficult Middles*. The New Middle Ages (New York and Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave

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Significantly, already the history of heresy reveals the true degree of disagreement and discontent throughout the entire Middle Ages. As much as the Catholic Church made every possible effort to repress any deviant group, any reform-minded movement, and to silence any critic, ultimately, it failed, despite its great success over the Cathars, the Patarenes, the Waldensians, the Lollards, and others.[25] Of course, once Martin Luther appeared on the public stage, especially with his 99 theses which he posted on the church door of Wittenberg in 1517, critical mass had finally been reached, and the absolute power and control of the papacy had come to an end. Hence, it would be more appropriate to talk of a history of disintegration than of a history of integration in the late Middle Ages,[26] since it was very much a time of identity formation and finding one's own culture and value system, especially in confrontation with the Other, that is, the Jewish and Muslim people, and many others in the distant Orient.[27] We only would have to consider the continuing influence of pagan religion far into the early modern age to realize how fractured medieval Catholic society really was, despite all the powerful control mechanisms in place everywhere.[28]

II. The German Medieval Literary Evidence

Middle High German literature reflects just as much as most other European literatures the conflict between the self and the Other, whether the various authors had had personal contacts with the foreign world or not.[29] It might not be very

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Macmillan, 2006), 21–41.

25 Michael C. Thomsett, *Heresy in the Roman Catholic Church: A History* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 2011); see also the contributions to *Heresy in Transition: Transforming Ideas of Heresy in Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, ed. Ian Hunter, John Christian Laursen, and Cary J. Nederman (Aldershot, Hants, England, and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2005). As to the Cathars, see Michel Roquebert, *Histoire des Cathares: Hérésie, Croisade, Inquisition du Xie au XIVe siècle* (Paris: Perrin, 1999).

26 *Integration und Desintegration der Kulturen im europäischen Mittelalter*, ed. Michael Borgolte, Julia Dücker, Marcel Müllerburg, and Bernd Schneidmüller. Europa im Mittelalter, 18. Abhandlungen und Beiträge zur historischen Komparatistik (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2011).

27 See the contributions to *Varieties of Religious Conversions in the Middle Ages*, ed. James Muldoon (Gainesville, Tallahassee, et al.: University Press of Florida, 1997); cf. also R. I. Moore, *The Birth of Popular Heresy*. Medieval Academy Reprints for Teaching (Toronto, Buffalo, and London: University of Toronto Press, 1995).

28 *The Pagan Middle Ages*, ed. Ludo J. R. Milis, trans. into Engl. by Tanis Guest (1991; Woodbridge: Boydell, 1998); see also Wolfgang Ernst, *Beschwörung und Segen: Angewandte Psychotherapie im Mittelalter* (Cologne, Weimar, and Vienna: Böhlau, 2011).

29 This has already been discussed from many different perspectives; see, for instance, Edith Feistner, "Vom Kampf gegen das 'Andere': Pruzzen, Litauer und Mongolen in lateinischen und deutschen Texten des Mittelalters," *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum und deutsche Literatur* 132.3 (2003): 281–94; Felicitas Schmieder, "Christians, Jews, Muslims—and Mongols: Fitting a Foreign People Into the Western Christian Apocalyptic Scenario," *Medieval Encounters* 12.2 (2006): 274–95;

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useful to employ terms such as 'toleration' or 'tolerance' in the critical engagement with some of the most outspoken poets who incorporated significant aspects of foreign worlds and people into their works. Both terms apply mostly to modern-day scenarios and create more problems than solving our issues at hand.[30] We can certainly recognize considerable efforts to come to terms with alterity at large in many different texts and artworks, but neither Wolfram von Eschenbach nor Marco Polo really intended to build a case for tolerance in the modern sense of the word since they exclusively addressed a European, Christian audience and only hoped, as far as we can tell, to impress them with the novelty of their respective accounts. Nevertheless, we can surely observe the development of a widening horizon in mental-intellectual, but then also religious and cultural terms, especially after the fall of Acre to the Muslim forces in 1291, which represented the complete end of all crusades.

As Mathias Herweg now confirms, many different authors embraced increasingly a concept of a more diverse world where religion no longer mattered completely to the exclusion of all others. The new interest in topography and geography in a global context opened new perspectives and made the exploration of the foreign world, especially in Asia, highly attractive.[31] The vast number of late-medieval pilgrimage accounts and travelogues, the various world chronicles (Hartmann Schedel, 1493), and also world maps only confirmed the unstoppable curiosity that was ultimately to transform the entire Middle Ages. The foreign was simply there to stay, irrespective of the horror which the Christian world might have felt about the infidels and pagans.

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see also the contributions to *Foreign Encounters: Case Studies in German Literature Before 1700*, ed. Mara R. Wade and Glenn Ehrstine. *Daphnis* 33.1–2 (2004).

30 Cary J. Nederman, *Worlds of Difference: European Discourses of Toleration, c. 1100–c. 1550* (University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2000), astutely differentiates between absolute adherence to the Christian faith and the willingness to acknowledge the others as such. Referring to the authors under investigation in his study, he emphasizes: "They advocated in the main what Michael Sanel labels 'judgemental toleration,' according to which tolerance is worthy of pursuit to achieve or maintain some other valuable or necessary human good. While every figure examined in the present study may have longed for universal acceptance of a single body of Christian doctrine and rite, none was especially confident about the possibility of reaching this end, certainly not in a foreseeable future" (5). See also Albrecht Classen, "Toleranz im späten 13. Jahrhundert, mit besonderer Berücksichtigung von Jans von Wien und Ramon Llull," *Mediaevistik* 17 (2004): 25–55; M. Y. Abu-Munshar, *Islamic Jerusalem and Its Christians: A History of Tolerance and Tensions*. Library of Middle East History, 13 (London and New York: Tauris Academic Studies, 2007).

31 Mathias Herweg, "Zwischen Handlungspragmatik, Gegenwartserfahrung und literarischer Tradition: Bilder der 'nahen Heidenwelt' im späten deutschen Versroman," kunst *und* sæle: *Festschrift für Trude Ehlert*, ed. Katharina Boll and Katrin Wenig (Würzburg: Königshausen & Neumann, 2011), 87–113; here 89–92.

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II.a. *Herzog Ernst*

Already the late twelfth-century Goliardic epic poem, *Herzog Ernst* (ms. A ca. 1170/1180; ms. B ca. 1220/1230) evoked the Other in a fully-fledged manner.[32] The anonymous poet transports his protagonist, after he has suffered from many problems back home in Germany, specifically Bavaria, as a result of his conflicts with his step-father, Emperor Otte (probably the historical Emperor Otto), into a mysterious domain far away from all ordinary mankind. First he encounters a city populated by crane people, the Grippians, and later, after having traversed a mysterious mountains on a raft that carries him and his few surviving men through a tunnel to the other side and hence to another world, many different races of monsters. Some of those prove to be friendly, cooperative, and open-minded, while others attack his hosts and hence evoke the protagonist's wrath. Although the general 'otherness' of those monstrous creatures is expressed through bodily features, what truly matters is the difference in character.

While the Grippians emerge as aggressive, militant, vicious, and almost evil villains, Ernst's host people, Cyclops, welcome him with open arms, invite him to stay, help him to learn their own language, and then integrate him by appointing him as one of their main leaders just below the king. As people, they act like everyone else at home, if not even friendlier and more tolerant. The poet then also introduces representatives of other monstrous races, whom Ernst knows how to defeat one by one, including the giants, but not because they are monsters as such, hence completely other, dangerous, or life-threatening, but because Ernst is projected as an ideal hero who knows how to fight valiantly and heroically, completely dedicated to his king whom he defends against his enemies from the outside.

Insofar as Ernst takes one specimen from each people back home, regarding them as curiosities that enhance his own glory as the owners of such strange beings, the poet certainly maintains a Eurocentric perspective and simply repeats traditionally hostile perceptions of the foreign world as unworthy of respect. Nevertheless, Ernst clearly recognizes that some among those people behave almost like friends, while others wage wars and operate in a hostile manner. Comparing this situation with the one back home in Germany, a surprising similarity emerges insofar as the protagonist had to deal with all kinds of evil characters, traitors, and enemies as well. In fact, Ernst receives more solid support and sympathy in the 'other' world than in his own. Moreover, only because the protagonist has to escape into the East, even far beyond the Holy Land, disappearing for some years in the region of the monsters, does he realize a

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32 *Herzog Ernst: Ein mittelalterliches Abenteuerbuch*, ed., trans., and with a commentary and epilogue by Bernhard Sowinski (Stuttgart: Reclam, 1970).

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profound maturation process and can he grow into a highly regarded, circumspect, rationally operating leader of his people. In a way, we might say, the Orient served as the critical springboard for Duke Ernst to undergo his essential transformation process and to return home as a formidable leader of his people with whom even the Emperor has to deal respectfully, treating him, finally, as an equal.[33]

Ernst needs to flee from Germany to survive the emperor's wrathful persecutions and irrational hatred; and yet he also needs to depart from his home country in order to grow up, to experience suffering, and to find himself in strange lands where he is free enough to rise to the challenges and to prove his own inner worth. Only once he has defeated all the hostile monstrous races, does he finally decide to return home, via a detour to the Holy Land, where he also accomplishes his original mission, thus combining the military with the religious purposes of his journey to the East.

Ernst receives all the necessary support and friendship from the king of the cyclops, at least more than the German emperor had ever been willing to share. Once Ernst has told his long story of suffering at home, the king orders his people to take good care of the guest, and he himself accepts Ernst as a good friend whom he showers with silver and gold and everything else he might need (4658–66). Nevertheless, once the protagonist comes across an opportunity to depart secretly and to turn toward the Holy Land, and from there subsequently toward home, he does not hesitate, transports all his treasures to the ship, and leaves quietly, as if he had been a refugee, after all. However, we should not expect more from the anonymous author since he needs to take the protagonist back to Germany in order to complete his tale. But we can be certain that the short stay in the world of monsters was intended as a positive characterization of the Orient, despite the many challenges and severe dangers, such as in the kingdom of the crane people,

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[33] Albrecht Classen, "Multiculturalism in the German Middle Ages? The Rediscovery of a Modern Concept in the Past: The Case of *Herzog Ernst*," *Multiculturalism and Representation: Selected Essays*, eds. John Rieder, Larry E. Smith. Literary Studies East and West, 10 (Honolulu: College of Languages, Linguistics and Literatures, University of Hawaii, 1996), 198–219; id., "The Crusader as Lover and Tourist: Utopian Elements in Late Medieval German Literature: From *Herzog Ernst* to *Reinfried von Braunschweig* and *Fortunatus*," *Current Topics in Medieval German Literature: Texts and Analyses (Kalamazoo Papers 2000–2006)*, ed. Sibylle Jefferis. Göppinger Arbeiten zur Germanistik, 748 (Göppingen: Kümmerle, 2008), 83–102. See also Alexandra Stein, "Die Wundervölker des *Herzog Ernst (B)*: Zum Problem körpergebundener Authentizität im Medium der Schrift," *Fremdes wahrnehmen – fremdes Wahrnehmen: Studien zur Geschichte der Wahrnehmung und zur Begegnung von Kulturen in Mittelalter und früher Neuzeit*, ed. Wolfgang Harms and C. Stephen Jaeger, together with eadem (Stuttgart and Leipzig: S. Hirzel, 1997), 21–48. She discusses, above all, the role of Ernst's noble body which communicates his social status to the monster kings, and of the specimens which he transports with him back home, also as symbols of his new-found status, insofar as he thus can demonstrate his global role as master even over monsters, 40–48.

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the Grippians. In a way, as we might say, the poet presents the foreign world as the staging ground for Ernst where he undergoes his ultimate rite of passage and is thus finally ready to achieve his last triumphs in the Holy Land and then to face his worst enemy, the emperor himself.

The foreign world with its many monstrous creatures, on the other hand, proves to be simply interesting, entertaining, but not a truly hostile and alien setting. In *Herzog Ernst* we do not come across the later somewhat popular image of the 'noble heathen,' but the monsters also do not figure as prominently as we might have assumed from later accounts, especially in the *Alexander* narratives or the fanciful travelogues (Mandeville).[34] Instead, the focus rests on the protagonist and his many adventures against a variety of opponents both back home and in the foreign world. The foreign is certainly other, but not so other that we would not understand what Ernst and his men have to go through. And ironically, the monstrous features are almost the same on the outside as those that characterize the emperor in Germany on the inside. Ultimately, as the narrative reveals, only the chivalric and knightly character matters, the individual strength and leadership abilities, honor and virtues.[35]

The foreign thus functions as a catalyst for Ernst to grow and to develop his own self, but not as a medium to build barriers and to reconfirm stereotypes. Following Mathias Herweg we can speak of "Grenzverwischungen" (91; blurring of bounderies), insofar as neither the self nor the other have command over clear-cut boundaries and sharply demarcated identities. Even the Grippians, for instance, despite being hostile and militant, emerge as formidable fighters and prove that they could have overcome and killed Ernst and his men in a furious battle, if the protagonist had not had enough luck and could then escape in the last minute.[36]

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34 Albrecht Classen, "The Epistemological Function of Monsters in the Middle Ages: From *The Voyage of Saint Brendan* to *Herzog Ernst*, Marie de France, Marco Polo and John Mandeville. What Would We Be Without Monsters in Past and Present!" to appear in *Lo Sguardo: Rivista di filologia* (http://www.losguardo.net).

35 Mathias Herweg, *Wege zur Verbindlichkeit: Studien zum deutschen Roman um 1300*. Imagines Medii Aevi, 25 (Wiesbaden: Reichert, 2010). See also Rüdiger Schnell, "Die Christen und die 'Anderen': Mittelalterliche Positionen und germanistische Perspektiven, "*Die Begegnung des Westens mit dem Osten: Kongreßakten des 4. Symposions des Mediävistenverbandes in Köln 1991 aus Anlass des 1000. Todesjahres der Kaiserin Theophanu*, ed. Odilo Engels and Peter Schreiner (Sigmaringen: J. Thorbecke, 1993), 185–202.

36 Herweg, "Zwischen Handlungspragmatik" (see note 31), 91, emphasizes: "Vor der verwirrend-heterogenen Kulisse ihrer heilsgeschichtlich rationalisierbaren und . . . mit nachgerade enzyklopädischem Impetus auch rationalisierten Erscheinungen bleibt dieser Bereich trotzdem in seiner religiösen Bestimmung und Abgrenzung fast indifferent. Anders gesagt: die religiöse Defizienz tritt hinter den auch ekphrastisch dominanten phänotypischen Abnormitäten zurück" (In front of the confusing, heterogenous stage with its salvificly rationalizable and . . . virtually encyclopedic impetus this area remains in its religious determination and demarcation nevertheless almost indifferent. In other words: the religious deficiency steps back behind the also

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As this account clearly signals, at least in the world of adventure stories, the foreign was not truly regarded as a threat, simply as other, and as long as the western traveler could cooperate with the creatures or people in the East, close collaboration, even friendship, could have been possible.

II.b. Wolfram von Eschenbach

Wolfram von Eschenbach intensified this theme most significantly in his *Parzival* (ca. 1205), where the protagonist and his half-brother Feirefiz encounter each other shortly before Parzival is finally purified and mature enough to assume the throne of the Grail kingdom. Although Jerold Frakes basically dismisses his figure (Feirefiz) as a throw-away character in Wolfram's romance who does not have real narrative weight because of his alleged shallowness and superficiality, there is enough evidence to pause and compare him with the good monsters in *Herzog Ernst*.[37] It would require a separate study to revisit the characterization and portrayal of Feirefiz, detracting us from our main approach here. But we can observe a number of significant aspects that throw a very different light on this figure than what Frakes wants to see in him. He is not, narratologically speaking, a victim of European racism and colonialism, and although the entire Grail society begins to smile and then breaks out in loud laughter over his naivité, they are all deeply filled with respect and admiration for him. His different religious adherence does not really matter to them, and he accepts baptism not really out of a religious need, but because he desires to marry the Grail priestess, Repanse de Schoye, Parzival's aunt.

Feirefiz's appearance demonstrates, first of all, that bloodlines can exist between the people in the West and in the East. Religion, as we now realize, is not a privilege simply enjoyed by the Europeans. After all, Feirefiz himself emerges as a major 'missionary' once he has returned home to India, where his own son John later turns into the famous and mysterious Prester John. Feirefiz demonstrates that western knights can easily find their match in those from the East, especially

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ekphrastically dominant phenotypical abnormalities). Indeed, this seems to be the characteristic feature of Wolfram's *Parzival*, to address religious differences and yet to marginalize them, at least within the context of his Grail romance. It all depends on the specific discourse employed or participated in; see the contribution to this volume by Heiko Hartmann.

37 Frakes, *Vernacular and Latin* (see note 17), comments most dismissively, if not contemptuously (which does not necessarily strengthen his case): "His otherized existence—black-and-white striped, oversexed, shallow-minded, half-black/Muslim by parentage—while significant in the context of Eurocentric missionizing, is safely and conveniently banished not just to the metaphorical margin of European society but in fact altogether beyond its geographical borders to the depths of the Marvelous East" (90–91).

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because Feirefiz proves to be highly developed as a courtier and lover, and also represents, so it seems, the highest possible level of civilization. Nevertheless, there is laughter about him, which we have to consider very carefully since it reveals much more than the poet might have wanted to reveal, at least at first sight.[38] Indeed, the court laughs when they realize the true motivation for his wish to convert and to be baptized—sexual lust and passionate love, but not devotion and piety. Wolfram's typical satire, however, does not really target the innocent butt of the joke, Feirefiz. Instead, as Elke Brüggen and Joachim Bumke now suggest, the entire episode undermines in a hilarious fashion the traditional religious conventions and ideals, the concept of the Grail itself, the idea of knighthood and courtliness. But the laughter does not erupt because they all feel inclined to mock the super-hero Feirefiz who owns simply more than all of them, displays more manly strength and personal values than even Parzival, and has more kings under his command and more women who are in love with him than anyone else ever before him. The real target rather seems to be the institutions of the Grail itself, the court, and of chivalry, and thus also, in a way, the traditional hostility against the foreign wherever and however it had appeared.[39]

While Duke Ernst encountered many a worthy knight, prince, and king in the world of monsters, with whom he could cooperate easily and with little difficulties, since they performed exactly like any other knightly figure in the west, Parzival meets his half-brother for whom he feels much familiar love and whom he immediately recognizes and acknowledges as soon as their fight has stopped, irrespective of and in complete disregard to their religious and racial differences. For both men the fact that they have found their long-lost brother constitutes their greatest joy, and the entire court society shares that joy with them, which signals, once again, how little Wolfram really cared about the religious criteria, the crusades, the Holy Land, and all the other formal aspects which the Catholic Church held so high at his time. This does not make Parzival into an atheist, not into a heathen, and does not signal the loss of respect for the Christian religion either, although it was not completely uncommon in the Middle Ages to pursue that path, and this, of course, to the horror of the Catholic Church.[40]

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38 See the contributions to *Laughter in the Middle Ages and Early Modern Times: Epistemology of a Fundamental Human Behavior, Its Meaning, and Consequences*, ed. Albrecht Classen. Fundamentals of Medieval and Early Modern Culture, 5 (Berlin and New York: De Gruyter, 2010). However, despite a short reference to Wolfram's *Parzival*, I have not yet considered that specific moment and the concrete element of laughter at the Grail castle in my Introduction.

39 Elke Brüggen and Joachim Bumke, "Figuren-Lexikon" (see note 19), 867–69. See also the contribution to this volume by Heiko Hartmann.

40 Peter Dinzelbacher, *Unglaube im "Zeitalter des Glaubens": Atheismus und Skeptizismus im Mittelalter* (Badenweiler: Wissenschaftlicher Verlag Bachmann, 2009).

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Wolfram suggests, however, that the heathens can be as worthy individuals as the Christians, irrespective of the continued firm belief in the absolute superiority of the Christian faith. Further, he signals that there could be friendship across religious barriers, and that love can bring together people of different faiths, as in the case of Parzival's and Feirefîz's father, Gahmuret, who had married the black queen Belacâne. Moreover, the appearance of Feirefîz at King Arthur's court, then at the Grail court, underscores even further that heathen knights, if worthy in their character, were certainly welcome at the heart of Christian society. Sure, there is no reference to a church, but Feirefîz's entrance into Munsalvaesche where King Anfortas suffers can be equated with that sacred space. However, despite the deeply religious context, the only true ideal that permeates the court quickly proves to be erotic love, so after the healing of Anfortas through Parzival's famous question, Feirefîz is the next one who needs help because of his profound love-sickness, which can certainly be compared to the deep passion between Sigune and Schionatulander and Parzival and his wife Condwiramurs.

Curiously, then, Wolfram's *Parzival*, as much as it seems to be predicated on the principles of the Christian religion, in reality opens new windows toward a peaceful world where religious differences can be easily overcome by means of love. The heathen emerges, at least in the figure of Feirefîz, as equally worthy and respectful as the Christian protagonist, especially since they are directly bonded to each other through their common bloodline. As Heiko Hartmann, in his contribution to the present volume confirms, much depends on the genre, hence on the discourse, on the author's intentions with a specific work, and on the audience's expectations.

III.c. Konrad von Würzburg

About ninety years later another poet explored a similar issue, although the theme is much more veiled than in Wolfram's case. Konrad von Würzburg examines in his *Partonopier und Meliur* (ca. 1280–ca. 1290) the interaction among many different knights who all vie for the hand of the Byzantine princess Meliur. The entire narrative set-up predetermines, of course, Partonopier's successful wooing, since he also proves to be the best knight, after many trial and tribulations. For the purpose of this paper I want to focus on one major episode close to the ending when the final decision as to the chosen groom for Meliur is about to be reached because here we suddenly confront, once again, the encounter and confrontation with a foreign prince.

As is rather typical of late-medieval romances in all major European languages, the poet included a large number of different motifs, collecting from a variety of sources, although there is no doubt that Konrad drew most of his inspiration from

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the French source *Partonopeu de Blois* from ca. 1160–ca. 1170,[41] but he demonstrated a great interest in expanding and adding numerous aspects, plots, and motifs.[42] Love and chivalry dominate the entire narrative, as to be expected, but then we also observe a curious interest in magic, which the Byzantine princess commands to some extent, although it is then destroyed because her lover Partonopier tries to learn of her true identity against her explicit command. This then leads to a long sequence of events, with the young man completely distraught over the loss of his beloved, although at the end he succeeds in overcoming all difficulties and can even conquer his most threatening opponents in the battle for the princess's hand in marriage.

Most disturbingly, a true contender for Meliur's love proves to be a Persian knight, Floridanz, who is introduced here in rather glowing color, probably in order to illustrate the full extent of Partonopier's final triumph over the opponent.[43] At first, however, since the decision for Meliur's hand is to be decided in a tournament, the Soldan, as the Muslim king is called consistently, proves to be a truly outstanding fighter, and Partonopier expresses great respect for him, if not even a certain degree of liking: "daz im holdez herze truoc / Partonopier der grâve kluoc / und in begunde vaste loben" (15959–61; [he fought so well] that the smart Count Partonopier felt warmly for him and began to give him strong praise). Only when his friend Gaudîn warns him that the Persian could be a dangerous competitor for him, does he change his mind and look for an opportunity to overcome him personally. Nevertheless, both love Meliur equally, and both are equally inspired by that sentiment to give their best in a joust against each other (16020–27).

Subsequently, Partonopier expresses his great respect for his opponent once again and gives him much praise for his extraordinary knightly prowess, especially since he himself had not been able to overcome him. But again, Gaudîn ridicules him and reminds him of the significant difference between both, especially in religious terms. Nevertheless, the youthful protagonist has revealed his true sentiment and thus indicates how much, even if only in a purely literary context, chivalry was regarded not a matter of religion or nationality, but as a matter of manly accomplishments. The narrator clearly conveys a sense that open exchanges might well be possible on the level of international chivalry and that

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41 See the contributions to *Partonopeus in Europe: An Old French Romance and Its Adaptations*, ed. and with an introd. by Catherine Hanley, Mario Longtin, and Penny Eley. *Mediaevalia* 25.2 (2004).

42 Rüdiger Brandt, *Konrad von Würzburg*. Wege der Forschung (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1987), 152–73. Here I will quote from Konrad von Würzburg's *Partonopier und Meliur*, ed. Karl Bartsch. With an epilogue by Rainer Gruenter. Deutsche Neudrucke. Reihe: Texte des Mittelalters (1871; Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1970).

43 Albrecht Classen, "Foreigners in Konrad von Würzburg's *Partonopier und Meliur*," *Meeting the Foreign in the Middle Ages* (see note 3), 226–48.

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stereotypes against Muslims or representatives of other cultures and religions should not matter.

Even when Partonopier is in great trouble, threatened by the Persian's attack, the narrator still resorts to the most positive epithet for the latter: "der küene soldân" (16235; the brave Sultan). In fact, the Christian protagonist is deeply worried about this challenger, whom he must overcome, if he does not want to face humiliation and embarrassment. Of course, this would not be a medieval romance if the protagonist were not to win the victory at the end, but his triumph is specifically predicated on the enormous challenge posed by the Sultan, whom the narrator never tires of characterizing as valiant and strong: "den soldân küene und ellenthaft" (16288). Their joust continues until the evening, when they are finally separated by the judges, and the drama between these two men can continue for a considerable time, although the final outcome is clearly foreseeable. Nevertheless, Partonopier is deeply worried that the Persian prince might have appealed more to his beloved Meliur through his performance and valor than he, since he identifies him as "der vil werde soldân" (16332; the very worthy Sultan). Similarly, the Sultan harbors many fears of the same sort, since he is equally in love with the princess and equally respects and admires, or rather fears, his opponent because both are virtually matched in their strengths and skills.

We can confirm that the true conflict as described by Konrad in this romance consists of the competition by two worthy knights for the love of the princess Meliur. Partonopier harbors deep fear that he might fail in his efforts because he foresees a great likelihood that the Sultan might win the competition simply because of his prowess (16585–88). Religion, or race, by contrast, do not emerge as any significant barrier in this matter, especially because Meliur's physical beauty is described as so appealing that many heathens would have happily converted to Christianity in return for her love (1664–66). In fact, as we soon learn from the King Ansor, the decision as to Meliur's future husband will be decided not by means of religious or cultural compatibility, but by means of the victory of the one fortunate man in the tournament. There are still four Christian and three pagan knights remaining, and they all seem to enjoy the same opportunity (16622–29).

Although Ansor identifies Partonopier as the best knight of them all, worthy in every respect (16723–35), he does not hesitate to praise the others in equal terms. One of them is the Persian prince, and another would have to be identified as the African king of Nubia (16784–85). The Sultan would be prepared to accept baptism if he could win Meliur's hand thereby, and he would also make all his people follow his example (16763–69). Love, so we learn, has the crucial transformative power, while the religious difference does not matter much. Each of those seven candidates would be worthy for Meliur, but only the final victory in the tournament can help to bring about the final decision. Of course, she really loves Partonopier, which adds a dramatic and emotionally charged dimension to the

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entire episode, but this never makes her or the narrator reject the Persian prince outright as a result of his different race or religion. Only one advisor, Arnolt of Malbriûn, raises the issue of the Persian's Islamic religion and the danger that after their marriage he could revert to his old faith, and hence make the entire kingdom accept Islam as well (16960–80).

Apparently, however, this argument does not carry much weight, and instead both the Sultan and Partonopier are asked to take off their armor and let the courtly public view them in their physical appearance in order to judge who might be the better husband. Almost like in a fashion show, first the Persian strikes a major impression on everyone, and many are immediately convinced to see him as the favorite, until Partonopier steps up and is, of course, recognized as the most attractive man because God had graced him with that natural beauty (17239–41). In fact, despite the Sultan's glorious figure, it finally proves to be nothing against that of Partonopier, whom the narrator even compares with an angel (17219). The competition is hence decided, and the Persian has to depart from the tournament without having realized his dreams. In return, however, he swears lifelong revenge and pledges to attack the country where he was humiliated for the rest of his life (17356–62).

The romance continues from here, and the narrator does not get tired of relating more adventures involving Partonopier, but for our purpose we can conclude this section with the remarkable observation that Konrad harbored no particular concern as to the religious or racial differences in this case. Of course, since he was writing for a European and hence Christian audience, there was no alternative but to have his protagonist win the upper hand. However, despite the honest love between him and Meliur, the chivalric competition would have almost given his competitor the desired victory. Although we learn one time of worries about the potential dangers involved if Meliur accepted the Sultan's wooing over that of Partonopier, since that could have threatened their Christian faith, altogether the religious issues matter very little, while knightly prowess and corporeal beauty rule supreme, giving Partonopier the better chances. But both he and Meliur had been in love from very early on, so the romance simply concludes with a happy end for both, whereas we may conclude that, after all, the narrative grants much space to the Persian prince and projects him as worthy, formidable, flexible, and highly attractive candidate within that marriage circus at the Byzantine court.

The parallels to Feirefiz in Wolfram von Eschenbach's *Parzival* are obvious, and little stands in the way to add that romance to the many sources that Konrad consulted, apart from his Old French *Partonopeu*.[44] Both romances have in common

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[44] Brandt, *Konrad von Würzburg* (see note 42), 152–56, focuses only on the direct sources for *Partonopierund Meliur*, does not consider Wolfram in this context, but there are plenty of other passages in Konrad's œuvre that confirm his familiarity with Wolfram in a variety of ways.

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the extraordinary inclusion of a non-Christian hero who emerges as admirable, glamorous, respectable, and impressive. While Feirefiz simply proves to be Parzival's brother, the initial competition is quickly put aside, especially because the latter is already married, and the former turns his erotic desires toward Repanse de Schoye. There is no conflict in love, and the religious difference also does not matter. In Konrad's *Partonopier*, however, both men compete for Meliur's love and hand, and both prove to be nearly complete equals, which introduces the German or European audience to a new perspective involving most positive representatives of the eastern world.

Neither Islam nor the Muslim appear as a true threat, irrespective of some fears voiced by one advisor, while the protagonist's true worries concern only that his beloved might favor the Sultan as a better knight and a more attractive man. Even though the religious theme is not entirely ignored in *Parzival* and in *Partonopier*, it assumes a secondary role and is subordinated under quite different issues, such as the reunifiation of the family, marital love and happiness, the self-demonstration of the individual in public, and questions concerning the protagonist's identity. [45] Even though the issue of tolerance or toleration might not be in the forefront of the narrator's mind, the very absence of true religious conflicts underscores how little, at least in the world of late-medieval fiction, race and cultural difference mattered.[46] Of course, Christian concerns are never completely forgotten, but, perhaps in the wake of the fracas with the crusades and the loss of all territory in the Holy Land to the Arabs in 1291 with the fall of Acre, the religious tensions also lost in immediacy. The Turkish threat was not yet on the horizon of the European writers, while a history of more casual pilgrimage to the Holy Land was about to set in. Hence, here is the great opportunity for romance writers to incorporate heathen protagonists who posed a challenge only through their individual prowess and knightly accomplishments.

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45 Although there is fairly much research on Konrad's romance, the topic of xenology has hardly attracted much attention. For recent studies, see, for instance, Armin Schulz, *Poetik des Hybriden : Schema, Variation und intertextuelle Kombinatorik in der Minne- und Aventiureepik : Willehalm von Orlens, Partonopier und Meliur, Wilhelm von Österreich, Die schöne Magelone*. Philologische Studien und Quellen, 161 (Berlin: Erich Schmidt, 2000); Anja Kühne, *Vom Affekt zum Gefühl: Konvergenzen von Theorie und Literatur im Mittelalter am Beispiel von Konrads von Würzburg "Partonopier und Meliur"*. Göppinger Arbeiten zur Germanistik, 713 (Göppingen: Kümmerle, 2004); Monika Schulz, *Eherechtsdiskurse: Studien zu König Rother, Partonopier und Meliur, Arabel, Der guote Gêrhart, Der Ring*. Beiträge zur älteren Literaturgeschichte (Heidelberg: Winter, 2005)

46 Albrecht Classen, "Toleration and Tolerance in the Middle Ages? The Good Heathens as Fellow Beings in the World of *Reinfried von Braunschweig*, Konrad von Würzburg's *Partonopier und Meliur*, and *Die Heideninne*," *Amsterdamer Beiträge zur älteren Germanistik* 61 (2006): 183–223.

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II.d. *Die Heidin*

If we turn to the world of late-medieval verse narratives, the *mæren*, we encounter, at least in one case, another fascinating situation where a Christian outsider tries to break up a pagan marriage and to win the wife for himself. In *Die Heidin*, composed sometime around 1300 in the eastern Franconian region, the narrator transposes us into the world of the East where a king and his wife rule in a virtually ideal fashion.[47] While he stands out as a lord in every possible way, being brave, strong, a true leader, enjoying great respect, and free of any vices, his wife receives corresponding accolades, being moderate and considerate in every regard, carefully guarding her honor, loyal to her husband, friendly and loving. This marital couple represents, at least at the beginning, the full ideal, mutually respectful and in deep love with each other. Nothing undermines or threatens their happiness and well-being, and the king is fully aware of his amazing fortune in having found such a wonderful wife, whose beauty and virtues he praises to the utmost: "sî ist ein krône der tugent / und ein schône der jugent, / dar zu ein ûzerweltez vaz" (81–83; she is the crown of virtue, beautiful in her youth, and also an exquisite treasure trove). As the narrator elucidates, the king completely appreciates her and is filled with admiration for this extraordinary woman, a jewel of all female ideals. Yet he is also worried about the potential loss of her if her reputation would spread and other men might learn of this unique queen who is not marred by any shortcoming (104).

The poet addresses some critical points here that other writers were to explore further, especially the ideal of marriage, a topic of growing interest in the late Middle Ages.[48] Happiness in the private life of these two people emerges as a central feature, and yet they are not allowed to maintain it because, as we will see,

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47 Quoted from *Novellistik des Mittelaltes: Märendichtung*, ed., trans., and commentary by Klaus Grubmüller. Bibliothek des Mittelalters,23 (Frankfurt a. M.: Deutscher Klassiker Verlag, 1996), 364–468; for a detailed introduction and commentary, see 1153–71. See also Katharina Philipowski, "Aporien von 'dienst' und 'lôn' in lyrischen und narrativen Texten am Beispiel von 'Mauritius von Craûn' und 'Heidin'," *Germanisch-Romanische Monatsschrift* 59 (2009): 211–38; Cordula Kropik, "' Ich wil dir zwei geteiltiu geben': Der Disput um die Liebe in der 'Heidin' B," *Disputatio 1200 - 1800: Form, Funktion und Wirkung eines Leitmediums universitärer Wissenskultur*, ed. Marion Gindhart and Ursula Kundert. Trends in Medieval Philology, 20 (Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2010), 363-83. The issue of toleration or xenology, however, is not touched upon either by Philipowski or by Kropik.

48 Rüdiger Schnell, "Liebesdiskurs und Ehediskurs im 15. und 16. Jahrhundert," *The Graph of Sex and the German Text: Gendered Culture in Early Modern Germany, 1500–1700*, ed. Lynne Tatlock. Chloe, 19 (Amsterdam and Atlanta: Rodopi, 1994), 77–120; Albrecht Classen, *Der Liebes- und Ehediskurs vom hohen Mittelalter bis zum frühen 17. Jahrhundert*. Volksliedstudien, 5 (Münster, New York, Munich, and Berlin: Waxmann, 2005).

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an outsider from Christian Europe surfaces as the critical catalyst to expose their internal weaknesses and to turn those against each other.

While virtually all contemporary or subsequent verse narratives concerned with this topic identify a host of problems that vex all marriages, such as in Heinrich Kaufringer's accounts (e.g., "Die Suche nach dem glücklichen Ehepaar," ca. 1400; The Search for the Happily Married Couple), the anonymous poet projects the very opposite, although in the course of events the dream of the perfectly happy married couple is destroyed. The basis for this tale consists of the presentation of this couple, both pagans, living somewhere far away from Christian Europe. Nevertheless, for the author, complete love and happiness are possible, even if in a great distance from his and his audience's world. Or should we read his portrait rather from the opposite perspective, as indicating indirect criticism of the institution of marriage in their own world where, perhaps, strife and conflicts dominate and undermine all harmonious relationships?

But the anonymous author of "Die Heidin" had obviously a much more complex topic in mind since the German knight quickly proves to be absolutely superior to all of the king's best men and kills ten of them in a row. Only now does the king realize that he would have risked his own life if he had dared to fight against this stranger, and while he had been angry with his wife before because she had arranged with the foreign knight to grant her husband an automatic victory, he now understands that he also would have died from the opponent's hand and profusely thanks his wife from sparing him from that destiny (836). Neither the king's different religion nor his racial identity, which is not specified in any particular way, concern the narrator, who instead presents the royal court and the universal hospitality in precisely the same terms as any other writer would have done with regard to King Arthur's or any realistic king's court. The actual conflict to be examined in this narrative consists of the problem that the knight loves this heathen queen and finally confesses to her his true feelings, which she, however, rejects completely because she loves her own husband and regards his wooing as a severe insult and injury to her honor.

Once he has revealed his passion to the queen, she appeals to God to witness how much the knight has hurt her honor (851–55), and subsequently she rejects him in unmistakable terms, removing herself completely from the realm of courtly love since she is strictly committed to her own marriage which provides her with stability, happiness, and love. After a lengthy exchange between them, in which she arduously defends herself, she enjoins him simply to return home and to leave her alone, although he insists that a man who wants to win his lady's love must not give up so easily and that women generally have more of long hair than an intellectual mind (992–95), thus deceiving himself for the time being that he still might have a chance. But Dêmuot, as she is called (humility), cuts off their conversation and sends him away, encouraging him to woo another lady, instead

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of herself. As she underscores: "iuwer dienst ist verlorn" (1056; your effort to serve me is wasted).

A long time passes, and finally the queen feels pity for the German knight, perhaps even a budding love. This then represents the decisive turning point because she invites him back to her, and offers him a challenge, granting him either the upper or the lower part of her body. This certainly represents a quandary for him, but he chooses the upper part and then forces her to say only nonsense to her husband. The latter finds this new behavior most irritating, and suddenly resorts to violence against his own wife. In fact, he beats her up so badly that suddenly her love for the king dies away, and then she is ready to accept the knight, with whom she escapes, leaving her completely distraught husband behind who had not understood the devious strategy pursued by the knight and who had demonstrated, at a most critical point in the narrative development, a significant character weakness once again, just as in the beginning when he had first insisted to fight against the foreigner, although it is clear to his wife that this could easily mean his death. Obviously, the author heavily drew material from the so-called "Spielmannsepik," such as *König Rother*, but then also from Latin dialectic literature (Andreas Capellanus, *De amore*), and perhaps from a variety of Middle High German verse narratives, such as *Mauritius von Craûn*.[49] Ultimately, here we discover a late example of the traditional 'bridal-quest' motif so commonly treated in pre-courtly and courtly literature.[50]

On the one hand the central issues pertain to the timeless gender conflicts, to questions of how to maintain a good marriage, and how a single man can succeed in his efforts to sway a married woman to choose him over her husband. As much as the queen's marriage is at first portrayed as virtually ideal and harmonious, it does not withstand a serious challenge both from outside (knight) and inside (the wife who speaks nonsense). So, not surprisingly, the German wooer ultimately achieves his goal and wins the pagan queen for himself, who submits to baptism and then marries him, while her first husband stays behind, deeply grieving and yet helpless after having lost his deeply loved wife.

The anonymous narrative tells us more about some cultural-religious issues by not saying anything about them than by addressing them head-on. Of course,

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49 Grubmüller, ed., trans., and commentary, 1156–57. See also Albrecht Classen, "Gender Conflicts, Miscommunication, and Communicative Communities in the Late Middle Ages: The Evidence of Fifteenth-Century German Verse Narratives," *Speaking in the Medieval World*. Ed. Jean Godsall-Myers. Cultures, Beliefs and Traditions, 16 (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2003), 65–92; here 78–85.

50 Thomas Kerth, *King Rother and His Bride: Quest and Counter-Quests*. Studies in German Literature, Linguistics, and Culture (Rochester, NY: Camden House, 2010), emphasizes, however, that in many of the 'Spielmannsepen' the female characters emerge as highly active and self-determining figures who seek out their future lover and Christian husband. This is not the case in *Die Heidin*, where the Queen proves to be the victim of the German knight's machinations and manipulations and of her own husband's inner weaknesses and ignorance of how to treat his wife properly.

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Dêmuot converts to Christianity, but that is mentioned only as a kind of afterthought. In fact, the religious or racial differences never matter here, and the knight simply pursues the queen because she is the most attractive woman for him, although she lives in a very distant land. The heathen king's court obviously operates precisely the same way as any other court in Christian Europe would, and the knight has no difficulties adapting to the conditions there, as documented by his performance in the tournament and during the subsequent festivities. In fact, the only conflict debated here consists of the struggle between the husband and the wooer. But the king never seems to understand that this German knight might even want to elope with his wife, and he never comprehends the reasons why his wife is speaking in nonsensical terms to him.

Particularly because this story, explicitly located somewhere in the Orient, mostly ignores the standard paradigm of projecting strong barriers between East and West, we can fathom here, similarly to a number of parallel narratives—the anonymous and fragmentary romance *Reinfried von Braunschweig*, Ulrich von Etzenbach's *Wilhelm von Wenden*, Johann von Würzburg's *Wilhelm von Österreich* (1314), and *Lohengrin*[51]—a rather relaxed attitude, almost a carelessness on the part of the German poet. Both heathendom and the Orient simply exist at the edge of the familiar world and offer exiting and profitable adventures, including erotic conquests. But apart from Dêmuot accepting baptism, by default, as we might say, and very close to the narrative development with Feirefiz in Wolfram's *Parzival*, the exotic world of the East functions only as a second stage for the male protagonist who never leaves that world after the queen had rejected him outright.

Considering the queen's behavior, we can only conclude that the poet harbored negative feelings about women and projects even this most praiseworthy individual as fallible, weak, inconsistent, and seducible. Although she pronounces her love for her husband in strongest terms, she remains highly curious about his future adventures and ultimately calls him back to her, which then initiates the dismantling of all her defense mechanisms. The poet also undermines the heathen king's noble character who cannot properly assess the danger which the Christian knight presents, cannot comprehend what is going on between Apharius and his wife, and does not understand her curious behavior at the end. Ultimately, he reveals a tendency to domestic violence, a lack of self-control, and an inability to fight for his wife. He does not even make an effort to pursue the two lovers and to win Dêmuot back for himself. In other words, the poet projects a weak husband and argues that even the most honorable and virtuous woman can be swayed if a lover only demonstrates sufficient endurance, patience, and passion.

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[51] Herweg, "Zwischen Handlungspragmatik, Gegenwartserfahrung und literarischer Tradition" (see note 31).

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All that aside, however, although most of the narrative events take place in heathen lands, that fact by itself does not concern the author at all, as he does not hesitate to project a pleasant, impressive, even sophisticated court in the East where the Christian knight achieves greatest triumphs and is treated most hospitably. Neither cultural differences nor racial conflicts seem to exist, whereas the critical nexus consists of the battle for a woman's heart. The knight proves to be superior also in that regard and thus defeats the heathen king not only in the tournament, where his warriors die in proxy for him, but also in matters of love. We must not forget, of course, the context in which this narrative has come down to us, and this in the large number of eleven manuscripts, but in three major collections of *mæren* above all (ms. H, Heidelberg, Universitätsbibliothek, Cpg 341, first quarter of the fourteenth century, fols. 111rb–125ra; ms. K, Cologny-Geneva, Bibliotheca Bodmeriana, same time period, fol. 112rb–124ra; Pommersfelden, Gräflich Schönbornsche Schloßbibliothek, Cod. 54 [2798], 16r–35r).[52]

Nothing indicates that *Die Heidin* would have been regarded as exceptional, since those other narratives framing it deal with general ethical, social, moral, and erotic issues, not, however, with religious and ethnic questions.[53] Little wonder then that scholarship has paid only lip service to this *mære*, mostly grouping it together with other thematically related tales.[54] However, to rephrase our observation once again, the laxness with which a Christian knight interacts with a heathen queen, his preparedness to do everything in his power to convince her to love him, and their intense exchanges over a long period of time until he has finally succeeded, clearly signal how irrelevant, at least around 1300, the discourse on religious difference seems to have become. At least for this German author, any Saracen princess could be a potential bride for a European knight. As much as this would confirm a colonialist thinking already in the Middle Ages when trading with pagan women was apparently no great concern as long as they converted to

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52 Arend Mihm, *Überlieferung und Verbreitung der Märendichtung im Spätmittelalter*. Germanische Bibliothek. Dritte Reihe, Untersuchungen und Einzeldarstellungen (Heidelberg: C. Winter Universitätsverlag, 1967).

53 See the online database of the *Marburger Repertorium*: for Heidelberg, Universitätsbibliothek, cpg 341: http://www.handschriftencensus.de/4214; for Cologny-Genf, Bibl. Bodmeriana, Cod. Bodm. 72: http://www.mr1314.de/4215; Pommersfelden, Gräflich Schönbornsche Schloßbibliothek, Cod. 54 [2798]: http://www.mr1314.de/4153; see also Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek Cod. 2885: http://www.mr1314.de/4213, etc. (last accessed on April 4, 2012)

54 See, for instance, Ingrid Strasser, *Vornovellistisches Erzählen: Mittelhochdeutsche Mären bis zur Mitte des 14. Jahrhunderts und altfranzösische Fabliaux*. Philologica Germanica, 10 (Vienna: Fassbaender, 1989), 168, 292; Karl-Heinz Schirmer, *Stil- und Motivuntersuchungen zur mittelhochdeutschen Versnovelle*. Hermaea. Germanistische Forschungen, Neue Folge, 26 (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer, 1969), 193–202 (with detailed discussions of the love *casus*, i.e., the debate between man and woman in the long struggle for love). See also Hans-Joachim Ziegeler, *Erzählen im Spätmittelalter. Mären im Kontext von Minnereden, Bîspeln und Romanen*. Münchener Texte und Untersuchungen zur deutschen Literatur des Mittelalter, 87 (Munich and Zürich: Artemis, 1985)

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Christianity,[55] two aspects still deserve to be considered which cast the entire narrative framework in a different light.

First, the queen submits to the knight's wooing only after she had been badly beaten by her husband, who thus has betrayed all their mutual trust and confidence. Second, she is not a silent and passive object of his sexual desires; on the contrary, she takes active steps, directs the knight through her orchestration, and she initiates their joining in love herself without his direct prodding. Her subsequent conversion is described only as a formal procedure, not as a matter of profound soul searching on her part. In this regard she closely resembles Feirefiz in Wolfram's *Parzival*, and both texts actually confirm our observation that in the late Middle Ages the foreigner or the other was gradually accepted as a normal member of the larger group of actors on the literary stage. It seems inappropriate in this context to identify these narrative motifs as reflections of an inherent colonialism already in the thirteenth or fourteenth centuries.[56]

II.e. *Fortunatus*

In order to round off our analysis of the encounter between East and West in the literary sphere, I would like to turn my attention finally to a representative of the new prose novel, a genre that emerged in the middle of the fifteenth century and quickly made its way into printing mode beginning in the 1470s. The anonymous prose novel *Fortunatus* appeared in 1509 in Augsburg, but it was most likely first written sometime around 1453, since the author was not yet aware of the fall of Constantinople into the hands of the Turks in that year, which shook the foundation of European Christendom.[57] The protagonist acquires, by accident, a magical purse that he can never empty, so with this endless wealth in hand he travels all over the world, first through Europe, later, after having married,

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55 Sharon Kinoshita, "The Politics of Courtly Love: *La Prise d'Orange* and the Conversion of the Saracen Queen," *Romanic Review* 86, 2 (1995): 265–87; Albrecht Classen, "Confrontation with the Foreign World of the East: Saracen Princesses in Medieval German Narratives," *Orbis Litterarum* 53 (1998): 277–95.

56 In this respect I would disagree with Frakes, *Vernacular and Latin* (see note 17), and some of his sources (164–65) because it seems naive to identify the root of modern-day colonialism in the medieval world. Of course, economic and military interests intertwined already then with religious and political issues, but the post-Acre period, if not already well before that, put a stop to all crusading drives. Moreover, as much as the efforts by the crusaders turned into colonializing strategies at large, they did not represent a long-term and universalist European approach, as the steady decline of all the crusader kingdoms during the thirteenth century strongly confirms.

57 Bodo Gotzkowsky, *"Volksbücher": Prosaromane, Renaissancenovellen, Versdichtungen und Schwankbücher. Bibliographie der deutschen Drucke*. Part I: *Drucke des 15. und 16. Jahrhunderts*. Bibliotheca Bibliographica Aureliana, CXXV (Baden-Baden: Verlag Valentin Koerner, 1991), 420–36.

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through parts of the Near and Middle East. After his death, his two sons inherit not only that amazing purse, but also a magical cap with which one can travel wherever one's heart desires. Their father had stolen it from the Sultan in Cairo. Nevertheless, one son, who utilizes both objects, arouses so much jealousy and envy that he is murdered, while the other dies out of grief over the loss of his brother.[58] For our purposes, we can focus on several short episodes which impressively document how much late-medieval authors and hence also their audiences—*Fortunatus* enjoyed huge popularity and was translated into most European languages—reflected an interest in the East, as little as they might have really known or understood about it.

Fortunatus himself uses his new-found fortune primarily in order to satisfy his curiosity, so he travels incessantly until he has virtually seen all of Europe. Subsequently he marries, settles down for a short time on Cyprus, where he had originated from, but then resumes his travels. At one point, however, he would have almost lost his purse because a criminal inn-keeper in Constantinople tries to rob him and his company one night. Fortunatus's most trusted companion, Lüpoldus, however, slays the man and then disposes of the body in a city well. Wary of possible criminal charges against them because they are foreigners in the city, the company departs as soon as possible and finds refuge in the Turkish region, although they have to pay a hefty toll, as all other pilgrims and travelers have to do. Nevertheless, for Fortunatus, the Christian territory proved to be most dangerous, whereas in the Turkish town he feels safe because the laws are observed strictly and the Sultan's authority is closely observed (461–63).

When Fortunatus embarks on his second travel, he first visits Egypt and has a personal meeting with the Admiral there whom he can bribe more than all the other merchants, which wins him a favorite position at court (487–89). Next Fortunatus travels to India and experiences all those wonders and miracles which countless authors had already talked about, as fanciful as it certainly was (*Herzog Ernst*). The narrator realizes, however, that he cannot really offer novelties and so refers his readers to his own source, John Mandeville's *Travels* (490). The critical point for us proves to be the comment that it would seem strange that not many people move to India since it would offer so many luxuries and such a pleasant life. The author virtually projects a utopia, transforming the Orient into a dreamland which would not find any parallels anywhere else in this world. For him, however, there are four reasons why not a larger number of Germans

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58 Albrecht Classen, *The German Volksbuch: A Critical History of a Late-Medieval Genre*. Studies in German Language and Literature, 15 (Lewiston, queenston, and Lampeter: The Edwin Mellen Press, 1995), 163–83. The text of *Fortunatus* is quoted from *Romane des 15. und 16. Jahrhunderts: Nach den Erstdrucken mit sämtlichen Holzschnitten*, ed. Jan-Dirk Müller. Bibliothek der frühen Neuzeit, 1 (Frankfurt a. M.: Deutscher Klassiker Verlag, 1990).

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migrates there: 1. the great distance; 2. the difficult passage and the bad roads; 3. the general dangers on the long way; and 4. simply lack of money (491).

From the opposite perspective, those people living in the Orient would not want to travel to the West because of the inclement weather, lack of food, crude customs, and because people would scoff at them for abandoning a paradisiacal land just to visit unpleasant Europe (491). Upon his return to Egypt, Fortunatus visits the Admiral again, who is now even identified as his "guoten freünd" (491; good friend). This time Fortunatus even meets the Sultan, who has become curious about this fortunate, courageous, and highly generous merchant traveler. Now we even learn that one of the secrets of Fortunatus's successful travels had been the letters from the Sultan which had granted him free and safe passage everywhere. At this point, however, the narrator interjects and comments that Fortunatus's purse, hence his money, also had served him exceedingly well to secure his welcome everywhere. In other words, money emerges as the key instrument to overcome all hurdles and barriers, and this even in foreign, non-Christian lands (494).[59]

During the courtly festivities Fortunatus asks the Sultan for the favor to hand out some of his own money to all of the soldiers and servants at court. Of course, he himself has limitless resources, so the Sultan, who does not know about the magical purse, shows himself deeply impressed. In return, he introduces him to his personal treasury and also shows him his most valuable object, a hat that makes it possible for the one who wears it to wish himself to any place here on earth within seconds. Although the Sultan praises Fortunatus as a most honorable person after he had handed out all that money, he does not realize how ruthless his guest truly would be in face of his own naivité. Fortunatus only has to inquire whether the hat wears heavily on one's head, and the Sultan himself places it on Fortunatus's head. The latter immediately seizes upon that opportunity, wishes himself to be on his ship, and so flees with the Sultan's greatest treasure (497).

We do not need to pursue the subsequent events, and can also ignore the account about Fortunatus's two sons who ultimately do not understand how to use these two invaluable magic objects to the best advantage, which subsequently leads to their death. What matters for us is that Fortunatus not only strikes familiarity with the highest ranking individuals in the Muslim land, he also travels far and wide throughout India and elsewhere, and then quickly returns home. The foreign world emerges as a distant horizon of dazzling beauty and luxury,

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[59] Walter Raitz, *Zur Soziogenese des bürgerlichen Romans: Eine literatursoziologische Analyse des "Fortunatus"*. Literatur in der Gesellschaft, 19 (Düsseldorf: Bertelsmann, 1973); John Van Cleve, *The Problem of Wealth in the Literature of Luther's Germany*. Studies in German Literatures, Linguistics, and Culture, 55 (Columbia, S.C: Camden House, 1991).

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certainly reflecting early-modern sentiments laying the foundation for modern-day Orientalism.[60]

Neither the Sultan nor the Turks at large appear as truly threatening forces. In fact, for the endlessly wealthy traveler Fortunatus all doors easily open up because he can pay his way, can bribe everyone, and never has to worry about money. The foreign world thus loses, in a way, some of its traditional luster because the narrator simply moves his protagonist around the whole world, both West and East, and despite some glorious comments about the fantastic world of the Orient, ultimately Fortunatus only passes through India, just as he had passed through Spain or the Balkans. Because of his enormous and unprecedented wealth, the foreign world, wherever it might arise, quickly merges with the familiar regions, since Fortunatus only traverses spaces and never really cares about any location since his money rules everyone and everything.

Finally, the Sultan sends an ambassador to Fortunatus to negotiate the return of the hat, but the protagonist refuses adamantly, although he treats the ambassador, the Venetian Marcholando, with great honor and bestows many gifts upon him. Although he emphasizes to his visitor that there would be eternal enmity between the Saracens and the Christians (503), he still insists that they both part in good friendship: "Ich bin dir nicht feind / das du dem Soldan sein bottschaffte hast geworbenn. Doch hoff ich du seyest mir auch nicht feind" (503; I am not hostile to you for serving as the Sultan's ambassaor, but I hope that you do not feel hostile toward me either). Thereupon the narrative shifts its focus and turns its attention to the lives and (mis)fortunes of the two sons after their parents' death.

As in all previous examples—and many more could be cited from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries—the heathendom appears as nothing but another land or territory to the east of Christendom. In fact, Fortunatus fears more for his life in the Christian city of Constantinople than in the Turkish territory. Egypt proves to be a profitable market for all Christian merchants, and Fortunatus easily enjoys his close contacts with the Admiral and later with the Sultan. As much as the narrator emphasizes that Fortunatus steals the magical hat, as little does he truly care about this misdeed. As this prose novel clearly outlines, the exotic Orient is losing its luster because money rules the world, whether in the hand of the Italian merchants or in the hand of the Egyptian Sultan.[61] Fortunatus, by contrast,

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60 Nancy Bisaha, *Creating East and West: Renaissance Humanists and the Ottomon Turks* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004); Stephanie Leitch, *Mapping Ethnography in Early Modern Germany: New Worlds in Print Culture*. History of Text Technology (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), offers a variety of fascinating insights into the formation of early-modern Orientalism in art-historical terms.

61 This has already been observed a number of times; see, for instance, P. Rohrmann, "The Central Role of Money in the Chapbook 'Fortunatus'," *Neophilologus* 59 (1973): 262–72; Dieter Kartschoke, "Weisheit oder Reichtum? Zum Volksbuch von Fortunatus und seinen Söhnen," *Literatur im*

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operates freely and independently of all mercantile interests because he owns the magical purse. This allows him, more than anyone else, to roam throughout the continents without experiencing any conflicts or running into conflicts. There are no barriers or borders for him because he pays his way most generously, if not excessively.

This constitutes, of course, an early-modern approach to the Other, but we can conclude that *Fortunatus* simply represents the ultimate development in this literary sequence as pursued here. Whereas the crusader epics, the *chansons de geste*, including Wolfram von Eschenbach's *Willehalm*, still embraced a strongly religious ideology in their approach to the heathen foreigners, that is, the dangerous pagans, as soon as adventures, love, and travel curiosity, as in the prose novel, intervene, the traditional conflicts with the foreign counterparts dissipate almost completely. Instead, traditional human conflicts and tensions enter the foreground, since they dominate all people's concerns, making ethnic or religious issues look rather ridiculous. Fortunatus easily and freely roams the Eastern world, enjoys his contacts with the leaders of the Muslim empire, and is even bold enough to steal the Sultan's most valuable object, knowing that he would be safe once he had reached his home country, Cyprus.

III. Conclusion

Considering the changing geopolitical conditions in the sixteenth century, with the Turks rising in power tremendously, even threatening the heartlands of Europe (siege of Vienna in 1529 by Suleiman the Magnificent),[62] and keeping in mind the introspective focus within Europe due to the Protestant Reformation, the anonymous novel *Fortunatus* obviously served an important function to project the Orient and the Turkish empire as a neutral world where Europeans could easily travel and were well treated, as long as they paid their dues. To be sure, the religious conflict no longer matters here at all, but there is, as we have seen, already a number of remarkable precedents for that. At least from the literary-

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Feudalismus, ed. Dieter Richter. Literaturwissenschaft und Sozialwissenschaften, 5 (Stuttgart: Metzler, 1975), 213–59; Jan-Dirk Müller, ed., *Romane des 15. und 16. Jahrhunderts* (see note 58), 1179–83.

62 Walter Hummelberger, *Wiens erste Belagerung durch die Türken 1529*. Militärhistorische Schriftenreihe, 33 (Vienna: Österreichischer Bundesverlag, 1976); Turnbull, Stephen, *The Ottoman Empire: 1326–1699* (Oxford: Osprey Publishing, 2003); John Stoye, *The Siege of Vienna*. New ed. (1964; Edinburgh: Birlinn, 2006); James Reston, *Defenders of the Faith: Charles V, Suleyman the Magnificent, and the Battle for Europe, 1520-1536* (New York : Penguin Press, 2009). For first-hand eye-witness reports, see Isabella Wasner-Peter, *Zehn Berichte über die Wiener Türkenbelagerung des Jahres 1529* (Vienna: Promedia Druck- und Verlagsgesellschaft, 2005).

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historical point of view, the late Middle Ages witnessed an astonishing learning process that made it possible for poets and writers alike to present that foreign world almost through the eye of ordinary tourists. Crusading mentality had passed away and had made room for mercantile and travel interests. If we extended our discussion to the vast corpus of pilgrimage accounts produced especially since the 1480s, we would find a plethora of confirmations for this observation.[63]

It might not be easy to correlate the literary evidence to the historical conditions, but we can be certain from the start that an increasing number of literary texts refrained from the Crusade motif or mentioned it only in passing. Moreover, late-medieval authors began to reflect on simple travel experiences, fictional or factual, as they happen for their protagonists, taking them far into the Orient. Meeting foreigners begins to be a common narrative motif, without religious differences constituting noteworthy relevance. The protagonists deal primarily with universal human concerns and conflicts, instead of carrying out universal tasks of defeating the heathen Other as part of a crusading campaign.[64] In *Herzog Ernst* we still discover some remnants of this literary material, but already by the late thirteenth century, and ever more in the following centuries, the treatment of the Orient proved to be an easy task since it was no longer so intimately associated with being completely other. This does not amount to true tolerance, and not even to toleration, but we clearly perceive the general relaxation with regard to religious and also racial differences, which might have many different reasons, such as the failure of the Crusades, the declining colonialist efforts by the Christians and the Arabs, and the rise of a pre-capitalist society in which money dominated all interpersonal contacts and communication. Of course, in the wake of the

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63 *Europäische Reiseberichte des späten Mittelalters: Eine analytische Bibliographie*, ed. Werner Paravicini. Part I: *Deutsche Reiseberichte*, ed. Christian Halm. 2nd rev. ed. with an epilogue. Kieler Werkstücke. Reihe D: Beiträge zur europäischen Geschichte des späten Mittelalters, 5 (Frankfurt a. M., Berlin, et al.: Peter Lang, 2001). See also the *Encyclopedia of Medieval Pilgrimage*, ed. Larissa J. Taylor, Leigh Ann Craig, John B. Friedman, et al. (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2010).

64 Jens Hirt, *Literarisch-politische Funktionalisierungen: Eine Untersuchung mittelhochdeutscher Kreuzzugsdarstellungen. "Wilhelm von Wenden", "Die Kreuzfahrt des Landgrafen Ludwigs des Frommen von Thüringen", "Wilhelm von Österreich" und "Das Buch von Akkon"*. Göppinger Arbeiten zur Germanistik, 766 (Göppingen: Kümmerle, 2012), 185–98. I would disagree, however, with Hirt's conclusion that the reception of Wolfram's principle of toleration (*Parzival*, *Willehalm*) led to an empty concept of 'the Other' because the subsequent poets did not gain more knowledge about the Muslim world and were not capable of developing ideas of toleration (195). Curiously, he then argues that the poets from around 1300 substituted the Crusading ideology with a sense of hope for love and happiness in a culturally diverse world (195). I would suggest that we observe a new degree of normalcy dominating the relationship between people from the Latin West and those from the Eastern world. See my study Fremdbegegnung, Dialog, Austausch, und Staunen: Xenologische Phänomene," *Mediaevistik* 26 (forthcoming). Hirt relies mostly on older German research and has not paid much attention to international scholarship.

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Turkish/Ottoman wars during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries new developments emerged, but that is not the concern of this paper.[65] Nevertheless, we need to keep those in mind as well, since all our studies in this volume are exemplary in nature, probing model cases that might ultimately help us to comprehend fundamental human concerns in past and present.

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[65] This is a very rich research topic; see, for instance, Nina Berman, "Translation and Inter/Multi/Transcultural German Studies: Germans, Ottomans and Europe in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries," *Transcultural German Studies: Building Bridges*, ed. Steven D. Martinson and Renate A. Schulz. Jahrbuch für Internationale Germanistik. Reihe A, Kongressberichte, 94 (Bern, Berlin, et al.: Peter Lang, 208), 251–67. Further references can be found there. Significantly, this issue finds great interest on a global level, both among Germanists and Medievalists of many different research agendas; see, for instance, the contributions to *Transkulturalität: Identitäten im neuen Licht*. Asiatische Germanistentagung in Kanazawa 2008, ed. Maeda Ryozo (Munich: Iudicium Verlag, 2012). In this context we also would have to consider the contributions to *Die Aktualität der Vormoderne: Epochenentwürfe zwischen Alterität und Kontinuität*, ed. Klaus Ridder and Steffen Patzold. Europa im Mittelalter, 23 (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2013).

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Chapter 11

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Rūmī's *Mathnawī* and the *Roman de la Rose*: The Space of Narrative

The narrative poetry by the thirteenth-century mystic Rūmī, the renowned scholar, teacher, and spiritual guide to Sufism, as well as that by Guillaume de Lorris and Jean de Meun, authors of the *Roman de la Rose*, represented very different worlds and yet in their writing these authors made use of a similar technique, that of telling a tale within larger verse narrative. The *Mathnawī* and the *Rose* display similarities in themes, images, and style. However, these comparisons are coincidences that display how similar, though completely unrelated, traditions arose at the same time in places far distant from each other. Here the focus is on the similarities and contrasts that mutually illuminate each text, but without trying to establish linkages.

As L. Darling points out in talking about mirrors and advice literature, and as we will see here too, rarely have comparisons across the East/West boundary been made.[1] Though each poet makes use of an existing verse romance style, the goal of each narrative is ultimately different from that of its predecessors. Rūmī's text gives instruction on spiritual life. Scholars differ over the narrator's aim in the *Roman de la Rose*, yet it is at least partly a critique of courtly love. Guillaume de Lorris's section of the narrative evokes lyric poetry, but both Guillaume's part of the *Rose* as well as Jean de Meun's are allegories. However, both the *Mathnawī* and the *Roman de la Rose* have a didactic purpose that uses a variety of stories to make a point and illustrate a moral, as the narrative unfolds. This similarity allows one to compare the techniques used to intertwine these tales into the larger whole and

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[1] Linda Darling, "Mirrors for Princes in Europe and the Middle East: A Case of Historiographical Incommensurability," in this volume.

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via these stories expand outwards into cultural comparisons, though the *Mathnawī* and the *Roman de la Rose* had no influence upon each other. However, both exerted a large literary, artistic, and thematic influence over a long period of time. They inspired followers, adapters, and, in the case of the *Roman de la Rose*, polemic. One notable difference between these two texts is that Rūmī's work continues to be read by a wide audience even today while the *Roman de la Rose* now attracts only specialists. In addition, though there are mystical texts in the Western tradition and those could form interesting religious comparisons with the *Mathnawī*, juxtaposing the latter against the *Roman de la Rose* shows that images of reflection in water, mirrors, or other reflective surfaces are important in both texts for themes as well as structure.

Rūmī (1207–1273), documentation of whose life is rich for a person of the thirteenth century, had a family that undertook a move from Persia to Anatolia. He transmitted his philosophical and religious message via the *Mathnawī* (in English, verses). This literary form did not originate with Rūmī, for Persian literature contained a tradition of narrative and didactic poetry written in couplets by the time he began his own work on the *Mathnawī*.[2] Though his authorship differs from the modern concept in that he dictated and did not hold pen to parchment, nevertheless the first manuscript from 1278 existed virtually contemporaneously with the completion of this narrative.[3]

On the other hand, both Guillaume de Lorris and Jean de Meun, to whom we ascribe the composition of the *Roman de la Rose*, do not have very developed biographies. The first flourished around 1230 and was evidently from the area around Orléans, also the region from which Jean de Meun came. Born somewhere between 1225 and 1240, Jean died about 1305. Their narrative poem influenced Chaucer and was still the subject of polemic beginning in the fourteenth century.[4]

Scholars have commented independently on both texts that they have no structure other than a succession of images. However, signaling the omnipresence of images leads to circular reasoning. Allegories depend on narratives, but they also derive an important source of unity and meaning through visual detail and imagery. In particular, descriptions and personifications help fix the narrative, and thus the allegorical meanings in memory,[5] an important aspect of the form of both these texts. That both the *Rose* and the *Mathnawī* share what is considered

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2 Jalal al-Din Rūmī, *The Mathnawī*. Book One, trans. Jawid Mojaddedi (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), xx.

3 Sayed Ghahreman Safavi and Simon Weightman, *Rūmī's Mystical Design: Reading the* Mathnawī, *Book One*. SUNY Series in Islam (Albany, NY: SUNY Press, 2009), 39.

4 Pierre-Yves Badel, Le Roman de la Rose *au XIVe siècle: Etude de la réception de l'oeuvre (*Geneva: Droz, 1980).

5 Gay Clifford, *The Transformations of Allegory*. Concepts of Literature, ed. William Righter (London and Boston: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1974), 71.

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disordered structuring due to relying on images provides further reasons to examine these two seemingly very different texts. There is a tradition of critics from C. S. Lewis onward who consider Jean de Meun's *Rose* "shapeless and unorganized," especially by comparison with the highly regarded Guillaume de Lorris section. Alan Gunn is the first to argue a deep structure of coherence.[6] The view of the *Mathnawī* as structurally flawed remains even more prevalent than for the *Rose*, although one of the first translators of Rūmī's works, despite his criticism of the *Mathnawī*, alluded to its being organized in a way not apparent to a casual observer.[7]

Taking up Boccacio's comment in the *Genealogie deorum gentilium libri*,[8] Murrin also uses the expression "veil of allegory" as indicative of the way this form of expression makes the recipient of the message search for truth. The allegorical veil both keeps the casual and uninterested at bay as well as representing the difficulties that the audience has in approaching these truths. Such truths may be clear, but of such a profound nature that only great effort and desire will allow the reader or listener to grow to the state of being able to understand what lies behind the allegory. Finally, the allegorical veil creates truth value. The more difficult the approach, the greater the value assigned to the text by the extra-diegetic audience.[9]

As part of constructing the veil, those who make allegories also play back an authoritative source. For Rūmī's *Mathnawī* the sources are clear, the Qu'ran, even though the Qu'ran itself necessitates study and interpretation, and important for the analysis proposed here, Aesop's fables.[10] For the *Roman de la Rose* sources are also several-fold: the tradition of lyric and narrative poetry, the Chartrian allegories, as well as the Guillaume de Lorris section for Jean de Meun. This signal of strong allusiveness and the personification of abstractions lead one toward the

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6 C. S. Lewis, *Allegory of Love: A Study in Medieval Tradition* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1936), 152; Paul Piehler, *The Visionary Landscape: A Study in Medieval Allegory* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press and London: Edward Arnold, 1971), 110; Alan Gunn, *The Mirror of Love: A Reinterpretation of the* Romance of the Rose (Lubbock, TX: Texas Tech University Press, 1952).

7 Edward G. Browne, *A Literary History of Persia*, vol. II (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1951); Franklin D. Lewis, *Rūmī Past and Present, East and West* (Oxford: One World Publications, 2000); Reynold A. Nicholson, *The* Mathnawī *of Jalalu'din Rūmī*, vol. VI (Cambridge: E. J. W. Gibb Memorial Trust, 1926), viii.

8 Boccacio, *Genealogie deorum gentilium libri*, ed. Vicenzo Romano. Scrittori d'Italia, 200 (Bari: Laterza, 1951), Book 14; here 7.

9 Michael Murrin, *The Veil of Allegory: Some Notes Toward a Theory of Allegorical Rhetoric in the English Renaissance* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1969), 10–11.

10 Harry T. Norris, "Fables and Legends in Pre-Islamic and Early Islamic Times," *Arabic Literature to the End of the Umayyad Period*. The Cambridge History of Arabic Literature, ed. Alfred F. L. Beeston, Thomas M. Johnstone, Robert B. Serjeant, and George R. Smith (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 374–86; here 378–81.

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recognition of allegory.[11] In other words, these texts comment on themselves. However, the meanings inherent in these self-generated commentaries are not necessarily easy to interpret. They both participate in the wider tradition of allegories as well as their background texts, but they are not explained by that tradition. Rather, the dynamic of reading and relating the analytic inherent in these texts with their narrative produces an approach to their joint meaning.[12] In addition, comparison and contrast between the *Rose* and the *Mathnawī* owing to what they share as allegories also serves to elicit meanings from each. Analysis of themes, motifs, images, personifications, and style all are part of elucidating these allegories.

First, certain techniques used by Rūmī parallel those seen in the *Roman de la Rose*. In the process of showing the way to the seeker of truth, Rūmī makes ample use of circular techniques. Many stories begin with a prolepsis that predicts what will happen, though not explicitly. In addition, Rūmī's narration has a self-referential quality, going back to what has just happened while also outlining what is about to happen. Thus, the circular style is not only prevalent, but doubles back on itself.[13] In the *Roman de la Rose* many of the characters' monologues serve this same purpose. Using an argumentative style, numerous allegorical characters, especially in the Jean de Meun section, sum up the situation of l'Amant, give their advice, and then reiterate why their advice is necessary, a corollary to what Rūmī does in a less discursive manner. Nor should Jean de Meun's both continuing and repeating Guillaume de Lorris go unmentioned. That is in itself a circular manner of composition.

However, whenever Rūmī wishes to stress his position, he will use allegory, interpretations of the Qu'ran, as well as quotations from the Qu'ran itself. Through these techniques Rūmī frequently repeats the same point though from a different point of view or from a different authority, all in a bid to convince the recipient of his message. And though his primary narrative technique consists of the use of allegory, which everyone familiar with the *Rose* will recognize,[14] that use makes his reader/listener stretch to understand. However, each allegory and each story serves to bring the seeker a little further along the journey toward self-knowledge and enlightenment. In the *Roman de la Rose* l'Amant seeks to understand what he is undergoing, but above all to know the means by which to approach the rose he

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11 Stephen A. Barney, *Allegories of History, Allegories of Love* (Hamden, CT: Archon Books, 1979), 19–20.

12 Jon Whitman, *Allegory: The Dynamics of an Ancient and Medieval Technique* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1987), 12.

13 Farooq Hamid, "Storytelling Techniques in the 'Masnavī-yi Ma'navī' of Mowlana Jalal Al-Din Rūmī: Wayward Narrative or Logical Progression?" *Iranian Studies* 32.1 (Winter 1999): 27–49; here 47.

14 Hamid, "Storytelling" (see note 13), 49.

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desires. Here too, many of the allegorical expositions serve to impede his ultimate approach to the rose garden and to enlighten him.

The Mathnawī represents a series of lessons on which the narrator embarks in order to allow others again to find unity in the infinite: "'Since from the reed bed they uprooted me / My song's expressed each human's agony . . .'" (couplet 2). The prose introduction to these verses refers to three levels of roots in the spiritual path[15]; nevertheless the *Mathnawī* initiates its lessons with the image of the song and singer, familiar from lyric poetry. As for the narrative impetus, couplet 34, "your mirror face's rusty: scrape it clear!," shows that rather than a journey, the narrator intends to provide the tool, whichever one it proves to be, in order for the "sun" to shine clearly into the devotee's heart or mirror. The myriad of tales that follow represents the tools destined to "clear the mirror."

This important first section of poetry reflects back onto the prose introduction via the uprooting of the reed. A familiar image of the frailty of human kind, this reed originated in the roots of "knowledge and reason." However, fate dictates that the one who seeks enlightenment nevertheless shares the fate of all to be split, dual, and kept from the origin (couplets 3 and 4), whose way resides in these verses. In this sense, the reed will funnel further into the narrative the seeker who just learned in the prose introduction that everything he wishes to know is here and reverse the expectation that the secrets of enlightenment form easy reading. The reed section (couplets 1–18) also reverses expectations formed from its first half. It splits in the middle and changes the pronouns used so that instead of the prologue's being addressed to all, it is addressed to a specific individual.[16] In the second half (couplets 19–34) we discover that the reed has no use when there is no one to hear. That is, no song, no story, no love without the one that reflects back the image. If unable to find love's light, then the solution is to scrape clean the heart's mirror. The seeker of knowledge faces obstacles to deeper understanding on two levels: there is no immediate reflection of the way to knowledge nor does the *Mathnawī* lend itself to facile interpretation. In addition, the sound made by the reed foretells in an audible way that there is "a tortuous path ahead" (couplet 13). Wrapped up in these two series of eighteen couplets lie the intertwined tools of sound, reflection, and interpretation necessary to understand the *Mathnawī*.

This image of the mirror and the importance of sound are at the heart of the *Mathnawī* , just as for the *Roman de la Rose*. The *Mathnawī 's* form, consisting of rhyming couplets, allowed for long compositions, as did the similar rhyming couplets in the *Roman de la Rose*. That possibility of continual spinning of the narrative has led critics to suppose that there is nothing but the couplet and the individual story. However, the device of reflection in image and sound structures

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15 Safavi and Weightman, *Rūmī's Mystical Design* (see note 2), 3.

16 Safavai and Weightman, *Rūmī's Mystical Design* (see note 2), 67.

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these two lengthy narratives, both around 25000 verses, which on the surface level seem to peel off into different directions and have no unity. Nevertheless, they provide their own key to interpretation despite the impression of randomness given by their ordering of the narratives within the larger narrative. Thus, in the *Mathnawī* there are no consistent characters in that the narrative springs from an image and not an anecdote. On the surface level Rūmī prizes content over a consistent story line. His work plunges repeatedly into digressions of explanation that privilege the particular over the general. Instead, themes, images, and larger poetic mirrors serve to teach how to attain mystical union with God and connect the *Mathnawī*'s stories.

The Roman de la Rose makes use of Macrobius to justify the truth of the dream the narrator is about to recount. As a different kind of narrative impulse from that of the reed, dreams and their interpretations have a long history, as the reference to Macrobius implies. Thus, the narrator's dream should be taken seriously for the lesson that it will impart, at Love's behest.[17] This lesson is the art of love (v. 37). In the Guillaume de Lorris section explaining that art, the sequence of events requires the narrator to interpret his own dream. When Jean de Meun seeks to justify the art of love within Christian doctrine, this attempt also leads to the necessity to find multiple interpretations of the scenes, characters, and events contained within the story of the seeker's walk through a marvelous garden that serves as a loose framework for the varied allegories and tales of the *Roman de la Rose*. The one consistent character, l'Amant, represents the dreamer who remains outside of the narrative, but a lover dreaming a dream is necessary to the story. If there were no dream, there would be no quest for the hero and no transposing of the lyric space within a narrative framework.

The *Roman de la Rose* consists of octosyllabic rhyming couplets, a narrative form with its own long history in Old French. The Guillaume de Lorris section references the plot device enough to make the narrative consistent. However, this part of the *Rose* comes to an end in the aftermath of l'Amant encountering Narcissus's pool of water. Thereafter, fortuitously or not, the Jean de Meun section pursues and reflects the mirror image. As in the *Mathnawī*, parts of the *Roman de la Rose* are tightly bound together on the level of sound and image that also structure this narrative.

One of the most important and very enigmatic spaces in both narratives consists of the presence of water. By way of example of the narrative space occupied by the characters of each of the narratives in question here, if we focus on the notion of the mirror face in the *Mathnawī* and the garden pool presented by the dream in the *Rose*, the two narratives share more than the mere presence of rhyming couplets

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17 Guillaume de Lorris and Jean de Meun, *Le Roman de la Rose*, Tome 1, ed. Félix Lecoy (Paris: Champion, 1975), vv. 1–33. Translations are mine.

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might indicate. One of the tales in the first book of the *Mathnawī* concerns the hare, the lion, and a well. This tale actually begins in couplet 904 and ends in couplet 1398. Itself an example of the need to trust in God and not exert oneself, this story contains four digressions before it ends. The animals meet the lion who is sowing terror in their ranks. They propose to go willingly to the lion in order for him to get his daily meal so that he need not pursue them.

After demonstrating that it is his nature to pursue prey, the lion accepts a guarantee that one animal will come each day to provide the lion's meal without the king of beast's needing to hunt again. This plan takes effect until it is the hare's turn. The hare proposes to do away with the problem and, once having convinced the others, approaches the lion. He asks his interlocutor to confront another lion who does not want to follow "the plan." This leads to the death of the lion as he attempts to destroy his reflection at the bottom of a well.

The focus of the tale is the leading of the lion to the well. However, there are also digressions that concern the dispute between the animals and the lion over the path to God: whether it is better to exert oneself or to trust in Him. The lion has experience that shows that the very best solution is to use one's complete force to avoid costly mistakes; the animals adduce examples showing the better way to trust in God's plan. These arguments undoubtedly reflect doctrinal disputes, but give the narrator the opportunity to allegorize the animals' discussion, a tendency remarked upon by numerous critics.[18] The lion represents the striver against fate or fortune; the other animals represent those who trust in fate. This tale also illustrates another tendency of this poem, that the main story is thematically interlinked with the subsections,[19] because similar images and sounds structure them. In one digression, the animals' argument is bolstered by the tale of Azrael and the nobleman who, to escape the death he foresaw in Azrael's stare, had Solomon use the wind to transport him to the Indian subcontinent. However, rather than escape his death through this exertion, the nobleman fell into it.

The lion should have taken heed because by accepting the animals' proposal that he no longer bother them at rest or mealtime, he unwittingly also fell into a snare laid by the clever hare whose turn comes to be the lion's meal. The lion himself had raised this point in the beginning of the tale: he was well aware of the traps laid for the unwary and therefore he knew the value of being ever vigilant and using effort to avoid danger to himself. However, the outcome of the tale shows that whatever one may do there is always the potential to be misled. At the end of the previous section before the tale of the lion and the hare, it is said that false gold can lead to hell and fickle fancies down a well (couplet 902). In the end, the hare's

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18 Robert Irwin, "The Arabic Beast Fable Author(s)," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 55 (1992): 36–50; here 43.

19 Hamid, "Storytelling" (see note 13), 44.

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and lion's roles lead them back to the well that initiates the tale in a typical Rūmīan move to order the narrative in a circular manner.[20] More than this there is the reflection inherent in the sounds and images. There is rhyme between what is translated as hell and well (end rhymes in Persian as well). At this juncture, the mirror of the well still reflects dimly: the heart is not yet scraped clean. Therefore, it cannot escape the lure of false gold. That false reflection leads to a deeper and final reflection, but both are necessary for finding the path through to knowledge.

In the animal tale, the hare proposes not to lend himself as food for the lion and convinces the other animals that he can deliver them from the tyranny of the lion if they will follow his lead. However, he will not allow the animals to know his strategy. Here, the hare uses the image of the mirror that appears at the beginning of the *Mathnawī,* but this time there is no scraping to reveal the mirror's or soul's face; instead, cleaning a mirror requires blowing on it. At the same time, the breath releases vapor which can then cloud the mirror (couplet 1050). The hare's example demonstrates that harm can come when knowledge is shared too widely. To enlighten those who would learn, it is necessary that they be truly ready. Otherwise, the lesson remains obscure and the seeker's heart cannot reflect the light.

The myriad of experience and ways to God requires re-examination of images throughout the *Mathnawī* . In this tale the final mirror will be the well, with yet a further meaning, but reflecting back on the previous tale.

At this point, the lion is furious that he has been taken in by those who said just to wait for his fate, i.e., let the animals select one of their number each day to furnish his meal. Doing so he becomes impatient and heedless, a consequence that the hare counts on, and indeed had given the lion bad experiences in the past. The lion's rashness is underscored by another digression, the fly's shallow interpretation of his place in the universe. Failing to observe that there is more to the world than the offal where the fly resides, he believes that he sees all as it is. The fly only knows the world through a pool of urine. However, that reflection shows its falseness on all levels and gives the key to the lion's behavior because the lion's understanding does not surpass that of the fly. The hare's ruse consists of claiming that another lion kept him from his appointed hour and that another hare was held hostage. Knowing that the lion was focused only on his next meal and could not reflect or think because of his appetite, the hare uses that desire to his advantage. The truth is close, as close as the well, but the lion, like the soul, fails to perceive it. That heart's mirror remains fogged.

Forgetting his principles, the lion sets off with the hare. He does not beware his enemy acting like a friend. On this subject there is another digression about the

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[20] Hamid, "Storytelling" (see note 13), 44.

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hoopoe and the crow. The hoopoe proposes to help Solomon; she can scout the terrain. The jealous crow alleges that if the hoopoe could really see all she claims, she would not have been snared. However, the hoopoe cannot overcome fate either: if she is doomed to be snared, she will not perceive the trap. So too with Adam in the Garden of Eden. Though wise, fate decreed that he try to interpret God's law and eat the forbidden fruit. Destiny barred light from illuminating Adam's mind. And, this finally brings us to the end of the tale of the lion, who believed in exertion and not in fate, but whose end was nevertheless foretold through all the examples of exerting oneself versus trusting in God. The lion forgot the lessons he learned about the value of exertion and all of his shallowly understood teaching did not protect him from his catastrophe.

When the hare leads the lion to the well, the "well concealed lair" of the other lion (couplet 1307), there is nothing but a reflection of the lion himself. The hare arranges it so that he remains next to the lion when the lion sees himself and another hare reflected in this so-called lair, in reality a deep well of water. The lion springs at the enemy lion. Meanwhile in reality his real enemy, the hare, escapes. Down into the well the lion goes. The narrator interprets this incident as an example of fighting oneself by seeing in others, who are our mirror image, vice and trouble. The lion's fate finds an explanation in a saying of the Qu'ran, "believers are each other's mirror" (couplet 37).

Finally, the hare is triumphant and share the news with the other animals. Nevertheless, they too should beware. Although the hare acted as he did because divine providence has given him the ruses he needed to overcome the lion, the animals should never forget that time is a circle, like this tale. Though the second lion only existed in the mirror of the well, there are in reality many lions. This moment is only a temporary respite. Associated with Rūmī and made important religious practice, the whirling dervish represents what is permanent. As the Sufi devotee circles round, he mirrors the soul striving for God. The lion discovered that what he saw in the water was only himself. He mistakenly identified his enemy as outside himself. The false mirror of water lies outside the self. However, the mirror within needs help to reflect truth. So ends this tale.

Like the image of the well, the reference to hell and the well returns in the explication of the lion's fate (couplet 1319). Now associated with others, namely oppressors, these people dig a deeper pit for themselves. However, it is one that contains a mirror for the contemplation of wickedness. This is the hell that awaits those of this persuasion. Yet, it is also the fate of all. There is a link between being misled and being an oppressor. Similar to the move in the reed section, Rūmī goes from the general to the particular and speaks to one group only the second time. Both types of lack of self-knowledge, on the one hand, and being focused on the world, on the other, are reflected by others and the divine. Only pursuit of self-knowledge, self-reflection, leads to enlightenment.

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Likewise, the *Roman de la Rose* puts emphasis on the dangerous nature of the pool of Narcissus because it is a mirror, "li miroërs perilleus" (vv. 1369–70; the mirror perilous). However, the dream too is a mirror and is reflected by the image of the mirror-like pool of water. The narrator who precedes the introduction of the character of l'Amant also takes a great deal to establish the *locus amoenus* motif[21] as the setting for the narrator's dream, foreshadowing the garden scene of the love adventure. The "tens enmoreus" (v. 48; the season for love), its bringing to life of flowers and trees as well as its inspiring of bird song (vv. 50–83), initiates the dream in which the poet arises from his bed filled with a desire to hear the birds singing (vv. 89–97). This plot device allows the dream's lyric setting to mirror the briefly glimpsed intradiegetic reality. The dream provides a doubling of the "real," outer world of the *locus amoenus*, for the garden which the poet discovers contains the same setting which inspired the dream, beautiful trees, flowers, and birds singing. However, they are intensified and expanded as merely the number of lines allotted to the creation of each setting will show: thirty-eight verses evoke the *locus amoenus* outside the dream; 138 total verses describe the *locus amoenus* of the dream. Within l'Amant's dream this lyric setting contains one element to which no reference is made outside the dream, namely Narcissus's pool of water.[22]

Like Rūmī's lion, Narcissus also fails to perceive the difference between reflection in love and the reflection of himself as an object of desire. Like the animals, l'Amant too believes that he will exert himself and thus avoid the fate of the one who loved wrongly. As in Ovid's tale, the narrator recounts how Narcissus suffers the pangs of love for himself reflected in the water that nevertheless recedes each time he approaches his reflection. Narcissus dies of self- love, but his unquenchable thirst seeks a false god, himself. Though he turned aside from her, his death reflects that of Echo and is its counter-image. Her fate is to become the auditory equivalent of Narcissus's reflection.[23] Neither is able to bridge the distance to the other. In the continuation, Jean de Meun's Reason would substitute the Christian value of procreation for this mutual loss of the self.

Often in the medieval French literary tradition, images of pools are sources of love, which offer life and renew it, a symbol that in plunging into a love experience, the poetic I risks losing its identity in an atemporal present,[24] but can attain a different state of being. Love can be an abandonment of the autonomous personality in favor of defining oneself in terms of the Other. This fountain of

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21 Hans-Erich Keller, *Studia Occitanica: In Memoriam Paul Rémy*, 2 vols. (Kalamazoo, MI: Western Michigan University Medieval Institute, 1986), vol. I.

22 David Hult, *Self-Fulfilling Prophecies: Readership and Authority in the First* Roman de la Rose (Cambridge and London: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 265.

23 Hult, *Self-Fulfilling Prophecies* (see note 22) 270.

24 Paul Zumthor, "Narrative and Anti-Narrative: *Le Roman de la Rose*," *Yale French Studies* 51 (1974): 185–204; here 188.

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Narcissus is so marvelous that its significance is inexhaustible.[25] However, the risk is compensated for literarily by the possibility of being able to exploit the experience of submergence in the Other through song, as the poet finds in it a way to return to the original unity of life.[26] This is a parallel quest to the unity sought by the seeker whom Rūmī's narrator guides.

In the Guillaume de Lorris section, the pool of water in the center of the dream garden recalls the tradition out of which it came. However, it also differs because this fountain of love (v. 1595) is first of all defined by its being the scene of Narcissus's death (vv. 1435–36). Therefore, the narrator Amant who now reflects Narcissus's position approaches this pool of water with great trepidation. Contrary to what he fears he discovers that all is tranquil and he spies not himself, but a corner of the garden with roses. Rather than fall in love with himself, he seeks his reflection in the Other. Contemplating this beautiful scene l'Amant becomes the prey of the God of Love. Like Narcissus, l'Amant falls in love because of what he sees. The pool of water that ensnared Narcissus now represents not the mirror of the self, but the mirror present in the eyes of the Other. Love's arrow enters l'Amant's eye and now just like Narcissus l'Amant is no longer free and unattached. Like the lion of the *Mathnawī* , he too has fallen prey to a snare. Both knew better, but both could not contain their desire and so do not yet attain enlightenment.

The tale of Narcissus imparts several lessons. The water does more than reflect the one who gazes in; underneath the water there is a lesson for the courtly lady. By using the pool to see the roses, l'Amant substitutes the Lady for Narcissus. So doing, l'Amant changes roles and takes on that of Echo. The logical consequence of this switch is that the lovely rose, the Lady, deserves to be punished. These lines:

> Dames, cest essample aprenez
> Cui vers vos amis mesprenez
> Car se vos les lessiez morir
> Dex le vos savra bien merir. (1505–08)
>
> [Ladies, learn this example
> You who act badly toward your lovers
> For if you let them die
> God will know a fitting punishment.]

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25 Zumthor, "Narrative and Anti-Narrative" (see note 24), 187.

26 Erich Köhler, "Narcisse, la Fontaine d'Amour et Guillaume de Lorris," *L'Humanisme médiéval dans les littératures romanes du XIIe au XIVe siècles*, ed. Anthime Fourrier. Actes et Colloques, 3: Colloque de Strasbourg, 1962 (Paris: Klincksieck, 1964), 147–66; here 153.

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God metes out punishment by death and not just to Narcissus, as in Ovid, but potentially to the courtly woman.[27] As l'Amant looks at the multitude of roses in the garden, the "greignor tase" (v. 1620; the greater bunch) is especially appealing to him, so he reacts like a child attracted by a shiny object immediately desiring to possess it.[28] This is the reflection of the woman pursued by l'Amant that the narrator of the Jean de Meun section will use, but it is established by Guillaume de Lorris's *Rose*. A female character with a complete personality never appears. There is only the image of a rose and several characters that represent aspects of the lady's personality important to the activity of courtly love. Other female characters are personifications of abstractions, Oiseuse, Franchise, etc. The third reflection of women at the beginning of the *Roman de la Rose* is contained in paintings of ugly, old, disagreeable women who represent the vices to the courtly world. As images of women are reflected everywhere in this garden, these reflections show that they are objectified into their component parts. And so, of what nature is this self-reflective love?

The verses above also are echoed, like Narcissus's cries to himself. First, the God of Love echoes l'Amant's words by telling him to learn and not spurn the offering (2067, 2075d). Later, a new rhyme inflects "morir." This passage concerns the proverb of not counting on something before it comes fully to fruition. It is easy for fruit and flower to come to harm and then for the flower and fruit to die, "florir/morir" (vv. 3939–40). These echoes and images help structure the work around its thematic center, the pool of Narcissus. However, the two hundred lines of the Narcissus story occur after the first third of the narrative. The halfway point is where l'Amant enters the service of the God of Love. This early occurrence in the narrative of the recounting of Narcissus's story serves as a fulcrum in the narrative, without the extra-diegetic's audience necessarily knowing why.

Nevertheless, it is soon clear that the recounting of this myth and discovery of the fountain of love and death marks the transition via the reflective quality of the water of l'Amant from free agent to vassal. Furthermore, the end of the *Rose* reflects back on these early references to death in l'Amant's being in danger of perdition ("ma perte," v. 4011) and in distress sufficient to lead to death as shown by the rhymes of *desconfort/mort* (vv. 4013–14).

Never transcending the superficial surface of the water, l'Amant describes the rose on the basis of its appearance, as he does the courtly virtues (v. 1653 ff.). L'Amant likewise falls in love with the rose because of its physical beauty (v. 2328), that being one of the criteria for love in this world. After all, Biauté and Amor naturally come together in the dance. However, contrasting with the

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27 Hult, *Self-Fulfilling Prophecies* (see note 22), 274.

28 John V. Fleming, *The* Roman de la Rose: *A Study in Allegory and Iconography* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1969), 126.

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personifications of the courtly virtues, the rose never becomes more than a thing even though its grammatical gender is feminine and it represents the essence of the courtly lady. Ironically, the one female persona not an abstraction never attains the level of personification of the abstractions.

L'Amant calls it a *rien* (thing); it is an *haut seintuaire* (a holy reliquary) (v. 2522) according to the God of Love. When l'Amant is granted permission to kiss the rose he observes: "Bien est gariz qui tel flor baise" (In good health is he who kisses such a flower) (v. 3468). He acknowledges the rose as a flower, a commonplace to refer to women. Nevertheless, this phrase is significant because the moment the Lady is introduced she has no human qualities. Jean de Meun's narrator will later use a great deal of architectural imagery as he draws on the image of the reliquary (*haut seintuaire)*. Transformed into the image of a rose, the Lady is not a character. However, she too represents a dangerous reflection that can lead a lover to death, according to the comparison l'Amant makes between the example of Narcissus and his reflection.

Ultimately, the garden of the dream, and the narrative of the adventure that takes place there, should provide an example of what to avoid in the search for self-knowledge. It is noteworthy that Macrobius's theory has an empty space between dreams true and false in the guise of the enigmatic dream.[29] Though Macrobius is the authority given to justify this narrative and give it importance despite its being the recounting of a dream, one of the important couplets of the prologue occurs at its end: in a dream there are many things seen in a veiled way that later one understands (" . . . li plusor songent de nuiz / maintes choses *covertement* que l'en voit puis *apertement*," vv. 18–20). The rhyme, covertement/ apertement, antonyms, has as much importance as Guillaume de Lorris's structuring his work according to Macrobius's dream classification.[30] Those two words placed strategically also make of the prologue an interpretive tool. The narrator offers a method for understanding the narrative, in which the "dream" is an allegory consisting of *maintes choses covertement* and their *senefiance* (v. 16, which we might better understand in this context as predictive ability). The dream then becomes apparent, understandable, able to be interpreted for the extra-diegetic audience. For, in gingerly approaching the place that will form either his epiphany or downfall, l'Amant registers only a portion of what the crystalline quality of this pool could have shown him, as he perhaps does of the type of dream that the God of Love presents (v. 2434). Neither does he die of self-love nor of sacrifice to a beloved outside himself.

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29 Steven F. Kruger, *Dreaming in the Middle Ages*, ed. Alastair Minnis. Cambridge Studies in Medieval Literature, 14 (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 23.

30 Suzanne Conklin Akbari, *Seeing through the Veil: Optical Theory and Medieval Allegory* (Toronto and London: University of Toronto Press, 2004), 51.

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The partial reflection of this earthly paradise, and its superficial reflection that l'Amant glimpses, do not show either that l'Amant is capable of seeing beyond the veil of the dream of which he is a part,[31] or even that the narrator does. Suzanne Conklin Akbari makes a cogent argument on the basis of the prologue's verse "l'art d'Amors est tote enclose" (v. 37) and the meaning of "enclose." She translates this word as "enclosed within." She maintains that the narrator made the realization denied l'Amant, that there is nowhere to go with this love narrative.[32] However, there are at least three other translations appropriate to this time period, "end an argument," "hold together," and "come to an end."[33] The first and third meanings for "enclose" would perhaps lend credence to the notion that the *Rose* of Guillaume de Lorris concluded where he intended, in the lyric tradition of desire and not fulfillment. The last eighteen verses present a microcosm of lyric convention:

Par un poi que je ne fons d'ire
quant il me menbre de ma perte
qui est si grant et si aperte;
si a poor et desconfort,
qui me donront, ce croi, la mort.
N'en doi ge bien avoir poor,
auant je sai que losengeor
et traïtor et envieus
sont de moi nuire curieus?
Hé! Bel Acueil, ce sai de voir
qu'il vos beent a decevoir,
et, se devient, si ont il fet.
Je ne sai or coment il vet,
mes durement sui esmaiez
que entroblié ne m'aiez,
si en ai uel et desconfort.
Ja mes n'iert rien qui me confort
se je pert vostre bienveillance,
car je n'ai mes aillors fiance. (vv. 4010–28)

[I only just avoid breaking down from distress
when I remember my loss
which is so great and so apparent;
thus I have feelings of fear and discouragement,
which will give me, this I believe, death.
Should I not in fact be afraid,

31 Akbari, *Seeing through the Veil* (see note 30), 74.
32 Akbari, *Seeing through the Veil* (see note 30), 76.
33 http://www.etymonline.com/index.php?search=enclose (last accessed on Mar. 15, 2013).

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When I know that flatterers
And traitors and the envious
Are taking care to cause trouble for me?
Ah! Fair Welcome, this I know in truth
That they are bent on deceiving you,
And, it so happens, this they have done.
I do not know now how it is going,
But I am greatly dismayed
That for a time you have forgotten me,
So that I have grief and anguish.
Never again will there be anything that comforts me
If I lose your good will,
For I no longer have faith elsewhere.]

The rhyme *perte/aperte* recalls the rhyme of the end of the prologue *covertement apertement* in a way that seems not just a coincidence. Unveiling is promised after these kinds of dreams. Here, after so much promise represented by the garden, the season, and the God of Love's lessons, nevertheless the narrator's recounting of this dream draws to a conclusion in the form of a lyric poem of eighteen lines with rhyming couplets, in the traditional poet's voice.[34] Courtly narrative, dream narrative, and allegory come together at a moment of interpretation, which is that of lyric commonplaces.

There was more for l'Amant and the narrator to learn through the medium of the dream, but they remain circumscribed by their society and the literary tradition of the lyric. The *Roman de la Rose* is a mirror of thirteenth-century French culture, to the extent that we can discern it. It reflects upon itself in myriad ways, and then is mirrored further as Jean de Meun reflects upon Guillaume de Lorris's narrative. Jean develops many other aspects of knowledge of the self and the Other. Despite critics' deprecation of that portion as a poor replica of the first *Roman de la Rose*, Jean created his own structure and reworked the dream imagery present in the work of Guillaume de Lorris.

It is pertinent to compare the details of how both poets are concerned with the nature of reality as well as their use of various stories to explain that reality. Though the intra- and extradiegetic world of the *Roman de la Rose* would deny any points of comparison, and largely ignores any other worldview than its own, it nevertheless performs an exegesis of reality similar to what Rūmī's comparisons and images do. The ostensible goal of the stories of the *Roman de la Rose* is very different from that of Rūmī's *Mathnawī*. The interpretation of the *Rose's* intercalated narratives can be brought into question through that comparison. If so, such goals reflect mutual interest even where direct evidence of exchange lacks.

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34 Hult, *Self-Fulfilling Prophecies* (see note 22), 185.

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Thus, these two works demonstrate their intertwining into cultural development of two distinct cultures, but yet with what would have been mutually intelligible literary and artistic preoccupations. These poets are interested both in perception, and how the human realm can enter into contact with true knowledge. Yet each poet explores the domain of true knowledge of the real world from behind the veil created by allegorical narratives.

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Chapter 12

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The Moors in Thirteenth-Century Spain: "They are Us!"

The long history of Muslim people in Iberia, largely Berbers from North Africa referred to generally as the Moors, begins with their invasion and occupation of almost the entire Iberian Peninsula in 711. By the thirteenth century, the age of the great kings, Saint Fernando III and his son, Alfonso X el Sabio (Alfonso X, the Wise), most of the important cities had been returned to Christian rule but with a Moorish population living in many of them. Also, the Moorish kingdom of Granada continued as a separate Islamic state in the Peninsula. After six centuries of struggles over territories as well as long periods of more or less peaceful coexistence, the Christian view of Moors was complicated to say the least.

The problematic term "*convivencia*" or "living together" has been coined to denote those centuries in Iberian history when Christians, Moors, and Jews lived in company either under an Islamic sovereign or under Christian lordship. The sometime peaceful, sometime antagonistic relationship among these ethnic/religious groups is well-established.[1] The *mudéjares* (Muslims living under Christian rule) in Alfonso X's kingdoms were protected by the king and allowed

[1] For an arguments that the coexistence of Christians, Jews and Muslims was harmonious, see María Rosa Menocal, *Ornament of the World: How Muslims, Jews, and Christians Created a Culture of Tolerance in Medieval Spain* (New York: Little Brown, 2002). For more nuanced views of "*convivencia*," see, for example, the articles in Mark D. Meyerson and Edward D. English, ed. *Christians, Muslims, and Jews in Medieval and Early Modern Spain: Interaction and Cultural Change*. Notre Dame Conferences in Medieval Studies, VIII (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 1999), and those in *Convivencia: Jews, Muslims, and Christians in Medieval Spain*, ed. Vivian B. Mann, Thomas Glick, and Jerrilyn D. Dodds (New York: George Braziller in association with The Jewish Museum, 1992).

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a fair degree of autonomy in managing the internal workings of their community.[2] But the Christian and Moorish communities were far from segregated and members of both groups were in daily contact with one another, especially in urban areas, and exchanges across cultural lines were many and diverse. Thomas Glick reminds us that "In assessing the variety of cultural elements exchanged, we must recognize that these did not merely include vocabulary, techniques, or manners of speech, dress, or diet, and that acculturation involved conscious shifts of the most subtle and intimate nature."[3] This blending of cultures produced a unique hybridity in Iberia—one in which people of different faith groups resembled one another in social contexts that resisted neat segregation on grounds of religious belief or ethnicity. As a result Christian authors/artists often struggled when faced with portraying Muslims, because they were part of their daily reality and, as such, could not be easily or clearly delineated as alien "Other."

García-Arenal first advanced the theory that Christian literary and artistic representations of Moors were far from homogeneous. She distinguishes between what she calls Muslims of the interior and Muslims of the exterior. The former group consisted of those Moors who had lived for many years in the Iberian Peninsula in areas of Christian control—the *mudéjares* (free, independent Muslim citizens living under a Christian sovereign) as well as Moorish slaves and domestic servants. The Muslims of the exterior were those who lived in Islamist-controlled territories both within the Iberian Peninsula and outside it.[4] According to García-Arenal, these "exterior Muslims" are almost always portrayed as religious, political, and military enemies of the Christians, while the *mudéjares* were a familiar part of the racial/ethnic make-up of the Spaniards.

The complex and often contradictory attitudes toward Muslims can, in part, be understood by following García-Arenal's distinction between the *mudéjares* (Us) and the Moors living outside Christian-controlled territories (Them). But only in part, because such a binary thesis does not explain the multi-faceted and hybrid relationship of Christian and Moors in medieval Iberia, as Barbara Fuchs has explained beautifully in her book *Exotic Nation: Maurophilia and the Construction of Early Modern Spain.* Although Fuchs's work concentrates on the period after the

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2 See, for example, Title XXV, Law I of the seventh *Partida* that upholds the Moors' rights to govern themselves and prohibits confiscation of their properties. Samuel Parson Scott, trans. and Robert J. Burns, SJ, ed., *Las Siete Partidas*. 5 vols. The Middles Ages Series (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001), V: 14–38.

3 Glick, "Convivencia: An Introductory Note," *Convivencia: Jews, Muslims, and Christians in Medieval Spain* (see note 1), 1–9; here 5. Now see also *Uneasy Communion: Jews, Christians and the Alterpieces of Medieval Spain*, ed. Vivian B. Mann and Thomas F. Glick (New York: Musuem of Biblical Art in Association with D. Giles, Ltd, 2010).

4 See Mercedes García-Arenal. "Los moros en las Cantigas de Alfonso X el Sabio," *Al-Qantara* 6 (1985): 133–51.

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fall of Granada (1492) and the eventual expulsion of the *moriscos* (Moors baptized as Christians) in 1609, much of her theoretical approach—relying on notions of hybridity from Postcolonial Studies—is applicable to earlier centuries. Fuchs states, "If we reconstruct Spain's affinity with Moorish culture . . . without adopting a post-facto, teleological perspective, we find a far more nuanced situation than the shriller contemporary denunciations of the Moors' presence in Spain would suggest."[5] This more subtle and constant negotiation between Christians and Moors is central to any examination of portrayal of Moors in Christian-authored texts from the Middle Ages. Although, in some instances, Moors appear as an identifiable category that is inherently inferior to its Christian counterpart, they are part of the social framework woven into these texts, an inescapable part of their authors' day-to-day reality.

In this study, I will explore how select works composed at the court of Alfonso X (reigning from 1252–1284) are products of Spain's "intimacy with Moorishness" and, following Fuchs's lead, I will show how "conceptual models based on the distance between West and East miss the more interesting and paradoxical connections of the Spanish case."[6] By concentrating on these thirteenth-century works I hope to illuminate what Ron Barkai has called the "mentalities" or "conceptions" inherent in the relationship between Moors and Christians in Iberia. According to Barkai, the study of texts and images can help us to understand this complex relationship better than the impressions we have from purely juridical/legal investigations or chronological/political approaches (11–12).[7] That being said, however, some historical background is needed to put the literary and pictorial objects of my study into perspective.

Beginning in the eleventh century, Christian dominance in the Peninsula began to prevail while lands held under Muslim sovereignty were gradually reduced.[8] In the first half of the thirteenth century Alfonso X's father, Fernando III, had conquered great swaths of territory in southern Spain, formerly under the control of Muslim rulers. After the conquest of Córdoba in 1236, most of the other towns along the River Guadalquivir surrendered also to the Castilian king. Once Sevilla fell to Fernando in 1248, the Moors of the region really had no other option than to become vassals of the Christian monarch and pay him tributes or immigrate to

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5 Barbara Fuchs, *Exotic Nation: Maurophilia and the Construction of Early Modern Spain* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009), 2.

6 Fuchs, *Exotic Nation* (see note 5), 4. See also the contribution to this volume by Jens T. Wollesen.

7 Ron Barkai, *Cristianos y musulmanes en la España medieval (El enemigo en el espejo)*, 2nd ed. (1984; Madrid: Ediciones Rialp, 1991), 11–12.

8 Julio Valdeón Baruque, "Alfonso X y la convivencia cristiano-judío-islámica," *Estudios Aflonsíes: lexicografía, lírica, estética y política de Alfonso el Sabio*, ed. José Mondéjar and Jesús Montoya (Granada: Facultad de Filosofía y Letras, Instituto de Ciencias de la Educación, 1985), 167–77; here 168.

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the Muslim Kingdom of Granada or other parts of the Islamic world.[9] Fernando III did not expel Moorish inhabitants from their lands and those who chose to remain after the Christian conquests continued to live in the same places and manners that they had before, but simply changed sovereigns. Due to a series of pacts and treaties of surrender, these Moors became personal subjects of the king. Incorporating large Moorish populations into newly Christian-controlled areas was not new with Fernando. It had been the policy in the conquest of Toledo in 1085 and was also a common practice in Aragón and Cataluña.[10] Fernando saw the wisdom in not having vast tracts of totally unpopulated land and the benefit of increasing the royal coffers when he gave rather generous incentives to the Moorish population to stay put and accept him as their lord.

The agreements drawn up between the Christian king and the Moorish population were called *capitulaciones.* These pacts dealt with military matters, such as the Moors' obligation to give up their weapons and, at times, cooperate in the reconstruction of damaged castles or other fortifications. In the area of fiscal policies, the *capitulaciones* usually specified certain taxes that would be levied on the Moorish population. Furthermore, the *capitulaciones* guaranteed that the Muslims could maintain their own internal governing systems with their *alcaldes* (mayors) and elders representing the various clans as administers of justice for their own people according to Koranic law. They could freely practice their religion, mosques were respected, and the teaching of the Koran was permitted. The Moors were also free to sell their properties and move to territories under Muslim control if they should desire.[11] With these policies Andalucía became, like a good part of the rest of the Iberian Peninsula, a Christian-*mudéjar* zone.

Fernando III's son, Alfonso X, at first respected the policies of his father toward the Moors but he modified these when he felt it strategically necessary. For example, in 1254 he declared that, because of the strategic importance of the towns of Morón and Cote for the protection and defense of Sevilla, the Moors in these towns were to be relocated and given new properties elsewhere. He then encouraged Christian residents to occupy the Moors' former dwellings and land holdings.[12] These policies caused a good deal of discontent among the *mudéjares*, with many deciding to immigrate to the Moorish kingdom of Granada. In 1264, there were violent uprisings by the *mudéjares* that caught Alfonso completely off guard. When the rebellion was finally suppressed, Alfonso's formally good relationship with Granada was shattered and many *mudéjares* abandoned his kingdoms. As a result, the king was forced to devote much of his time and energy

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9 Manuel González Jiménez, *Alfonso X el Sabio.* Ariel biografias (Barcelona: Ariel, 2004), 166.
10 González Jiménez, *Alfonso X* (see note 9), 167.
11 González Jiménez, *Alfonso X* (see note 9), 168–69.
12 González Jiménez, *Alfonso X* (see note 9), 170.

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to repopulating strategically important towns and villages with new Christian settlers.[13] Alfonso's change in policy also signaled a change in *mudéjar* society that, under his father, had lived peacefully, but submissively, under the tutelage of the Christian lord. The new tension created with the *mudéjar* population was one of the many reasons that Alfonso's popularity declined and his successes in other areas were somewhat overshadowed. According to Julio Valdeón, Alfonso's attitudes toward his Moorish subjects was contradictory in the sense that he fostered great cultural cooperation between Muslims and Christians, as well as Jews, especially in the area of scholarly production, while, at the same time, he pursued increasingly severe policies toward both his Muslim and Jewish minority populations.[14]

By actively promoting the transmission of Arabic texts and learning at his court, Alfonso was continuing a practice begun centuries earlier in Toledo. Toledo was a center for translation of both Arabic and Hebrew texts where Spanish, German, English, and Italian scholars came into direct contact with Arabic scientific and philosophical texts.[15] Besides fostering the work in Toledo, Alfonso established a school in Murcia for training in Latin and Arabic called the *Estudios y Escuelas Generales de latín e de arábigo* (Colleges and General Schools of Latin and Arabic) and named the Muslim mathematician, al-Ricotí, as the school's director.[16] Alfonso's scholars translated works on astronomy and astrology, many of which were gathered together to produce the *Libros de saber de astronomía* (*Books on the Knowledge of Astronomy*). He also directed the translation of the theories of Ptolomeus and others on instruments used for astronomical measurements and calculations. The king later produced the *Tablas Alfonsíes*, a work recognized as marking the beginning of mature European astronomy.[17]

Alfonso was the first non-Muslim monarch to sponsor a series of astronomical observations that would result in the writing of the *Tablas*. According to the *Tablas*'s prologue these observations took place in Toledo during ten years, probably between 1263 and 1272 under the direction of two of Alfonso's Jewish collaborators, Yehudá b. Moshé and Isaac b. Sid. The primary concerns of these scientists were: (1) solar observations based on Ptolemaic principles (the sun at its equinoxes and solstices) and on those of the astronomers of the caliph al-Ma'mūn

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13 González Jiménez, *Alfonso X* (see note 9), 191.

14 Valdeón Baruque, "Alfonso X y la convivencia," (see note 8), 168.

15 Valdeón Baruque, "Alfonso X y la convivencia," (see note 8), 170.

16 González Jiménez, *Alfonso X* (see note 9), 424.

17 Julio Samsó, "La ciencia española en la época de Alfonso el Sabio," *Alfonso X, Toledo 1984* (Madrid: Ministerio de Cultura, Dirección General de Bellas Artes y Archivos, 1984), 89–101; here 100; see now the contributions to *Wissen über Grenzen: Arabisches Wissen und lateinisches Mittelalter*, ed. Andreas Speer and Lydia Wegener. Miscellanea mediaevalia, 33 (Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2006).

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around the year 830 (the sun at intervals between the equinoxes and solstices); (2) solar and lunar eclipses, observed in 1263 and 1266 by Isaac b. Sid; (3) conjunctions of the planets with fixed stars; and, (4) fixed stars.[18] The results of these observations as found in the *Tablas alfonsíes* had an enormous influence in Europe (after their translation into Latin) in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries and were superseded only during the scientific revolution of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.[19]

Other translations of Arabic scholarship carried out by Alfonso's team was the work of geography by Abu Obaid al Becrí, *Libro de los caminos y de los reinos* (*Book of Roads and Kingdoms*) and a book on recreations, *El libro de axedrez, dados e tablas* (*Book of Chess, Dice, and Backgammon*). Alfonso's great work of history, the *General Estoria*, was intended to be a universal history from the creation of the world until Alfonso's time. Even though this great magnum opus remained unfinished, it is worth noting that, among the many sources Alfonso and his collaborators consulted, there were Arabic historians such as Albercrí and Alguazif.[20] The king's translation of the Arabic collection of moralizing tales, *Calia e Dimna*, is usually identified as the beginning of fiction writing in Castilian.

The most noteworthy aspect of Alfonso's work of translation and composition is that all his prose texts were composed in Castilian instead of Latin. Especially in his scientific and legal works in Castilian, the king introduced many neologisms into the language and incorporated much of the abstract vocabulary from Arabic into Castilian.[21] Valdeón postulates that the cultural production under Alfonso's patronage was not specifically Christian, Muslim, or Jewishm, but rather a new breed that contained ingredients from each of these contributing components.[22]

Translations of Arabic texts at the court of Alfonso had enormous consequences for the transmission of Arabic knowledge throughout Europe. The king's intellectual projects were marked by a remarkable degree of cooperation between Christian, Muslim, and Jew scholars, artists, and scribes. But, as a Christian monarch, Alfonso was faced with the practical realities of mitigating the difficulties and conflicts that arose from governing a multi-religious and ethnic society, with significant Muslim and Jewish minority populations.

The king was stalwart in promoting Christian, Castilian hegemony in the Peninsula but he also recognized that these minority peoples were his subjects and his responsibility. His policy of repopulating newly-acquired territories with

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18 Samsó, "La ciencia española," (see note 17), 100.

19 Samsó, "La ciencia española," (see note 17), 100.

20 González Jiménez, *Alfonso X* (see note 9), 430.

21 On the Arabic influence on the language of Alfonso's writings see Federico Corriente's article, "Los arabismos en las *Cantigas de Santa María*," *Estudios alfonsíes* (see note 8), 59–65.

22 Valdeón Baruque, "Alfonso X y la convivencia" (see note 8), 171.

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Christian settlers was detrimental to his kingdom in a number of ways. When Moors migrated out of these territories they took with them their knowledge of cultivating the lands with elaborate systems of irrigation with which most of new Christian settlers were not familiar. As a result, formerly productive land was left uncultivated and food supplies declined. Large expanses of useless land contributed to the development of a largely-unpopulated frontier which produced no revenues for the crown.[23]

In legislation, Alfonso tried to establish policies and regulations for the special issues that arose regarding the Muslims and Jews who continued to live under his rule. In his great code of laws, the *Siete Partidas* (1265), Alfonso's primary concern in dealing with the Moors was not with their religious rights but with establishing laws to restrict their political power since they "constituted a ubiquitous threat to the political designs of Christian rulers."[24] However, as Dwayne Carpenter has pointed out, these statutes often clothe this political concern in the language of religious difference. One of Alfonso's chief concerns in this legislation is the deeply feared Christian conversion to Islam, and the king devotes five laws to this eventuality (*Partida* VII, Law 25, Titles 4, 5, 6, 7, and 8).[25] Anyone who converts to Islam will lose all his or her property and be put to death.

These laws also stipulate that any married man or woman who converts to Islam will be declared an adulterer. Carpenter concludes that the number and details in the laws dealing with converts to Islam is a sign that, indeed, this was a frequent problem.[26] One of the reasons the king gives for a Christian wanting to become a Muslim is an attraction to the Moorish lifestyle. This predilection for Muslim habits of dress, food, and general lifestyle attests to a high degree of cultural integration between peoples of the two faiths. Nevertheless, these laws liken conversion to an act of high treason. But Alfonso gives himself a way out of imposing the ultimate penalty on a convert to Islam. If a Christian who had converted to Islam subsequently performs some outstanding service to the Christian states he will be absolved of the crime of apostasy.[27]

With regard to mosques, in Christian-controlled territories, these belong to the king who can give them to whomever he wishes. Since Muslims continued to worship in areas controlled by Christians in thirteenth-century Spain, we can infer that the king often chose to give these mosques to the Moors. But there were some restrictions. For example, the call to prayer could not be made from a mosque's

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23 González Jiménez, *Alfonso X* (see note 9), 172–73.

24 Dwayne E. Carpenter, "Minorities in Medieval Spain: The Legal Status of Jews and Muslims in the Siete Partidas," *Romance Quarterly* 33.3 (1986), 275–87; here 275.

25 Carpenter, "Minorities in Medieval Spain" (see note 24), 277.

26 Carpenter, "Minorities in Medieval Spain" (see note 24), 278.

27 Carpenter, "Minorities in Medieval Spain" (see note 24), 281.

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minaret.[28] Moors were allowed some judicial autonomy in dealing with matters internal to the community but could not interfere with Christian legal proceedings (*Partida* VII, Title 25, Law 1). Unlike the Jewish population, the Moors were not obliged to live in separate neighborhoods from Christians. And Muslims that decided to convert to Christianity were often treated very favorably when the king distributed royal lands.[29] Also, as we have seen, Alfonso had many learned Muslims (and Jews) at his court, assisting in the work of translation of texts or serving as doctors or teachers.

García-Arenal's thesis that there is an identifiable difference in attitudes toward the *mudéjares* living in Spain and the "enemy" moors living in the Iberian Kingdom of Granada and those of North Africa might seem to explain initially some of the contradictions in the king's policies toward the Moors. But this essentialist, and perhaps racist, argument which pits the Moors in Granada and the Benimerines of Northern Africa as irreconcilable enemies against the more familiar *mudéjares* has severe limitations. It is true that the *mudéjares* were more integrated into Christian society and worked in both towns and the countryside alongside Christians but, by Alfonso's time, Christians could and did exploit, adopt, reject, or assimilate various aspects of Arabic/Islamic, as well as Jewish, cultures.[30] The enemy was not exclusively a "them" isolated from "us"; he/she was part of the hybrid identity of all people living in medieval Spain, a reality that required constant negotiation with Moorishness that was not "a historical relic but a vivid presence in quotidian Spanish culture."[31]

Alfonso included Moorish protagonists in the poems and miniatures of his great collection of Marian miracles, *Las Cantigas de Santa Maria*.[32] Of the 412 poems contained in the *CSM* approximately one-eighth deal with Moors. The subject matter of these poems ranges from Christian victories over Moors, conversion of Moorish subjects to Christianity, and Moors who enjoy the miraculous mercies of the Virgin Mary despite their persistence in the Islamic faith. There are examples of *mudéjares* as well as Muslims from outside the kingdoms under Alfonso's jurisdiction. The frequent and varying portrayals of Moors in text and miniature attest to the scope of the relationships between Muslims and Christians in thirteenth-century Iberia. Although the *CSM* is a text designed to foster Christian, particularly Marian, devotion, Moors have a significant presence in the collection. Even when Alfonso and his collaborators adapt Marian miracle narratives that had

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28 Manuel González Jiménez, "Alfonso X y las minorías confesionales de mudéjares y judíos," *Aportaciones de un rey castellano a la construcción de Europa*, coord. Miguel Rodríguez Llopis (Murcia: Región de Murcia, Consejería de Cultura y Educación, 1997), 71–90; here 82.

29 González Jiménez, "Alfonso X y las minorías" (see note 28), 83–84.

30 García Arenal, "Los moros" (see note 4), 134.

31 Fuchs, *Exotic Nation* (see note 5), 5.

32 Hereafter, *CSM*.

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originated in other cultural, linguistic, or historical contexts, the inclusion of Moorish protagonists is a reminder of the Moors as an undeniable part of contemporary reality.

A good example of a poem in which a *mudéjar* appears is *no. 167* in the collection. In this *cantiga* a Moorish woman from Borja—a town in the province of Zaragoza with a large *mudéjar* population during Alfonso's rule—turns to the Virgin to revive her child who has died. After the her son dies, the *mudéjar* mother decides to commend him to Holy Mary of Salas since she has witnessed many Christians going there and receiving miraculous aid from the Virgin. Her Moorish friends oppose her decision but the woman is steadfast in her belief that the Virgin will answer her pleas and resuscitate her son. Upon arriving at the shrine, she speaks to Mary saying "Se non mente / ta lee, dá-me meu fillo, e farey tig' avẽença" (II, 169; If your law does not lie, give me my son, and I will make my peace with you, 202).[33] The mother keeps vigil all night in the church at Salas and Holy Mary restores the child's life. The Moorish woman is amazed and at once converts to Christianity.

While one might argue that the main theme of this *cantiga* is Islamic conversion to Christianity, from the outset of this poem, the Muslim woman is portrayed in a sympathetic light. The refrain to the poem emphasizes the Virgin's boundless grace and mercies even to those of other faiths: "Quen quer que na Virgen fia e a roga de femença, / valer-ll-á, pero que seja d' outra lee en creença" (II, 168). The Virgin will aid whoever trusts in Her and prays faithfully to Her, although he be a follower of another law, 202). In the six miniatures that accompany this poem, the *mudéjar* woman is portrayed as attractive and pale-skinned (Fig. 1). She does wear a hijab-type headdress in some of the miniatures but this portrayal is not consistent. For example, she is seen with her head bare with long, dark hair in the first miniature in which men are also present and in the last miniature which shows the woman and her son in a baptismal font.

Of course, it could be argued that the men in the home in the first miniature are members of the woman's immediate family and that in the final miniature she is now a Christian and, thus, does not wear the head scarf. But, it was also very common in Alfonso's time for Christian, as well as Muslim, women to cover their heads and adopt Moorish styles of dress in general. One other detail is worth mentioning. The poem does not indicate that the *mudéjar* woman's son also

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[33] All quotes from the *CSM* are from the 3 volume edition of Walter Mettmann, *Cantigas de Santa Maria*, Clásicos Castalia, 134, 172, 178 (Madrid: Castalia, 1984–1989). All translations of the *CSM* are from Kathleen Kulp-Hill's *Songs of Holy Mary of Alfonso X, the Wise: A Translation of the* Cantigas de Santa Maria, Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, 173 (Tempe, AZ: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2000). References are to volume and page number in the Mettmann edition and to page numbers for the Kulp-Hill translation.

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converts to Christianity but, as we see in the final miniature, Alfonso's artists chose to portray the conversion of the two.

In *cantiga 358*, a *mudéjar*, described as a master builder, works on the construction of a church dedicated to the Virgin in El Puerto de Santa María. This is one of a number of poems that deal with Alfonso's conquest and subsequent rebuilding of the Moorish city of Alcanate as a Christian town which he renames El Puerto de Santa María (Saint Mary's Port) in honor of the Virgin. The builder's name is given in the poem as Ali When Ali is faced with a shortage of stones for the church's construction, a man shows him a stash of perfectly square, quarried stones ready for building the walls. Ali realizes that the Virgin herself had put this supply of stones readily at his disposal and recognizes that Holy Mary wants her church to be constructed quickly and soundly. This poem does not indicate that Ali converts to Christianity after coming to this realization but it makes clear that he fully acknowledges the Virgin's hand in the miraculous appearance of the large, square stones. Unfortunately, no miniatures appear for this *cantiga* in either of the two illustrated codices of the *CSM*, but we can assume that this *mudéjar* also would be portrayed in a positive way since he is building a church for the Virgin and openly acknowledges Holy Mary's miraculous aid in helping him to complete the project as ordered by King Alfonso. The text also recognizes the fact that *mudéjar* builders were very active and their contributions to Christian-sponsored architectural projects in the peninsula were vast.

A much different sort of Moor, a more bellicose one, is portrayed in c*antiga 95*. In this poem a group of Moors invade Portugal and kidnap a Christian hermit living by the seaside.[34] While the pious hermit is fishing one day, Moorish troops who had come from Africa to attack the Peninsula take the holy man prisoner. They then rob everything along the coast and make raids on the interior: "fezeron gran guerra / rouband' en mar quant' achavan e saynd' a terra" (I, 293; they waged fierce war, robbing everything they found at sea and sallying forth on land, 120). However, when the Moors try to leave the Peninsula, the Virgin causes the wind to blow them back toward the coast for three long days. The Moorish admiral recognizes that God is displeased by their kidnapping of the holy man and decides to set him free. When the hermit is returned to his hermitage, the Moorish fleet is able to sail away without any delay. The text even stipulates that when subsequent Muslim raiding parties came to the shore near to where the hermit lives, they leave him alone because they know he enjoys the protection of God.

The Muslims warriors in the miniatures accompanying this *cantiga* are represented as a heterogeneous racial mix. The artists portray fair-skinned turbaned Arabs as well as dark-skinned Africans with short, curly hair and more

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[34] Alfonso claimed rights to southern Portugal, the Algarve, and so he would have viewed this incursion as an attack on his own territories.

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Negroid features (Figs. 2 and 2a). These figures probably represent the varieties of Muslim peoples with whom Spaniards would have been intimately familiar. The fact that the Moors recognize God's displeasure when they kidnap an innocent man indicates a certain commonality of belief with Christians with regard to incurring divine wrath for immoral and unwarranted behavior.

The sultan of Morocco, Abū Yūsuf Ya'qūb (ruled 1258–1286), appears in at least four of the *cantigas* that deal with Moors. Ya'qūb was a sworn enemy of Alfonso's since 1260 when Castilian troops invaded and raided his coastal city of Salé. In 1275 the new king of Granada, Muḥammed II, in spite of having sworn loyalty to Alfonso, asked Ya'qūb for his assistance against the rebellious governors of the Banū Ashqīlūlā family in Málaga and Guadix. Alfonso had allied himself with the Banū Ashqīlūlā family with the aim of weakening the power of Granada by fostering internal dissensions in the kingdom. This is the background for the events portrayed in, c*antiga 323*. This poem vividly describes Ya'qūb's raid against Coria del Río in the Province of Sevilla in Spain. The Benimerines from Morocco invaded the Peninsula at the end of January and the beginning of February of 1275. Led by Abū Yūsuf Ya'qūb, these forces made their way up the River Guadalquivir looting, pillaging, and taking prisoners as they went.[35]

The incident described in *cantiga 323* occurs when the Benimerines are almost at the gates of Sevilla. In Coria a young boy has just died of fever and, as the father is mourning his death, the troops of Abū Yūsuf Ya'qūb invade the village and all the townsfolk are obliged to abandon the town to the plundering Muslim hordes. The father commends his house and his son's body to the Virgin and then flees, leaving all he possesses to whatever fate awaits them. The Moors burn and loot the entire village with the sole exception of the grieving father's home. When the father returns to Coria, he finds his son restored to life and nothing in his house stolen or harmed. When he questions his son about this miracle, the boy says that the Virgin appeared, revived him, and protected the house and all their possessions from the Moors. All the townspeople recognize this miracle and weep for joy at their neighbor's good fortune.

The poem clearly states that the Moors burned many other villages in the area of Sevilla: "a terra de Sevilla tod' a eito / correu, e muitas aldeas foron dos mouros queimadas (III, 148; rapidly invaded all the land of Seville, and many villages were burned by the Moors, 392). They raided and plundered everything they found: "os mouros logo deitaron / sas algaras e correron e roubaron quant' acharon" (III, 149; hordes of Moors fell on them and raided and plundered everything in their path, 392). There can be no doubt that, in this and other *cantigas*, despite near-complete

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[35] Joseph F. O'Callaghan, *Alfonso X and the* Cantigas de Santa Maria*: A Poetic Biography*, The Medieval Mediterranean, Peoples, Economies and Cultures 400–1453, 16 (Leiden, Boston, and Cologne: Brill, 1998), 137.

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domination by Christian forces in the peninsula by Alfonso's time, the need for continued vigilance still existed as this historically-accurate account of a Moorish incursion attests. While on a quotidian basis, Alfonso's populace was living a hybrid existence, a syncretism that mixed elements of both Christian practice and Moorish identity markers, the king, as Christian sovereign, feels obliged to keep alive remnants of a Moorish other, the enemy at the gate ever ready to reassert its ascendency. The miniatures for this *cantiga* are unfortunately incomplete but give some idea of the visual representation of the events narrated in the poem. (Fig. 3)

On one level, these few examples from the *Cantigas de Santa Maria* seem to bear out the thesis that portrayals of *mudéjares* were much more sympathetic than the more threatening representations of Muslims living outside of Christian-dominated territories. But this binary distinction fails to explain either the complexity or some of the inherent contradictions vis-à-vis the portrayals of Moors in the Alfonsine corpus. Theoretically, King Alfonso and all his Christian contemporaries rejected the legitimacy of Islamic religious beliefs. In Spain, the activities of the *mudéjares* were, to a degree, legally restricted especially with regard to certain social interactions, such as marriage or sexual intercourse, with Christians. Moors from outside the Peninsula and those of the Kingdom of Granada were viewed with suspicion, and King Alfonso was repeatedly forced to defend his borders and, at times, go on the offensive.

But there was a certain laxity in his dealings with Moors residing in his kingdom, and little evidence suggests that laws dealing with the *mudéjares* were strictly enforced. And, as we have seen, Moors and Jews were active in court life, especially in the production and translation of texts. While, in some ways Alfonso showed tolerance and even respect for his Muslim subjects, he was, first and foremost a Christian monarch. And, like all Christian rulers of his day, on one level, he thought of Moors as inferiors and considered this a normal situation. We should not judge him with contemporary sensibilities or see his attitudes as particularly prejudiced or discriminatory. In fact, the king most probably considered himself magnanimous and benevolent in his treatment of his non-Christian subjects.[36]

In his cultural enterprises—the production of scientific, historical, legal and literary works—Alfonso was profoundly attracted to and influenced by Eastern, Oriental, cultures, both Islamic and Jewish. These rich cultural and intellectual traditions helped him to satisfy his nearly insatiable quest for knowledge. His seemingly inconsistency with regard to the portrayal of Moors and his political relationship to his Moorish subjects are byproducts of the king's own hybridity of

[36] González Jiménez, "Alfonso X y la minorías confesionales" (see note 28), 87.

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identity. The Moor is "Other" but he/she is also "Us" and the differentiation between Christian and Moors cannot be explained by simple, essentialist and binary arguments. The corpus of works that bears Alfonso's imprimatur represent, and reflect, his best efforts to come to grips with his, and his people's inherent "Moorishness"—the process of constant negotiation between the ideal of Christian hegemony and the realities of a Spain unable, and unwilling, to dislodge the Moorish elements of Spanish identity.

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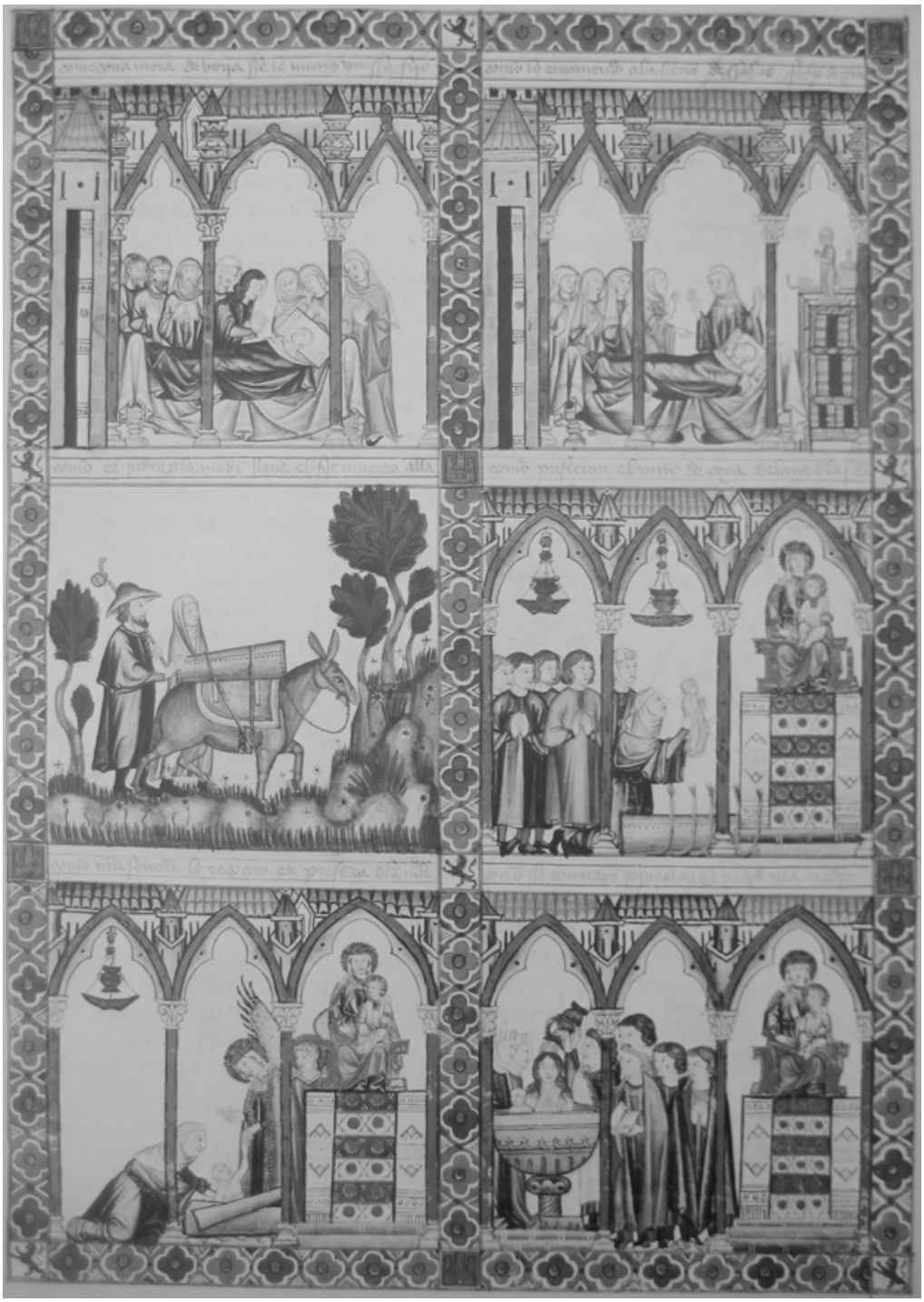


Fig. 1: *Cantiga 167*, ms. Escorial T.I.1

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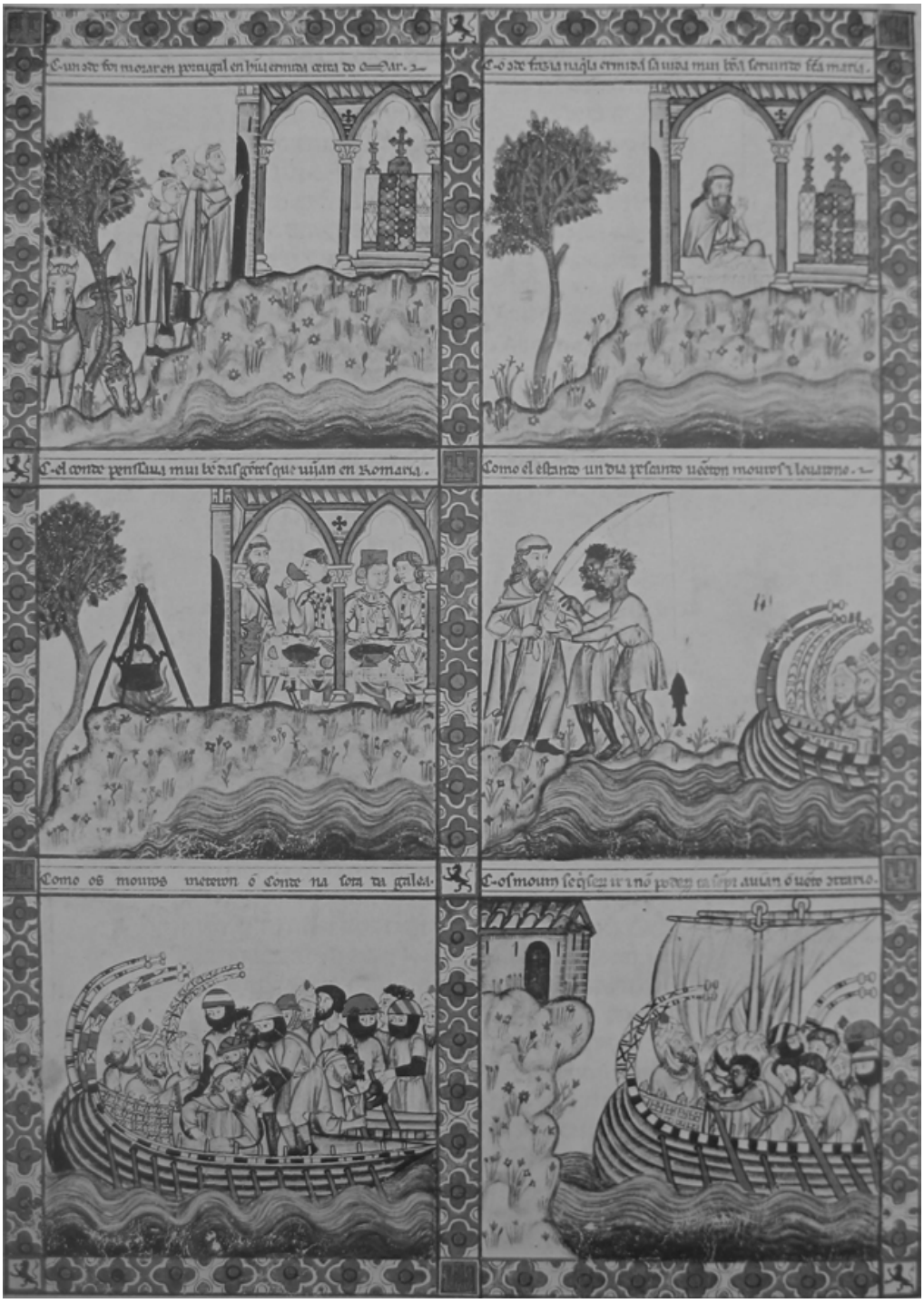


Fig. 2: *Cantiga 95*, page 1, ms. Escorial T.I.1

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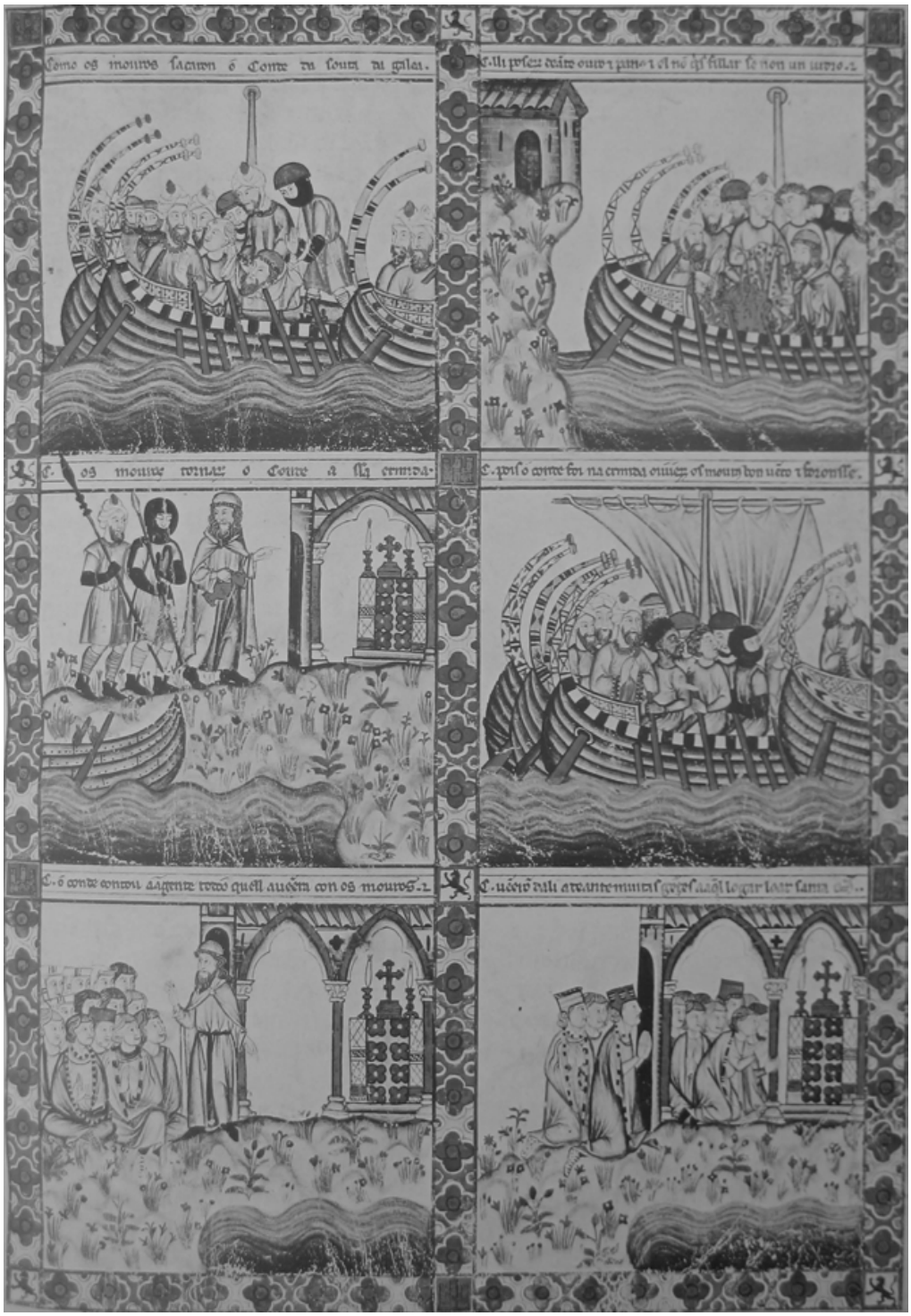


Fig. 2a: *Cantiga 95*, page 2, ms. Escorial T.I.1

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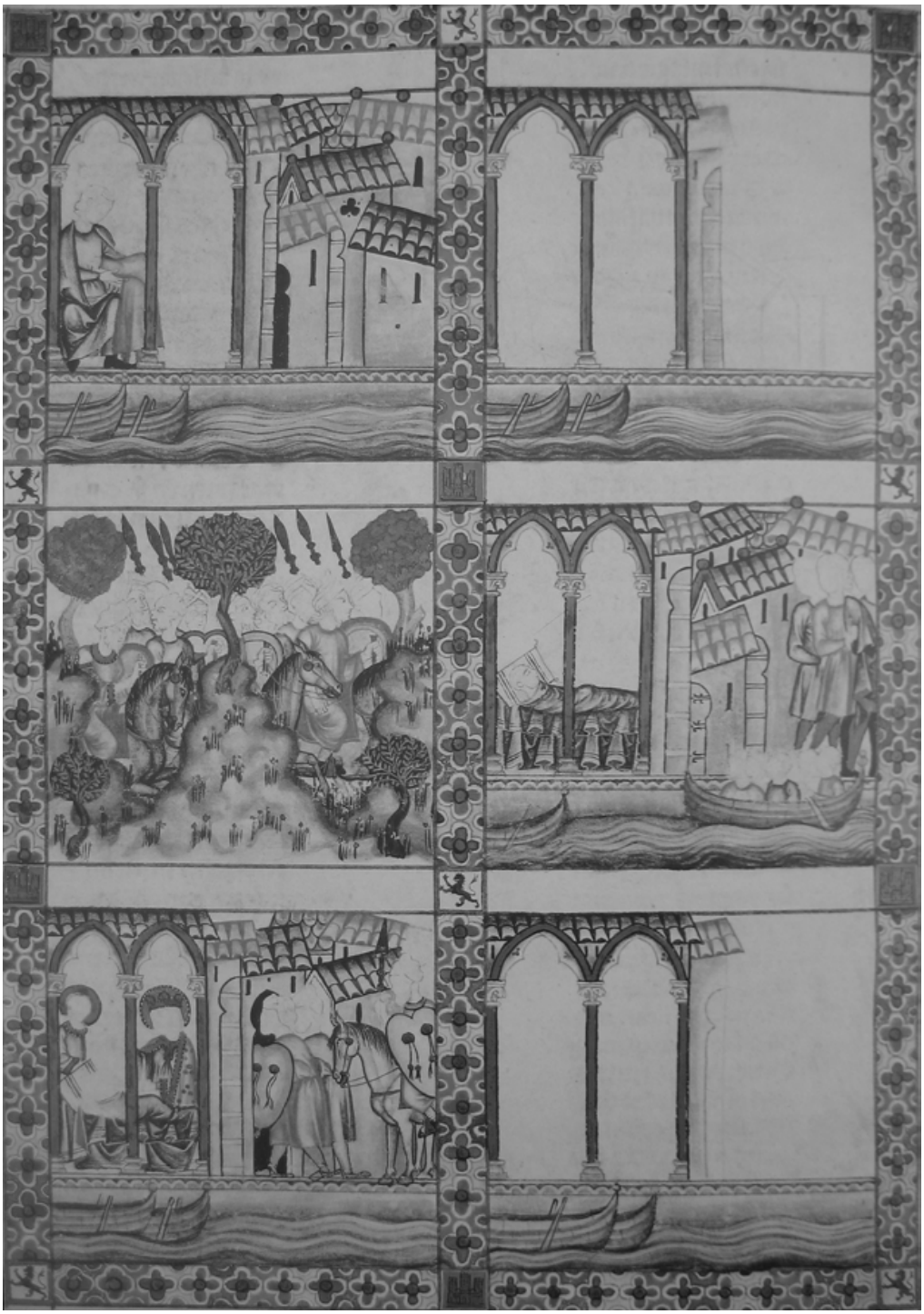


Fig. 3: *Cantiga 323*, Florence ms. folio 30v

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Chapter 13

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The Reorientation of Roger Bacon: Muslims, Mongols, and the Man Who Knew Everything

"Allow them to live if you can change their atmosphere; if not then kill them."[1]
Roger Bacon, *Opus Maius*

The relationship between Western Europe and the East in the thirteenth-century was one defined by great promise and terrible peril. The rich intellectual fruits of Islamic civilization, particularly in the sciences, had become widely available to Western Europeans following the Latin Christian conquest of Islamic states in Spain and Sicily. These sources had already done much of the heavy-lifting needed to reconcile the Greek sciences with the belief in one God. Latin translations of Arabic texts flooded the Western intellectual scene in the twelfth-century and, by the time these waters receded, Latin Christendom had a new, much more sophisticated and dynamic view of natural philosophy and the sciences as well as a new institution in which to teach them: the university.

Opportunities also emerged for furthering Latin Christendom's evangelical impulses, on an entirely new scale, as missionaries learned much more about distant non-Christian populations and were gaining more access to them. Potential targets for conversion were no longer just Jews and Eastern European Slavs. Latin Christendom now had subject Muslim populations in the western, central, and eastern Mediterranean that were readily available for attempted conversion. For

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1 "Si potes alterare aerem ipsorum, permitte eos vivere; si non, interdice eos." Roger Bacon, *The Opus Maius of Roger Bacon: Edited, with Introduction and Analytical Table*, ed. John Henry Bridges (1897–1900; Frankfurt a. M.: Minerva, 1964), 216.

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particularly enterprising missionaries, Latin Christendom was now even coming into contact with Buddhists in Inner Asia, at the eastern-most fringe of the world as they knew it.

Peril and danger, however, were also part of this new East-West package. The Arabic translations that offered so much to Western Europe also contained potential threats to the spiritual core of Christian intellectuals. What were the implications of using "infidel" sources in understanding not only God's created world but in studying subjects such as what was the "soul" itself? What about the wide array of astrological works, books of secrets, and magical texts that were integral parts of this Eastern tradition? Astrological knowledge in particular was one of the greatest motives and driving forces behind much of the translation activity. The Latin Christian assimilation of these works was not a quiet and peaceful one. Other, quite different threats from the East were also readily apparent to Western Europeans. The military situation in particular was gloomy. Despite the previous successes against Islamic states in Spain and Sicily, action in the "Eastern Theater" was going badly. The Fifth Crusade, possibly the most "successful failure" in medieval military history, produced no tangible gains. Frederick II's negotiated recovery of Jerusalem in 1229 ended abruptly, in less than two decades, at the hands of Egypt in 1244 and "those in the know" surely realized that Jerusalem could not be held at any rate. Louis IX's attempt to remedy this situation ended in utter failure at Damietta, despite the great lengths he went to in preparing for the venture. For some, defeat at the hands of Muslims was partially muted by a potentially even greater threat appearing on the horizon: the Mongols.

The Mongol onslaught was virtually a "hemispheric" phenomenon. The rapidity of their conquests had no parallel since the days of the early Islamic conquests and would have no rival until the Third Reich's *blitzkrieg*. Without delving into their conquests in the Far East, the first half of the thirteenth-century witnessed wide destruction in Eastern Europe at their hands. The second half of the thirteenth century opened with the Mongol destruction of Baghdad, the execution of the last Abbasid Caliph, and the conquest of the Islamic Middle East with the exception of North Africa and the Levant. For some, there was an even greater threat whose long shadow was inextricably tied to the East: Antichrist.

The thirteenth-century was a time punctuated by major bouts of apocalyptic fervor, most of which, in one way or another, were tied to the East as the land of Gog and Magog, the monstrous, savage nations that would assault Christendom from the East as Antichrist revealed himself and welcomed them. Events in the East, for some, foreshadowed the end of the world.

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Roger Bacon—polymath, advocate of reform, and eventual prophet of doom—provides us with an excellent window through which to peer into this vast landscape of promise and peril. The purpose of this paper is to provide readers with a description of Bacon's understanding of the benefits and dangers provided by these contacts with the East and what such contacts meant to him. Both the promises and the perils of the East are evident in Bacon's life and thought in a way that has few rivals. As a natural philosopher, what we today would call a scientist, Bacon viewed almost everything in terms of physical causation even though such causes were merely the chosen mechanisms by which God made the world function. The great irony, as we shall see, is that Bacon drew primarily on Eastern sources in developing his strategy for dealing with and defeating the East.

Professor at the University of Paris: Roger Bacon to 1247

Roger Bacon was born into a wealthy family in the Somerset region of England, possibly Ilchester, around 1214 or 1220.[2] Scholarly tradition has associated him with an Oxford based education but a recent study casts great doubt on this and convincingly places his university education at the University of Paris.[3] Bacon was a professor in the Arts Faculty at the University of Paris from approximately 1240 to 1247 when he resigned his position, became an independent scholar, and began an intensive program of self study in what he considered the "neglected" sciences. Ten years later, in 1257, he joined the Franciscan Order. Nearly ten years after that

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2 The debate on Bacon's date of birth revolved around what he meant by first learning the "alphabet" and being *in studio*. Did these remarks refer to his earliest education or the beginning of university training? Scholars are divided in opinion hence the six year margin of error regarding his birth year. Readers wanting to learn more about Bacon's life, career, and works should begin with *Roger Bacon and the Sciences: Commemorative Essays*, ed. Jeremiah Hackett. Studien und Texte zur Geistesgeschichte des Mittelalters (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 1997); Stuart C. Easton, *Roger Bacon and His Search for a Universal Science: A Reconsideration of the Life and Work of Roger Bacon in the Light of His Own Stated Purposes* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1952), still remains absolutely essential reading. See also Theodore Crowley, *Roger Bacon: The Problem of the Soul in his Philosophical Commentaries* (Louvain: Editions de L'Institut Superieur de Philosophie, 1950); Franco Alessio, *Mito e scienza in Ruggero Bacone* (Milan: Casa Editrice Ceschina, 1957); A. C. Crombie and John North, "Roger Bacon," *The Dictionary of Scientific Biography I,* ed. Charles Coulston Gillispie (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1970), 377–85; for a recent online article covering both Bacon's biography and writings, see Albrecht Classen, "Roger Bacon," *Literary Encyclopedia* (2004) at: http://www.litencyc.com/php/speople.php?rec=true&UID=210 (last accessed on March 16, 2013). Amanda Power has a forthcoming work on Bacon that I have not yet been able to consult. Amanda Power, *Roger Bacon and the Defence of Christendom* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013).

3 Steven J. Williams, "Roger Bacon in Context: Empiricism in the High Middle Ages," *Micrologus* 40 (2009): 123–44.

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he sent his most famous works, the papal opera, to Pope Clement IV, offering the pontiff a sweeping program of reform to cure Christendom of its potentially fatal ills.[4] Clement IV died too soon to give a response much less have an opportunity to act. The rest of Bacon's career seems to have been a fairly troubled one. It is likely that he was censured by his order and possibly confined. He continued as best he could to promote his agenda through his writings until he died around 1292. The great monumental work that he had planned to produce for years, his projected *scriptum principale*, was never written.

Bacon's debut in the intellectual history of Western Europe was as one of the earliest masters at the University of Paris to give public lectures on the Aristotelian corpus after the lifting of the ban in 1237. As a *magister regens* at Paris for the bulk of the 1240s he was part of the original community of scholars engaged in the pedagogical digestion of the "new" and "Arabized" Aristotle that began arriving in Christendom during the translation movement of the previous century. This was a period of intense exploration and experimentation with Aristotle and the "Arab" guides such as Avicenna[5] and Averroes.[6] It was an exciting time and place

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4 Readers should be aware that, despite well over a century and a half of effort, proper editing of Bacon's works is still in a state of disarray. Even Bacon's most well known and well analyzed works, the papal opera, have no true critical editions that would pass muster with current expectations for scholarship. The *Opus Maius*, Bacon's best known, most cited, and most important work still needs a new complete critical edition. Current scholarship is focusing on bringing Bacon's less known works to broader scholarly attention and is producing wonderful results through critical editions.

5 Ibn Sina (ca. 980–1037). Avicenna was Persian, originally from Bukhara in modern Uzbekistan. A true polymath who was probably the greatest intellectual of his era, in many ways he set much of the philosophical agenda for centuries to follow. A Neoplatonic-Aristotelian, his works had profound influence throughout the Islamic world as well as Western Europe. For excellent overviews of Avicenna, see Robert Wisnovsky, "Avicenna and the Avicennan Tradition," *The Cambridge Companion to Arabic Philosophy*. Cambridge Companions to Philosophy. ed. Peter Adamson and Richard C. Taylor (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 92–136, and Jon McGinnis, *Avicenna*.Great Medieval Thinkers (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010).

6 Ibn Rushd (ca. 1126–1198). Averroes was an Arab Andalusian philosopher as well as the Grand Qadi of Córdoba. Although his works had virtually no impact on the philosophy of the Islamic world they had immense influence in Latin Christendom where he became know as the "Commentator" regarding Aristotle. The often heterodox nature of his work, despite his position as Grand Qadi, exploded twice at the University of Paris in the thirteenth century as the "radical Aristotelian" or "radical Averroist" movements, that latter of which played a major role in the eventual "Condemnations of 1277." For a short yet thorough overview of his thought, see "Averroes: Religious Dialectic and Aristotelian Philosophical Thought," *The Cambridge Companion of Arabic Philosophy*. Cambridge Companions to Philosophy. ed. Peter Adamson and Richard C. Taylor (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 180–200. For more detailed introductions, see Roger Arnaldez, *Averroes: A Rationalist in Islam*, trans. David Streight (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2000) and Majid Fakhry, *Averroes: His Life, Works, and Influence*. Great Islamic Thinkers (Oxford: One World, 2001). For Bacon, Averroes, and the Condemnations see Jeremiah

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in the intellectual history of Western Europe, with the masters busying themselves in hammering out places in the curriculum for Aristotelian and Arabic thought long before the eventual triumph of Thomism.

As a Parisian professor Bacon's work had much in common with that of his colleagues; he seems rather conventional but he could also be quite innovative. He lectured on grammar and logic but was also a relatively early adopter in the teaching of the Aristotelian *libri naturalis* (e.g., *Physics*, *Metaphysics*, *On the Heavens*, *Generation and Corruption*, *On the Soul*, *Sense and Sensation*, *Memory*, *On Animals*) and he made very sound use of Robert Grosseteste's treatment of Aristotle's *Posterior Analytics*. Bacon's works from this period are currently the least studied but recent treatments of them seem promising for his intellectual reputation at this stage in his life.[7]

The new, much clearer picture emerging of "young" Bacon the professor reveals a very competent and rigorous scholar both in the classroom and on the written page. In the 1240s we find him to be a talented logician and grammarian with a passion for a demonstrative means of verifying truth. During these years, among other projects, he was already trying to work out the mechanics for unifying logical and experiential modes of reasoning, an intellectual puzzle posed in antiquity but expanded upon considerably by the Arabic commentators. He was engaged in other interesting pursuits, the most interesting possibly being his application of Alhacen[8] and the science of *perspectiva* to Grosseteste's edition of the

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Hackett, "Roger Bacon, Aristotle, and the Parisian Condemnations of 1270, 1277," *Vivarium* 35.2 (1997): 283–314.

7 For example, see Roger Bacon, *The Art and Science of Logic: A Translation of the* summulae dialectices *with Notes and Introduction*, ed. and trans. Thomas S. Maloney. Mediaeval Sources in Translation, 47(Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies, 2009), and Jeremiah Hackett, "Roger Bacon and the Reception of Aristotle in the Thirteenth Century: An Introduction to his Criticism of Averroes," *Albertus Magnus und die Anfänge der Aristoteles-Rezeption im lateinischen Mittelalter: von Richardus Rufus bis zu Franciscus de Mayronis*, ed. Ludger Honnefelder. Subsidia Albertina, 1 (Münster: Aschendorff Verlag, 2005), 219–48.

8 Ibn al-Haytham (965–1040). Also Alhazen. An astronomer, mathematician, and natural philosopher, Alhacen is most important in the history of science for his extremely sophisticated work in optics. His optical theories, in addition to having profound influence on Bacon, essentially set the theoretical and research agenda in the field for the next several centuries. Alhacen's optical work utilized experimentation and mathematical descriptions of physical phenomena. In addition to influencing Bacon's thought on the use of parabolic mirrors and his theory of species multiplication, Alhacen's optics also provided him with a model for establishing demonstrative truths. See A. I. Sabra, "Ibn al-Haytham," *The Dictionary of Scientific Biography*, vol. 6, ed. Charles Coulston Gillispie (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1970), 189–210; David C. Lindberg, *Theories of Vision from al-Kindi to Kepler* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1976); David C. Lindberg, "Roger Bacon on Light, Vision, and the Universal Emanation of Force," *Roger Bacon and the Sciences: Commemorative Essays*, ed. Jeremiah Hackett (see note 2), 243–75.

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Posterior Analytics and pedagogical exercises such as five thought experiments regarding the possibility of a vacuum in the natural world (something as impossible in the Aristotelian world as telekinesis is in our own). Bacon busied himself a great deal with attempts at synthesis, trying as he did to bring as much harmony as he could to the discordant voices of his sources. Through such efforts at building epistemological bridges he even convinced himself that Aristotle believed in a created rather than eternal world.[9]

The two most viable models available for studying Aristotle at the time were those of Avicenna and Averroes. Bacon became a life-long devotee of Avicenna, and his influence on Bacon can scarcely be exaggerated. Much more cautious and far less enthusiastic was Bacon's approach to Averroes. In general, Bacon found Averroes very useful at times but potentially dangerous. With the proper discretion, however, he could be used with profit. Like many of his colleagues, Bacon cited Averroes when it suited his purposes and often ignored those passages in which he proved outrageously heterodox. Averroes was widely influential in the Christian West in the thirteenth-century but had virtually no impact on philosophy in the Islamic world. While he became almost completely forgotten in Arabic speaking intellectual circles, he was dubbed "The Commentator" in Europe due to his usefulness in explicating Aristotelian doctrine. Bacon, however, recognized the threat Averroes posed to Christian thought much earlier than most Christian intellectuals. Already in the 1240s Bacon stopped ignoring and decided to tackle Averroist dangers such as the eternity of the world and the very pernicious doctrine on the unity of the intellect.

Interestingly, among Bacon's arguments in refuting Averroes was that he contradicted Avicenna and, since Avicenna was the greatest of all philosophers since Aristotle, Averroes must be wrong. Bacon's refutation of Averroist propositions in the 1240s addressed the very issues that would explode most loudly in the 1260s and 1270s, and he did so, as Jeremiah Hackett has pointed out, decades before Aquinas wrote his *De unitate intellectus contra Averroistas* (ca. 1270) and took the credit for crushing Averroist error.[10]

Then, in 1247, Roger Bacon resigned from his position as *magister regens* in the Arts Faculty at the University of Paris and went down a very different research path. When we hear from him again, twenty years later, we find a Roger Bacon cut from

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9 Jeremiah Hackett, "Roger Bacon and the Reception of Aristotle in the Thirteenth Century: An Introduction to his Criticism of Averroes," *Albertus Magnus und die Anfänge der Aristoteles-Rezeption im lateinischen Mittelalter* (see note 7), 219–48.

10 Jeremiah Hackett, "Roger Bacon and the Reception of Aristotle in the Thirteenth Century" (see note 7), 243.

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very different cloth. The new Bacon was no longer a conventional university schoolman but a ferocious, at times even rabid, critic of the university and mendicant educational systems and the condition of Christendom in general. He had come to believe that the texts he had spent years studying and teaching at Paris were merely preparatory works for achieving a much higher and more powerful scientific vision. Through his most famous works, the *Opus Majus*, and the *Opus Minus* and *Opus Tertium* (frequently referred to collectively as the papal *opera*), Bacon proposed to Pope Clement IV a radical program for reforming and transforming Christian society. Usually lurking somewhere in the background of Bacon's new works was the shadowy figure of Antichrist whose imminent arrival was certain. Much of Bacon's reform program was ultimately designed to prepare Christendom to face this apocalyptic onslaught.

The Reorientation: 1247–1267

Bacon described the period between 1247 (when he resigned from the University of Paris) and 1267 (when he sent the papal opera to Clement IV) as his "twenty years of labor." Bacon, surprisingly, tells us a great deal about the first decade of his "labors." Drawing no doubt from his family's considerable financial resources, he spent these years as an independent scholar studying the paths of "wisdom that were neglected by common scholars." He purchased secret books, instruments and tables, and he hired tutors to instruct him in languages (probably Greek and Hebrew) and he studied mathematics. He "sought the friendship of the wise" and "conducted various experiments."[11] Where Bacon was during these years is impossible to determine with certainty; he had the resources to shuttle himself across the channel at will. We know that he spent some of this time in his native England and we know that he was certainly in Paris 1251–1252. After ten years of such study he joined the Franciscan order around 1257. What we know about his first decade as a Franciscan, beyond what one can reasonably infer from the life of

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11 "'Nam per viginti annos quibus specialiter laboravi in studio sapinetiae, neglecto sensu vulgi, plus quam duo millia librarum ego posui in his, propter libros secretos, et experientias varias, et linguas, et instrumenta, et tabulas, et alia; tum ad quaerendum amicitias sapientum, tum propter instruendos adjutores in linguis, in figuris, in numeris, et tabulis, et instrumentis, et multis aliis'" (For twenty years I have labored in studying the type of wisdom that has been neglected by the common throng of scholars. I spent more than 2,000 pounds in acquiring secret books, conducting various experiments, learning languages, and purchasing instruments, tables, and other such things, and in seeking out the friendship of the wise, hiring tutors in languages, figures, numbers, and tables and instruments and many other things), Roger Bacon, *Opus Tertium* (*Fr. Rogeri Bacon: Opera quaedam hactenus inedita*), ed. J. S. Brewer (London: Rolls Series, 1859), 59.

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a mendicant, offers much fodder for speculation but provides little evidence for firm assertions.

He seems to have gotten himself into some sort of trouble within his Order already, trouble which possibly led to censure and disciplinary action. What were the causes for his trouble? It is impossible to say. There is a rich menu of possibilities as the academic world of Paris was in such a state of upheaval and political strife during Bacon's first decade as a Friar. Bacon had Joachite leanings and he could have suffered from the continuing blowback created by Gerard of Borgo San Donnino's *Introductorius ad Evangelium Aeternum*. Bacon was a ferocious critic of particular Franciscan and Dominican intellectuals and, during the explosive William of St. Amour Affair, in which the secular masters viciously attacked the mendicants, silencing Bacon might have been a prudent course of action (the conflict not only involved the papacy but reached such a frenzied point that it resulted in outbreaks of physical violence). Bacon may have crossed paths with his Minister General Bonaventura, who would have been no friend regarding Bacon's approach to the sciences. Or the answer might be as simple as the one Easton suggested long ago: Bacon had such a rough and difficult personality that he could have been censured on the basis of that alone.[12]

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[12] Bacon entered the Franciscan Order between two ferocious apocalyptic controversies that exploded with great force at Paris and sent shock waves all the way to the papal curia. In 1254 the Franciscan Gerard of Borgo San Donnino revealed his outrageously heterodoxical *Introductorius ad Evangelium Aeternum* which held that the Old and New Testaments were rendered obsolete in the age of the Third Status which Joachim had prophesied. Gerard's work was condemned by the Anagni Commission in 1255 and Gerard was sentences to life in confinement in 1257. The axe fell among other Franciscans at the Chapter of Narbonne in 1260 but the controversy continued and Joachim's concept of a three-status doctrine was condemned at the Council of Arles in 1263. Although Bacon certainly was not sympathetic to Gerard's ravings he was very much partisan to Joachim's conception of three states so could have easily been hit by the blowback. Among the repercussions of the fiasco was the forced resignation of John of Parma as Minister General of the Franciscans and his replacement with Bonaventura, whose views would not dispose him well to Bacon, astrology in particular, which Bonventura saw as a first step on the slippery slope that would ultimately lead to necromancy (significantly it did for Bacon in a sense). The secular masters, resentful at the academic inroads being made by the mendicants, were quick to pounce on Gerard's work and use it as a cudgel to beat back mendicant gains. The high water mark was when William of St. Amour, the main secular representative, published his circular letter *De periculis novissimorum temporum* in which William identified the mendicants themselves (without specifically naming them) as the false prophets of prophecy. The mendicants circled the wagons in defense, prohibiting any brothers from publishing without the consent of their superior and from criticizing one another. In the end, the mendicants won the battle and William was exiled from Paris. But it created and would continue a difficult environment for Bacon. For more on the controversies see Penn R. Szittya, *The Antifraternal Tradition in Medieval Literature* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1986) and Marjorie Reeves, *The Influence of Prophecy in the Latter Middle Ages* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1969). For Easton's view that Bacon was simply a trouble-maker whose personality alone could have made him a target for censure, see Stuart C. Easton, *Roger Bacon and His Search for a Universal Science* (see note 2), 192–205.

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What triggered this drastic reorientation? Although it is impossible to say with certainty, a strong case can be made for it being related to his encounter with the Arabic Pseudo-Aristotleian *Secret of Secrets* (*Secretum Secretorum*).[13] This little gem purported to be a letter from Aristotle to Alexander the Great in which the master conveyed to his student the greatest and most powerful secrets of nature to use in his campaigns. Because the secrets were so powerful and could easily be used for sinister purposes if they fell into the wrong hands, "Aristotle" wrote it in enigmatic ciphers that could only be properly understood through the application of prior knowledge that Alexander had from his previous studies with Philosopher. It was a riddle that Bacon would spend years trying to solve, painstakingly reconstructing the context through reading a multitude of scientific and even magical texts as well as conducting "experiments." The answer was his "universal science," that is, the model of universal natural causation that became the core of his future works. In the papal opera Bacon cast himself as a new Aristotle who would work for a Papal-Alexander through Clement IV. Later, in his edition of the *Secretum*, he seems to have been offering a similar service to Henry III.[14]

The Pseudo-Aristotelian *Secret of Secrets* has long been seen as a text that exerted tremendous influence on Roger Bacon. He referenced it relentlessly from the 1260s on and constantly lavished it with all the superlatives he could muster regarding its importance. Through it Aristotle "delivered the world" to Alexander. Bacon even created his own edition of it, complete with introduction and glosses, something that he did for no other text. Stuart Easton, who over half a century ago wrote the closest that we have to a biography of Bacon, attributed the intellectual transformation primarily to this text. The *Secretum*, according to Easton,

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13 *Sirr al-Asrar* (*Secretum Secretorum*). Currently the best study on the development and reception of the text in Latin Christendom is Steven J. Williams, *The Secret of Secrets: The Scholarly Career of a Pseudo-Aristotelian Text in the Latin Middle Ages* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2003). See also Steven J. Williams, "The Pseudo-Aristotelian Secret of Secrets as a Didactic Text," *What Nature Does Not Teach: Didactic Literature in the Medieval and Early Modern Periods*, ed. Juanita Feros Ruys (Turnhout: Brepols, 2008), 41–57; Pseudo-Aristotle, *The "Secret of Secrets": Sources and Influences*, ed. W. F. Ryan and Charles B. Schmitt. Warburg Institute Surveys 9 (London: Warburg Institute, 1982); Mahmoud Manzalaoui, *Secretum secretorum: Nine English Versions* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1977. For the *Secretum* in the wider contexts of the Mirrors for Princes genre, see Linda T. Darling, "Mirrors for Princes in Europe and the Middle East: A Case of Historiographical Incommensurability" in this volume. For Bacon's own edition of the text, with his introduction and gloss, see Roger Bacon, *Secretum Secretorum Cum Glossis et Notulis* (*Opera hactenus inedita Rogeri Baconi*, V), ed. Robert Steele (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1920).

14 Steven J. Williams, "Roger Bacon and His Edition of the Pseudo-Aristotelian *Secretum Secretorum*," *Speculum* 69 (1994): 57–73. See in particular: 66–67. This article should be read in addition to Steven J. Williams, *The Secret of Secrets* (see note 13).

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"awakened [Bacon's] dormant sense of wonder"; his experience with the text was life transforming and comparable that of Augustine when he heard a child's voice coming from the garden or that of Rousseau when he heard about an essay contest.[15] Franco Alessio generally agreed, believing that the *Secretum* provided Bacon with a virtual research agenda or syllabus for study.[16] Steven Williams, one of the most accomplished scholars regarding the *Secretum* and Bacon's relationship to it, has been more cautious. In his view the *Secretum* was a very important text for Bacon but he remains skeptical that any one text in particular had such a life changing effect on Bacon.[17]

Pseudo-Aristotle's *Secretum* had no author in a conventional sense. A fruitful if metaphorical way to look at its textual history is as a medieval equivalent to a modern "wiki" page. Wiki software permits a grand collaborative effort to take place in the creation and modification of a web page with contributors, often anonymous, editing, adding, modifying, and commenting on the page as they see fit. The result is s hyper-author, who is no author at all but a grand aggregate montage. The *Secretum* was a forgery of a forgery. Its original "page" began during the Hellenistic/Roman period as Aristotelian crib sheets which, over centuries, had aphorism and witticisms added to it. It became infused with Neoplatonic/Pythagorean mysticism and was translated into Arabic in the ninth-century. By the time it reached Bacon it was a *Mirror for Princes* fused with astrology, astral magic, and alchemical lore. It had three introductions: one anonymous, another allegedly by Aristotle himself, and a third claiming to be by the famous Baghddad translator-scholar Yahya ibn al-Birtiq.[18] Bacon became a participant in this centuries-long process as he attempted to decipher its riddles.

When did Bacon first encounter the *Secretum*? Bacon does not seem to have been aware of the text during his career as a professor for he never mentioned it in his works. The *Secretum* never had an impact on the university curriculum so its light footprints there are had to track. It arrived as a minor crest in the wave of Greco-

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15 Stuart C. Easton, *Roger Bacon and His Search for a Universal Science: A Reconsideration of the Life and Work of Roger Bacon in the Light of His Own Stated Purposes* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1952), 86.

16 Franco Alessio, *Mito e scienza in Ruggero Bacone* (Milan: Casa Editrice Ceschina, 1957), 80–82.

17 ". . . we could safely say that the *Secretum* confirmed and reinforced ideas that Bacon already had; perhaps it even had some part in the formulation of those ideas. But given the evidence available to us, we cannot say more." Steven J. Williams, "Roger Bacon and His Edition of the Pseudo-Aristotelian *Secretum Secretorum*" (see note 14), 70.

18 For an exceptionally clear account of the very confusing textual history of the *Secretum*, see Steven J. Williams, *The Secret of Secrets: The Scholarly Career of a Pseudo-Aristotelian Text in the Latin Middle Ages* (see note 13), 7–30.

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Arabic works that poured into Christendom in the twelfth- and first half of the thirteenth-century. The majority of schoolmen interested in the Greco-Arabic tradition saw it as a minor work with little if any relevance to their curriculum. The stigma of sorcery may have been a concern for many; even in the 1260s Bacon claimed that many good scholars were afraid of being associated with the text due to the risk of being labeled as magicians. Books of secrets and magic, however, were great underground successes in the university subculture of Paris even though they were not registering in the content of lectures and commentaries. The *Secretum* became a wildly popular text but not in the classroom.

Albertus Magnus and Roger Bacon were the two scholars who made the most significant use, though in very different ways, of the *Secretum* in their writings. Both were resident in Paris in the 1240s yet neither mentioned the *Secretum* throughout that decade. Richard of Fournival had a copy of the *Secretum* in his library at Paris at least by 1250 and Bacon probably had access to his collection. Albertus Magnus seems to have encountered the text by 1248; in that year he transferred to Cologne and shortly thereafter, in 1250, was already mentioning the *Secretum* in his new lectures. Copies of the *Secretum* could probably be found with the Dominicans at St. Jacques and with the Franciscans at Les Cordeliers in Paris around 1250. We have no writings from Bacon during this time but, based upon a reference in his gloss on the *Secretum*, it is certain that he was familiar with the text before 1252 at the very latest.[19] All things considered, Bacon probably encountered the text around the same time as Albert, roughly the time that Bacon resigned from the Arts Faculty and began his twenty years of labor. This is not conclusive evidence that the *Secretum* played an important role in Bacon's new research venture but the timing is highly suggestive.

Bacon and Muslim Philosophers: The Servants of Hiram and the History of Knowledge

Roger Bacon's view of Muslims was not a simple binary one. Like most people in his society he divided the world into the saved and the damned but he also divided it in terms of true philosophers and the common throng (the ubiquitous *vulgus*). These four variables (Christian, non-Christian, wise, and ignorant) combined are the crucial metric for properly evaluating Bacon's view on Muslims, just as they are for assessing his views on the pagan Greco-Roman philosophers. True philosophers were Christian-like, even if they lived before Christ or beyond

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[19] Steven J. Williams, *The Secret of Secrets* (see note 13), 207.

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Christendom's borders. Indeed, Bacon went so far as to say that Christians "beyond comparison are less perfect morally speaking than infidel philosophers."[20] True philosophers, pagan or Muslim, must be within the general realm of Christian truth because true philosophy was an expression of it—and "philosophy was very much a part of them."[21] The most extreme example of this was Bacon's virtual postmortem baptism of non-Christian philosophers. Aristotle, for example, knew Hebrew, read the Old Testament, accepted the authority of Isaiah, and believed in the Trinity (though he did not refer to it as Father, Son, and Holy Spirit).[22] Plato's tomb contained his written statement that he believed in the Christ that would be born of a virgin and Avicenna believed in the Holy Spirit.[23] True Muslim philosophers were only Muslim in name and they disagreed, particularly Avicenna, with the views of their priests and general population. Their focus on the spirit rather than just the body made this clear.[24] All true knowledge was a product of divine illumination and revelation. If one possessed

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20 "Mirum enim est de nobis Christianis, qui sine comparatione sumus imperfectiores in moribus quam philosophi infidels"([It is quite clear that beyond comparison we Christians are less perfect in behavior than non-Christian philosophers), Roger Bacon, *Opus Tertium* (see note 11), 50–51.

21 Roger Bacon, *Opus Maius* (see note 1), 373.

22 For example, consider Bacon's fancy footwork in making Aristotle a Trinitarian Christian: "Pater est principium, Filius est medium, Spiritus Santus finis. Set licet hec tria nomina—Pater, Filius, et Spiritus Sanctus—non expressit hic. . .credidit beatam Trinitatem" (The Father is the beginning, the Son is the Middle, the Holy Spirit is the end. So we have here the three names—Father, Son, and Holy Spirit—although he did not say it this way . . . he believed in the Holy Trinity,) Roger Bacon, *Secretum Secretorum* (see note 13), 37; and "Unde non est mirum quod hic accepit auctoritatem Ysaie et alibi in hoc libro, et in morali philosophia accepit documenta Salomonis et aliorum" (And it comes as no surprise that he accepted the authority of Isaiah and other prophets in this book and in his moral philosophy he accepted the teachings of Solomon and others), Roger Bacon, *Secretum Secretorum* (see note 13), 56.

23 ". . . dicit expositor quod in tumba Platonis aureis literis quaedam scriptura inventa est super pectus ejus continens haec verba, Credo in Christum nasciturm de virgine, passurum pro humano genere et tertia die resurrectum" (. . . the expositor [Ethicus] said that in Plato's tomb there was found a writing, in golden letters, on his chest saying these words: "I believe in the Christ who will be born to a virgin, will suffer for humanity, and will rise on the third day"), Roger Bacon, *Opus Maius* (see note 1), 233.; "Et Avicenna praecipuus Aristotelis expositor ponit Spiritum Sanctum in radicibus moralis philosophiae" (And Avicenna, the main expositor on Aristotle, posits the existence of the Holy Spirit in his principles of moral philosophy), Roger Bacon, *Opus Maius* (see note 1), 231.

24 "Similiter Saraceni: nam Avicenna, et philosophi caeteri contradicunt plebi et sacerdotibus. Ostendunt enim quod non solum est gloria corporum, sed propria et major animarum . . . ." (Likewise with Muslims: Avicenna and other philosophers contradict both their general population and their priests. They show that one should not focus on the body alone but focus more on the glorification of the spirit), *Opus Maius* (see note 1), 383.

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it then God had given it. It was not for humans to judge or even understand God's decisions in this regard. God gives knowledge to those he wishes.[25]

Bacon offered a very detailed account of the history of knowledge which serves as the crucial backdrop for understanding his view of Islam. At least a thumbnail sketch is necessary. Predictably, it began with Adam and Eve. While in Eden, Adam and Eve had no need for philosophy and science. Technically they were mortal but the fruit of the Tree of Life contained a substance which, so long as it was consumed, created a perfect equality of humors that prevented aging and death like the alchemical elixir. The wise have been trying to achieve its effects since.[26] Expulsion meant the end of access to the substance but began a long series of illuminations that revealed sciences to humanity. Medicine was the first science revealed; it extended the lives of Adam's sons, Seth in particular, so they could continue receiving revelations such as geometry and astronomy.[27] Accumulated knowledge of these sciences survived the flood through Noah but then experienced a bifurcation into science and magic through Noah's sons Shem and Ham. Shem, the morally upright son, continued to use the antediluvian scientific tradition for its correct purposes: to know and love God. He taught revealed geometry, mathematics, and astronomy to the Chaldeans. Ham, under his alias Zoroaster, twisted the antediluvian tradition to serve his own ends and became the first sorcerer.[28]

Ham used the knowledge to set himself up as a false god to be worshipped and began a line of similarly minded sorcerers who did likewise. Meanwhile in Shem's line Abraham, astrologer par excellence who used but did not abuse the sciences, established himself in Egypt as a teacher of moral and physical sciences. Abraham's teachings remained oral until the Egyptians acquired writing (introduced to them by Isis!). Moses became well versed in the Egyptian sciences (e.g., antediluvian via Abraham) and used its astrological powers to perform miracles and achieve freedom for the Hebrews. Miracles, for Bacon, sprang ultimately from God but also drew upon secondary causes in the natural world. Ancient prophets and wise men who knew the secrets of this science could force matter to obey their minds, something that Avicenna specifically said was possible and the *Secretum* alluded to. The Ham-Zoroaster line continued to flourish through his grandson Nimrod and the secrets were abused by a line of practitioners that

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25 "Placuit autem Deo dare sapientiam cui voluit; nam omnis sapientia a Domino Deo est" (It is God's choice to give wisdom to those whom he wishes and it should be remembered that all wisdom comes from the Lord God), Roger Bacon, *Opus Tertium* (see note 11), 32.

26 Roger Bacon, *Opus Maius* (see note 1), 212.

27 Roger Bacon, *Opus Maius* (see note 1), 65; Roger Bacon, *Secretum Secretorum* (see note 13), 62.

28 Roger Bacon, *Opus Maius* (see note 1), 46.

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set themselves up as false gods: Atlas, Prometheus, Mercury Trisemegistus, Apollo, Minerva. God responded by retracting antediluvian science and eventually full knowledge of it deteriorated.[29]

Solomon's reign was a crucial turning point in Bacon's history of knowledge. Both in a real and metaphorical sense it offered the paradigm for how Christian and non-Christian philosophers worked together for Christian ends. Solomon recreated the tradition and knew more about the sciences than any of his predecessors or anyone who followed him. He left nothing in the natural world unexamined and wrote 4,005 treatises on the subject. The construction of the Temple was a metaphorical description of the construction or reconstruction of true knowledge for Bacon. Solomon and his servants signified Christ and Christians. Hiram and his servants signified non-Christian philosophers and wise men. Together they built the Temple. "This is the Church," Bacon tells us, built "not only by apostolic wisdom but the wisdom of philosophers as well."[30] The Temple was built under the direction of Solomon but "infidels" provided the labor and materials. Later Solomon's knowledge was lost and corrupted and its enigmatic references were hijacked by evil men who mingled it with magic at the instigation of demons. But it would in the end be fully reconstructed by the wise who knew how to separate the grain from the husk and, possibly more revealing, the cure from the serpent.[31]

The rest of Bacon's history of knowledge is based on his conception of "reconstructions" of the lost scientific tradition. These reconstructions are arranged according to the languages in which they took place. The first was in Hebrew, the original language the sciences were revealed in, and it was only in Hebrew that they were ever complete. This was not so much a "reconstruction" as the original structure which, granted, Solomon reassembled but did so completely. The first real reconstruction took place in Greek. Bacon described the history of the Greek intellectual tradition in exhaustive detail from the Pre-Socratics to Aristotle. What

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29 Roger Bacon, *Opus Maius* (see note 1), 67–68.

30 ". . . de factura templi dicit Solomonem cum suis servis significare Christum, et Hiram cum suis designare philosophos et sapientes de gentilibus, ut templum Dei, hoc est Ecclesia, non solum sapientia apostolica sed philosophorum construeretur" (. . . on the building of the Temple it is said that Solomon and his servants signify Christ and that Hiram and his servants signify non-Christian philosophers and scientists. So the Temple of God, which is the Church, was built not only through apostolic wisdom but through that of the philosophers as well), Roger Bacon, *Opus Maius* (see note 1), 44.

31 "Sed sapientes sciunt eligere grana de palcis, et theriacum de serpenti separare" (But the wise know how to separate the grain from the husk and the cure from the serpent), Roger Bacon, *Opus Maius* (see note 1), 392.

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is important for our purposes is that Bacon was insistent that the Greek philosophy was derivative of the Hebrew antediluvian tradition, divine illumination was a prerequisite for success, and that its leading lights, such as Plato and Aristotle, studied Hebrew sources in attempting to reconstruct it.

They studied the Old Testament, were well versed in the writings of the prophets, and were knowledgeable of other aspects of Hebrew wisdom. Aristotle was the pinnacle and chief representative of the Greek reconstruction and, of course, recorded its deepest secrets in the *Secretum*. The second reconstruction was done in Arabic with Avicenna being its chief representative. The Arabic reconstruction reflects the Arabic corpus that came to Europe primarily in the twelfth-century translation movement, with Muslims playing the role of a latter day Hiram in providing the materials and labor for the final reconstruction. Latin would be the language of the final reconstruction but Christendom was failing miserably in doing it. Criticizing Latin translations, sometimes reaching the level of ranting, was a favorite hobby horse for Bacon.

According to Bacon there was no perfect translation, they were all corrupt, and it might have been better if they were not even translated at all. He even claimed that it might be better to burn Aristotle's works than to use them in their current form.[32] Bacon's often pedantic hostility on this issue is explicable through his

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32 "... Ipse philosophis, tam infidelibus quam fidelibus, eam revelavit .... Et ideo primo tradita est principaliter et complete in lingua Hebraea. Deinde renovata est principaliter per Aristotelem in lingua Graeca; deinde principaliter per Avicennam in lingua Arabica; sed nunquam in Latina fuit composita, sed solum translata de linguis alienis, et meliora non sunt translata de linguis alienis, et meliora non sunt translata. Et de his scientiis, quae translatae sunt, nihil est perfectum; et translations sunt perversae, nec intelligibiles in multis scientiis, maxime in libris Aristotelis" (God has often revealed more to non-Christian philosophers than to believers .... First it was given mainly and complete in the Hebrew language. Then it was renewed mainly through Aristotle in Greek followed by another renewal mainly through Avicenna in Arabic. But never had it been composed in Latin and all we have are translations from other languages. And it would be better if they were never translated from the other languages, it would be better if they were not translated at all. Of these books on the sciences that have been translated not one work was done perfectly. The translations are corrupted and unreadable for many of the sciences, particularly the books of Aristotle), Roger Bacon, *Opus Tertium* (see note 11), 32. Bombastic as Bacon's criticisms might be, his point on the lack of readability of some translations is on target. The readability of translations varied widely in accordance with the skills of the translators in question. But there were also methodological differences of opinion among some translators. Some, like Gerard of Cremona, took a word for word (*verbo ad verbum*) approach that can, at times, give readers the unnerving feeling that they are reading the Arabic language in the Latin alphabet. Others, such as Constantine the African or Adelard of Bath, took a more idiomatic and reader-friendly approach, choosing to translate the *meaning* itself over the *specific words*. Aristotle's works, it should be noted, make for very difficult reading in the first place. For the best analyses of the twelfth-century Arabic to Latin translation movement, see any of the numerous works by Charles Burnett. An excellent starting point is Charles Burnett, "Arabic Into Latin: The Reception of Arabic Philosophy into Western Europe" (see note 5), 370–404. See also Charles Burnett, Arabic *into Latin*

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apocalyptic views. Convinced that the arrival of Antichrist was imminent, and that the tradition of antediluvian science was necessary to defeat him, the lack of progress being made in the Latin reconstruction was not only deplorable but downright dangerous.

Bacon viewed Muslim philosophers as philosophers and not as Muslims. This must not be confused with any modern notions of tolerance, multiculturalism, or relativism as Bacon despised Islam, found it morally bankrupt, and saw its imminent destruction as a source of "great joy for Christians."[33] He also stated that the "destruction of the law of Muhammad is spoken about with beauty and certainty" and that this "ought to be a great comfort to Christians."[34] In becoming true philosophers and playing important roles in God's plan these philosophers ceased being Muslims and very much became quasi-Christians. Muslim philosophers transcended the "lasciviousness" of their nominal religion and practiced better moral habits than most Christians.

His interaction with Muslim philosophers was a close but textual one. Author to author, philosopher to philosopher, they were engaged in the common pursuit of reconstructing lost wisdom that the *vulgus*, the "common throng" of both societies, could not understand. Without drifting into any psychological analysis, it is safe to say that Bacon had far more respect for an Avicenna than he did for most of his own co-religionists.

The Physical Background
Matter, Substance, Astrology, and Alchemy

According to the prevailing theories of matter during Bacon's lifetime, all things below the moon (both inanimate and animate) were products of *prima materia* modified and shaped by "form" to create a "substance." *Prima materia* itself had no properties independent of the form that shaped it; it was the stuff from which all things were created but it had no characteristics until form imposed them. Form brought two broad types of characteristics to a substance: essence and accidence. Essence referred to those characteristics that were permanent and underwent no

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in the Middle Ages: The Translators and their Intellectual and Social Context. Variorum Collected Studies (London: Ashgate, 2009). For a detailed account of Bacon's own views on translations, see Richard Lemay, "Roger Bacon's Attitude Toward the Latin Translations and Translators of the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries," *Roger Bacon and the Sciences* (see note 2), 25–47.

33 Roger Bacon, *Opus Tertium* (see note 11), 272.

34 "Et de destructione legis Mahometi pulchre et certitudinaliter loquuntur . . . quod debet esse magnum solatium Christianis," Roger Bacon, *Opus Maius* (see note 1), 266.

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change (e.g., the color of one's eyes) while accidence dealt with those characteristics that could experience change over time (e.g., the color one one's hair). Essence also referred to those properties that made, say, a human a human (one head, two arms, two legs, etc.) while accidence referred to properties that varied among humans and distinguished one from another (height, wait, etc.). Form was infused into *prima materia* by the "active agent" which, if one traced its path to its ultimate point of origin, was the heavens. The accidental properties of form that changed over time—at various rates of speed depending on the substance in question—were always in the final tally produced by celestial motion. Consequently, all change on earth was ultimately a product of motion regulated by an iron clad rule: "uppers" influence "lowers" but "lowers" cannot influence "uppers" (e.g., celestial motion can give one kidney stones but one cannot change the color of the moon). Collectively these mechanics were known as "secondary causes," the means (*quomodo*) by which the "ultimate cause," God, shaped, ordered, and modified the world. Thus all competent Aristotelian natural philosophers would look *upward* to really know what was going on *around* them and all truly qualified medieval physicians were trained in astrology.[35]

The great Baghdad scholar Albumazar revolutionized astrology by reformulating it in accordance with Aristotle's criteria for a true science.[36] In so doing, he fashioned a virtually impeccable pedigree for the discipline while integrating it into a complex web of Neoplatonic causation that reckoned the world in terms of

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35 For very accessible introductions to medieval theories of matter, see *The Concept of Matter in Greek and Medieval Philosophy*, ed. Ernan McMullin (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1963); John F. Wippel, "Essence and Existence," *The Cambridge History of Later Medieval Philosophy: From the Rediscovery of Aristotle to the Disintegration of Scholasticism, 110–1600*, ed. Norman Kretzmann, Anthony Kenny, and Jan Pinborg (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), 385–410; James A. Weisheipl, "The Interpretation of Aristotle's *Physics* and the Science of Motion," *The Cambridge History of Later Medieval Philosophy* (see above), 521–36; Edward Grant, *Physical Science in the Middle Ages* (New York: Wiley, 1971); David C. Lindberg, *The Beginnings of Western Science: The European Scientific Tradition in Philosophical, Religious, and Institutional Context, 600 B.C. to A.D. 1450* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992); *Science in the Middle Ages*, ed. David C. Lindberg (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1978).

36 Abu Ma'shar (ca. 787–886) was a seminal figure in medieval astrology and part of the al-Kindi circle. Expanding on Ptolemy's *Tetrabiblos* and utilizing Persian and Indian astrological sources as well, he fused astrology with Aristotelian science to create a series of works that recast astrology in the mold of a science as defined by Aristotle. For excellent studies see Richard Lemay, *Abu Ma'shar and Latin Aristotelianism in the Twelfth Century: The Recovery of Aristotle's Natural Philosophy Through Arabic Astrology* (Beirut: American University of Beirut, 1962) and David Pingree, "Abu Ma'shar al Balkhi," *Dictionary of Scientific Biography*, Vol. 1, ed. Charles Coulston Gillispie (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1970), 32–39. For Albumazer's most significant work, see *Abu Ma'sar on Historical Astrology: The Book of Religions and Dynasties (On the Great Conjunctions)*, Vol. II: *The Latin Versions: Albumasar*, De Magnis Coniuntionibus, ed. and trans. Keiji Yamamoto and Charles Burnett (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2000).

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"emanations." The result was the definitive work on medieval astrology, one which hammered out the rules in an exciting way while opening up a wide array of new vistas and applications. Most important for our purposes are his analysis of the relationship between humans as "substances" and free will as well as his views on the natures and fates of religions.[37]

Humans were very complex "substances" in that they were infused with a "rational soul" that granted, in *essence*, free will and choice. The rational soul, was an *essential* property of the human and although it was derived from celestial sources this did not impinge on the sovereignty of God because celestial bodies were the medium and means by which the creator distributed souls. The human, from birth on, was a composite of soul and body and the latter was continuously influenced by celestial motion throughout its existence. Because body and soul were unified in the substance which made a human the latter was connected to, and in turn could influence, the former. As the body underwent constant though varied change induced by celestial motion it influenced the soul accordingly.

Free will and choice become a set number of contingencies that exist between the necessary and the impossible. Choice is possible but only within the parameters that the stars and hence the flesh permit. Thus the perennial conflict between body and soul was recast in physical, astral terms. The final qualification was *inshallah* for Albumazar or *si Deus voluerit* for Bacon: both essentially "if God wills it." Bacon suggested that this could well involve God altering the natural order.[38] The

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37 For sophisticated yet readily understandable studies that lay out the basics for medieval astrology see S.J. Tester, *A History of Western Astrology* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1987); see also the contributions to *Astrology, Science, and Society: Historical Essays*, ed. Patrick Curry (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1987); then J. D. North, *Chaucer's Universe* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988); id., *Stars, Minds, and Fate: Essays in Ancient and Medieval Cosmology* (London: Hambledon, 1989); id., "Celestial Influence the Major Premiss of Astrology," *Astrologi hallucinati*, ed. P. Zambelli (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1986), 45–100; Edward Grant, *Planets, Orbs, and Stars: The Medieval Cosmos, 1260–1687* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996). For a superb analysis of Bacon's approach to astrology, see Jeremiah Hackett, "Roger Bacon on Astronomy-Astrology: The Sources of the *Scientia Experimentalis*," *Roger Bacon and the Sciences* (see note 2), 175–87. For Bacon and his political astrology regarding Islam, see J. D. North, "Astrology and the Fortunes of Churches," *Centaurus* 24 (1980): 181–211, and id., "Roger Bacon and the Saracens," *Filosofia e scienza classica, arabo-latina medievale e l'età moderna*, ed. Grazielle Federici Vesconi (Louvain-la-Neuve: Federation Internationale des Instituts dEtudes Medievales, 1999), 129–60.

38 ". . . ut quod iste infans erit bonus aut malus, sed quod erit bonus ver episcopus si Deus voluerit, nam semper in judiciis suis adducunt in fine 'si Deus voluerit.' Unde cum prevident possibilitatem rei alicujus contingentis in naturalibus vel voluntariis, non dicunt quod de necessitate contingent, set quod potest contingere, et contingent quantum est de vi causarum suarum, et quod erit nisi Deus mutet ordinacionem nature vel voluntatis" (They can say whether an infant will be good or bad but to say that it will be good or a bishop must be qualified with "if God wills it." They always add at the end of their judgments "If God wills it." When they predict the possibility of a particular thing happening in nature or in human will they do not say it must happen but only that it can happen, and to what extent it will happen is based on the strength of the particular

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astral fatalism of the system was hidden behind the fig leaf of stating that in the end all contingencies are contingent on the will of the creator. In many ways, the problem mirrors that of free will and predestination and induces all the headaches associated with playing such a high stake game of hide and seek.

As substances, humans could be evaluated, both as individuals and as groups, in terms of "complexion" (a technical term and an all important one in understanding Bacon's thought). Complexions were the total sum of essential and accidental attributes substances had. With a few exceptions to be discussed below, complexions were completely derivative of celestial emanations. Objects and individuals had a complexion that could be qualified and to a certain extent quantified through natural laws and astronomical rules. So did groups, nations, and religions. On individual levels complexions explained differentiation between one person and another (e.g., height, weight, skin color, psychological and moral disposition). On a larger scale, group complexions explained the mores, habits, and customs of a people as they shared a common place beneath the heavens and received some common emanations. Bacon's uses of the concept of complexion will be dealt with more extensively below.

Alchemists, like astrologers, were keenly aware of the changes which took place beneath the seeming stability of the natural world. They worked with similar theories concerning matter, form, motion, and causation. Possibly the most stark difference between astrology and alchemy dealt not so much with conceptions but with approach, with the former being by and large passive in method and the latter quite active. Astrology, even at the heights to which Albumazar brought it, was a science that could describe and explain physical reality but not intervene in it. Alchemy was quite different in this regard. Astrologers made judgments and provided recommendations based on the physical realities they observed. Alchemists not only observed but could transmute and alter some physical realities through complex procedures (e.g., sublimation, distillation, calcination).

Astrology was a passive science in which one could adapt to the implications of physical realities to achieve the best possible outcome. Alchemy was an active science in which the practitioner, according to the theory, could alter a substance, for example, transform led into gold or to slow or arrest the process of aging.

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causes, and that it will happen unless God changes the natural order or the will). Roger Bacon, *Secretum Secretorum* (see note 13), 4. Here Bacon has removed the teeth from the relationship between free will and contingency. This is perfectly understandable as he did need to protect himself from what would be well deserved charges of astral fatalism.

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Alchemists differed from orthodox natural philosophers on the issue of the inviolable, irrevocable relationship between form and *prima materia*. For the strict Aristotelian natural philosopher once form was infused into matter to produce a substance the two could not be separated without utterly destroying the substance. What was impossible for the orthodox natural philosopher was the very goal of alchemists. Alchemists sought to strip form from *prima materia* and to impose a new form upon it.

As the ultimate source of form was the heavens alchemists often synchronized their work with appropriate celestial motions with a particular emphasis on the relationship between the seven main metals and the seven planets. The interaction between microcosm and macrocosm was just as important to the alchemist as it was for astrologers and physicians . . . and for the very same reasons. Alchemists believed that through their art they could direct and steer, accelerate or slow, the cycle of generation and change produced by the heavens.

Multiplication of Species, al-Kindi, and Fascination

By the time Bacon completed his "twenty years of labor," the "multiplication of species"[39] was the center piece of his view on universal physical causation. In it Neoplatonic emanationism and scientific mysticism joined with mathematics, optics, and a plethora of other borrowings from the Islamic reformulation of Greek thought. "Species," in the sense Bacon used the term, referred to the likeness of anything, animate or inanimate, and was the sum total of a particular thing's virtues and qualities: in other words the form of a substance. All species had the innate drive to multiply or propagate, that is, to emanate outward and replicate themselves within other substances. Roughly speaking, this process is much like a virus replicating itself within a host, using the material within the host to create reproductions of itself, which in turn create replications of the replications. Species, however, need to be in direct contact with a potential host to replicate themselves. But they can replicate themselves in media or contiguous layers of media to reach the host by recreating themselves in each layer of the media.

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[39] David C. Lindberg has almost single-handedly made Bacon's *perspectiva* and doctrine on the multiplication of species readily available to scholarship through badly needed critical editions and commentaries. See David C. Lindberg, *Roger Bacon's Philosophy of Nature: A Critical Edition, with English Translation, Introduction, and Notes of* De multiplicatione specierum *and* De speculis comburentibus (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1983), and David C. Lindberg, *Roger Bacon and the Origins of* Perspectiva *in the Middle Ages: A Critical Edition and English Translation of Bacon's* Perspectiva, *with Introduction and Notes* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996).

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There is an important element of entropy in the process: each time the species multiplies itself through layers of media it weakens and has lower chances to remake itself successfully. Degradation sets in much like making a Xerox copy of a Xerox copy of a Xerox copy. Eventually the strength of the species reduces to the point in which successful replication is no longer possible. How long the degradation takes depends on how strong the species is, its angle of approach (it follows geometric laws), and how dense the media are that it must pass through.

For example, an explanation of how fire consumes a log, in terms species multiplication, would go as follows. Fire is applied to the log. The species of fire has extreme heat as a quality of its species. The species infuses into the log and uses the log's own material and potential to re-create the species' own likeness. These replications continue until little of the log is left. But as the species of fire multiplies in the log it also multiplies into contiguous media around it, such as the air. The air warms and people sitting next to the fire become warm. They become warm because the species of fire is trying to replicate in them but they do not burn because the species had already gone through a series of replications and hence degradations through the layers of air between the fire and themselves.

Bacon provides interesting and somewhat surprising examples of species multiplication. He tells us that he personally witnessed a physician struck blind as the species of blindness (yes even blindness has a species!) multiplied from the patient's eyes to the physician's.[40] Leprosy and other maladies moved from one host to another in the same way. Even menstruation had a species that multiplied. According to Bacon, when a menstruating woman looked into a new mirror its species multiplied into the surface and a cloud of blood appeared in the reflected image.[41] As a preview of the military applications of the theory, Bacon relates how, on the advice of Aristotle, Alexander reflected the poison in a basilisk's gaze so that it multiplied back upon the city using it to defend against the conqueror's army.[42]

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40 Roger Bacon, *Opus Maius* (see note 1), 143.
41 Roger Bacon, *Opus Maius* (see note 1), 142.
42 Roger Bacon, *Opus Maius* (see note 1), 143.

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Bacon found a true kindred spirit in Al-Kindi.[43] Both possessed a remarkable and unwavering faith in the power of geometry and scientific mysticism. Al-Kindi believed that the entire world was saturated with rays (Bacon's species) perpetually emitted by and interacting with all objects. Everything in the cosmos, celestial as well as terrestrial, emitted such rays in all directions, simultaneously and mutually affecting one another. A rough modern analogy would be our conception of how the gravity of bodies interacts: each body both pulls and is pulled. But instead of mutual attraction, Al-Kindi's rays conferred powers upon one another. The ultimate source of all rays and their properties were the heavens but once they took on existence in the sublunary sphere they became active agents in and of themselves. All things in existence emitted such rays, supra- and sublunary, and they all collided to produce a near infinite amount of diversity in the world. Primary rays of celestial origins, once infused into objects in this world, became secondary and tertiary rays that played important causative roles on their own. Affinity still existed between the supra- and sublunary rays and Al-Kindi believed that synchronizing the rays of superiors and inferiors caused an amplification of their power in the world.

For Al-Kindi, as well as for Bacon who followed him in this, such synchronization and amplification was the ultimate power source for incantations, amulets, charms, magical figures—even for the efficacy of prayer itself. It comes as no surprise that in the Latin West Al-Kindi's work *On Stellar Rays* also circulated under the title *The Theory of the Magic Art*.

Al-Kindi's paradigm was crucial for the development of Bacon's thought particularly after his twenty years of labor. The general contours of the system helped shape his understanding of universal causation and the *Secret of Secrets* (which is essentially saying the same thing). Of particular importance was Al-Kindi's view that thoughts, intent, and words also emitted rays. Thus for Bacon, thoughts and words contained species that multiplied via Kindian rays. Thought for Al-Kindi produced physical effects, for example, the mind willing the hand to move. The mind transformed thoughts into words that could elicit physical effects in the same way. Once a thought was formed in the mind it could speak words

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43 Al-Kindi (ca. 800–870) is often seen as the beginning of the Arabic philosophical-scientific tradition. He was the dean of a group of translators and scholars, often referred to as the "al-Kindi circle," which significantly included Albumazer, who worked in ninth-century Baghdad. His thought was rooted in a heavily neoplatonized Aristotelianism and he was deeply committed to mathematics and astrology but interestingly was very critical of alchemy. For more on al-Kindi, see Peter Adamson, "Al-Kindi and the Reception of Greek Philosophy," *The Cambridge Companion to Arabic Philosophy* (see note 5), 32–51; Peter Adamson, *Al-Kindi* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007); Jean Jolivet and Roshdi Rashed, "Al-Kindi," *Dictionary of Scientific Biography*, Vol. 1, ed. Charles Coulston Gillispie (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1970), 261–66.

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that projected them and then the words, in turn, emitted rays into a world filled with other colliding rays. The efficacy of words was increased by correlating them with optimum celestial conditions. Bacon repeated Al-Kindi on this process almost verbatim.

For Bacon, this process revealed the secondary causes behind miracles performed by saints and prophets in the past. Words were the "first work of the rational soul," and as such, had the power to alter reality. This, Bacon tells us, is why "all the miracles done since the beginning of the world were done through words."[44] He specifically states, and musters the testimony of Avicenna in support, that through this means prophets and ancient philosophers in the past transmuted matter. This was why Moses consulted the stars before performing the miracles which set his people free of Egyptian bondage.[45]

Bacon provided an interesting case study to demonstrate the multiplication of species that included the species of thought: original sin. Satan's rational soul and "complexion" had a species and, like all species, it had the innate drive to replicate. He formed the words "take and eat" which projected into corporeal form his complexion and nature which then transformed the media (air) between himself and Eve. Satan's species then mingled with and amplified two species, radiating from the fruit at optimum angles, which made them very powerful: its delectable appearance and odor. This tripartite multiplication of species (or commingling of Kindian rays) affected Eve's body which incited her mind. This species, now existing in Eve, multiplied into Adam (like blindness and leprosy above) and humanity was damned. This was all very much in accord with the example of a log burning explained above. As a concluding authorial aside, Bacon added that the same process was at work when David succumbed to Bathsheba. Words, the "first work of the rational soul," as Bacon put it, become physical causative agents under the right conditions.[46]

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44 "'. . . verba habent maximam potestatem; et omnia miracula facta a principio mundi fere facta sunt per verba. Et opus animae rationalis praecipum est verbum"' (. . . words have the greatest power and all the miracles done since the beginning of the world were done through words. For the first work of the rational soul is the word), Roger Bacon, *Opus Tertium* (see note 11), 96. See also the contributions to *The Book and the Magic of Reading in the Middle Ages*, ed. Albrecht Classen. Garland Reference Library of the Humanities, 2118 (New York and London: Garland Publishing, 1999).

45 ". . .sancti ut Moses et alii, fecerunt opera in electis constellationibus . . . ." (Moses and other saints performed their works under the proper constellations . . .), Roger Bacon, *Opus Maius* (see note 1), 124. and "Et per hanc viam verborum aestimavit Avicenna in sexton Naturalium, quod prophetae et sapientes antique alterabant materiam" (And through this way of words Avicenna claimed, in the sixth book of Nature, that prophets and wise men of antiquity transformed matter . . .), Roger Bacon, *Opus Tertium* (see note 11), 98.

46 Roger Bacon, *Opus Maius* (see note 1), 218–19.

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The term "fascination" was a synonymous term or short-hand explanation of this process. Bacon warns readers not to confuse the term with the ways that "silly old women" and charlatans use it. Real fascination was the projection of one's complexion, mainly through the eyes or voice, into another person or group of people that caused physical change. The mechanics are identical to the contraction of disease and Bacon compares them often. When discussing this process Bacon primarily focused on the complexions of evil people affecting others.[47] Avicenna was a tremendous influence on Bacon regarding nature obeying the will of the soul. Bacon even included an amusing example from Avicenna about a rooster which, caught up in pride over a victory, grew a horn on its leg through the sheer will of its sensitive soul (much less powerful than the rational).[48]

If under certain conditions the sensitive soul in an animal could force nature to obey its will then how much more effect could the rational soul have? The power of the soul and species could be amplified by uttering them in conjunction with optimum celestial positioning to create a "quadrupling" of the power of the species by tapping into astral power. This would transform the atmosphere and everything in contact with it, to cause the physical alteration of things.[49] Although this might seem like magic to the common people, the initiated know better and can expose magicians pushing their wares in the same way that logic exposes sophistry.[50] Various magical texts circulating widely at the time also certainly played a role in the development of Bacon's thinking on this point. He mentioned some titles: *On the Notary Art*, *On the Seals of Solomon*, *Fantasm, On the Offices and Powers of Spirits*, *On the Death of the Soul*.[51] Bacon tells us that he had inspected many magical books; he even experimented with them while ignoring the demonic trappings such as invocations, sacrifices, incantations, inscriptions, and the like.[52]

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47 Roger Bacon, *Opus Maius* (see note 1), 398–99.

48 "Nam secundum quod Avicenna docet, octavo De Animalibus, natura obedit cogitationibus animae; et docet in exemplo de gallina cui ex gloria victoriae galli cervit cornu in crure. Ex hoc igitur cognovimus, quod natura obedit cogitationibus animae sensitivae, ut ait; sed longe magis obedit cogationibus animae intellectivae . . ." [According to what Avicenna teaches in his eigth book of On Animals, nature obeys the thoughts of the soul. As an example, he mentions the case of a rooster which, caught up in the glory of a victory, grew a horn on its leg. From this we know that nature obeys the thought of the sensitive soul, as he said. But nature will obey much more the thought of the intellective soul . . .), Roger Bacon, *Opus Tertium* (see note 11), 96. Here I have translated the bird in question as "rooster" since the context is a cockfight.

49 Roger Bacon, *Opus Tertium* (see note 11), 97–98.

50 Roger Bacon, *Opus Tertium* (see note 11), 47.

51 Roger Bacon, *Opus Tertium* (see note 11), 48.

52 "Et ideo magici utuntur hoc experimento, et dicunt carmina diversa, et credunt quod ex virtute carminum istud contingat. Et ego neglexi carmina et inveni opus naturae mirabile" (When magicians conduct this experiment they utter various incantations and believe that the power of the incantation is what makes it happen. I, however, have ignored the incantations and found only the miraculous work of nature), *Opus Maius* (see note 1), 219. For an examination of Bacon and

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Based on terms he used it is certain that Bacon was working with astral magic texts immediately within the Arabic tradition. If he had not read *The Picatrix*, the most notorious surviving astral magic text, he was using works that had a remarkable family resemblance.[53]

Practices such as fascination, once shorn of their nefarious and irrelevant trappings, proved useful in understanding natural properties and physical causation. For example, one could utter incantations over a magnet but this has nothing to do with its power to attract. This, Bacon claimed, "I have proven with certainty."[54] Complexion could be transmitted through the multiplication of the rational soul if the soul was strong enough and the individual projecting them had strong concentration, vigorous desire, and sure intent and firm hope.[55] The Master of Hungary (whom Bacon personally saw in Paris and believed was a Muslim or a Mongol agent) did so in Paris when he stirred mobs up against the clergy and seduced Queen Blanche.[56] Bacon was also emphatic that Antichrist, having mastered the practice, would use it to turn nation upon nation.

Religious Substances: Physics, Complexions, and Free Will

All individuals, as well as their aggregates in nations and religions, had complexions. Complexions were shaped by vertical emanations of celestial species directed downward but they were also affected by species multiplying horizontally (even if these species had the heavens as their ultimate point of origin). In the conception and generation of an individual, the maternal species

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magic, see A. G. Molland, "Roger Bacon as Magician," *Traditio* 30 (1974): 445–60. For an excellent concise overview of the medieval magic tradition, see Richard Kieckhefer, *Magic in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989). For the context for the type of magic Bacon was examining, see Paola Zambelli, *The Speculum Astronomiae and its Enigma: Astrology, Theology and Science in Albertus Magnus and his Contemporaries* (Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic, 1992); David Pingree, "Learned Magic in the Time of Frederick II," *Micrologus* 2 (1994): 39–56; Elizabeth M. Butler, *Ritual Magic* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979); Richard Kieckhefer, *Forbidden Rites: A Necromancer's Manual of the Fifteenth Century*. Magic in History (University Park: Penn State University Press, 1998).

53 For *The Picatrix* and the Arab astral magic tradition, see David Pingree, *Picatrix: The Latin Version of the Ghayat al-Hakim* (London: Warburg Institute, 1986).

54 Roger Bacon, *Opus Tertium* (see note 11), 50.

55 Roger Bacon, *Opus Maius* (see note 1), 399.

56 Roger Bacon, *Opus Maius* (see note 1), 402.

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continuously multiplied into the fetus in the womb, finally passing on many of the characteristics and her complexion to the newborn.[57]

Although the biological father contributed his species through his seed real "paternity" for an individual's complexion was found in geography, hence astrology, and Bacon produced a quote from Porphyry to convey its import: "Location, much like a father, is the beginning of us."[58] Place was simply another way of assigning paternity to the stars as geographical location in this sense was simply a means of calculating the proximity and implications of celestial bodies for the infant.

Once the infant emerged from the womb it was exposed to a "new atmosphere, another world," an atmosphere seething with emanations, particularly those now being directly felt from the heavens. At birth, the infant acquired its "radical complexion," a cognate for the essential aspects of the person's form. Being by and large permanent the radical complexion was the real object of observation for nativities. Since newborns were extremely tender, malleable, and more susceptible to imprints these early emanations left the most durable marks. Bacon compares the situation to that of a new jug that always retains the taste of its first fluid. Celestial species radiate or multiply down through a series of inverted pyramids which had celestial bodies as their bases.[59]

The apexes of these pyramids strike the earth (and hence infant) in a way in which all points are covered by an apex. Since the celestial bases are moving the apexes themselves move, scanning the ground so to speak, with each apex replacing the next in a state of constant but calculable succession. The apex is also the point in which the celestial species multiplies most forcefully. The mechanics of these moving apexes was Bacon's answer to that old saw often used to discredit

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57 "Et non solum multiplcatio virtutis coelestis operatur, sed patris et matris, quoniam descinduntur virtutes in seminibus, ut docent medici. Et praecipue ab anima matris continuatur multiplicatio virtutis et speciei super foetum usque in complementum generationis et nativitas" (It is not only the multiplication of celestial powers at work but the power of the father and mother, whose power is transferred from the seed as the physicians explain. And mainly from the soul of the mother the multiplication of power and species continues on the fetus right up until the completion of its generation and birth), Roger Bacon, *Opus Maius* (see note 1), 138.

58 "Sed locus est principium generationis, quemadmodum et pater, ut dicit Porphyrius" (But place is the beginning of our creation in much the same way as is a father, as Porphyry says), Roger Bacon, *Opus Maius* (see note 1), 138.

59 "Et cum puer in nativitate exponitur aeri novo tanquam alteri mundo, tunc recipit conos pyramidum coelestium . . . . Et tunc confirmatur complexio radicalis, quae semper manet usque ad finem vitae, licet complexio currens mutetur tota die" (When the child is born it is exposed to a new atmosphere, a different world, and it then receives the conical pyramids from the heavens . . . . And then the radical complexion is confirmed and which will be held always right up to death, although the general complexion itself experiences changes every day), Roger Bacon, *Opus Maius* (see note 1), 138.

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astrology: twins. Twins, born moments apart, can often have extremely different temperaments. There are many facts that explain this but, for Bacon, one of the most important was that twins, born from the same womb only minutes apart, received different combinations of apexes.[60] Bacon believed that religions had complexions as well and that they were acquired in the same way an individual human did. Religions were in a sense an aggregate complexion that summed the complexions of its individual believers.

Radical complexion was an issue of the flesh. What relationship did it have to the soul and hence free will? Bacon's stated answer to the question was by no means unique in dealing with this quagmire. The body was the source of strong appetites that constantly "incited" or inclined the mind to a course of action. Theoretically, the soul had free will and could make choices that ranged between the possible and the necessary. In reality, bodily appetites delimited free will generally because few souls were strong enough to overcome them. The soul and free will fought the body but in so doing they fought the stars, the ultimate origin of the complexion.

Complete unfettered free will was possible but difficult as lowers could not influence uppers: only the strongest of souls, those hardened by wisdom, really had any chance of victory.[61] Hence the value of Pseudo-Ptolomy's maxim: even though the stars rule men "wise men rule the stars." Potentially, at least, the souls given by God were greater than celestial forces.[62] In his commentary of the *Secretum* Bacon gives an excellent and somewhat amusing example to make the point. Polemon, a master in physiognomy, claimed that Hippocrates was an undoubted lecher because his complexion was lascivious. Hippocrates's students prepared to lynch Polemon for the outrage until they conferred with their master. Hippocrates said Polemon was absolutely correct about his complexion but that he conquered it through the power of his will.[63]

Weak souls had far fewer choices in overcoming the influence of their complexions on their willpower and much is contingent and tied to the power of the causes. Bacon did note another option: God could change the natural order.[64] Returning to complexions themselves, although a jug may retain the taste of the first fluid poured into it that does not mean that the jug will not store other fluids for the remainder of its existence. In a Kindian universe filled with countless objects emitting rays in all directions, filled with Baconian species driven to

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60 Roger Bacon, *Opus Maius* (see note 1), 250–51.

61 Roger Bacon, *Opus Maius* (see note 1), 249.

62 ". . . virtus animae rationalis, quae dignior est stellis . . . ." (. . . the power of the rational soul is greater than that of the stars), Roger Bacon, *Opus Maius* (see note 1), 395.

63 Roger Bacon, *Secretum secretorum* (see note 13), 165.

64 Roger Bacon, *Secretum Secretorum* (see note 13), 4.

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multiply, the entire duration of life is one bombarded with competing species, mingling and mixing in various ratios, all contributing to the changes that one experiences throughout life. Temptation, peer pressure, and disease rank among the near endless list of effects subsequent species could have in what can be called the generations of "secondary complexions" which can change yearly, monthly, or hourly depending on the circumstances.

Religions, for Bacon, had species as well and produced aggregate complexions that were crucial parts of their adherents' physical and consequently mental make up. Bacon believed that, in a tangible, physical sense, religions (*partially* exempting Christianity) were incarnations of planetary species and their qualities, the most powerful of which crystallized into six "sects" or "laws." Each had a radical complexion and each experienced change that coincided with celestial motion. This was why there could only be six real principal religious sects at any given time, each of them correlating to one of the known planets, with the exception of Jupiter, which was the governor or mediator between them. Jupiter was the mechanism for creating inter-planetary interfaces permitting the commingling of planetary species that allowed the species of one to affect and modify the species of another. Particularly powerful were tenth revolutions of Saturn as they brought about tremendous political or religious change: for example, Alexander put an end to Darius's Persia in a tenth revolution of Saturn. Ten revolutions later Christ appeared; ten later Manes; approximately ten later Muhammad gave his law and ten after that Islam would end.

Bacon's profound debt to Albumazar is evident in every aspect of his discussion, most noticably in his reference to Christians as "Nazarenes" (Nazarenos).[65] Religions had a "nativity," so to speak, and they underwent change and some even death through destruction. In creating his system, Bacon primarily mingled

[65] Roger Bacon, *Opus Maius* (see note 1), 265.

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Albumazar's astrological understanding of religious change with Alfarabi's[66] schematic for the categorization and analysis of religions.

What we are about to examine are the "secondary causes" by which the primary cause, God, enacted divine will and set in motion the divine plan. Before examining Bacon's system a few caveats are in order. First, Bacon was explicit in that the heavens do not simply *signify* but actualy play a causative role in events. Or, to put it another way, the heavens signify change *because* they are an active agent in change.[67] Second, Bacon clearly stated that celestial species were what "inclined" people to accept a religious law and that, as we have already seen, complexions were derivative of celestial species.[68] Third, Bacon did not deal with each sect in the same depth but rather treated each in the detail needed to make his specific point. Islam, for example, being more problematic for Christendom as a physical as well as spiritual threat, received much more attention than Judaism. Finally, I shall here focus soley on Bacon's view of the three Abrahamic religions and the Mongols but not others such as the "Pagan" sect or the "Idolator" sect (i.e., Buddhism).

Judaism was an incarnation of the species of Saturn and the religion received its complexion and the "Jewish law" from that planet. Saturn was in the outermost planetary sphere and as the most remote was the first of the great religions to appear in chronological order. Just as Saturn was the "father of the planets," so Judaism was the father of other religious sects. All religions found their roots in

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66 Al-Farabi (ca. 872–950) was a Neoplatonic-Aristotelian polymath of either Persian or Turkish origin who rivaled Avicenna and Averroes in the sheer quantity and vast scope of his work. His emanationist view of physical causation made his work a very easy fit for Bacon's world view. Al-Farabi was an important influence on Bacon in a variety of ways, but for our purposes the greatest contribution was his adaptation of Aristotle's *Politics*, in his *De ortu scientiarum* [*Enumeration of the Sciences*], to create an interesting analytical approach to what we today might call comparative religion. In many ways, Bacon's general approach to logical argument in religious disputation is largely derived from al-Farabi. For introductions to Alfarabi, see Majid Fakhry, *Al-Farabi, Founder of Islamic Neoplatonism.* Great Islamic Thinkers (Oxford: One World Press, 2002), and Muhsin S. Mahdi, *Alfarabi and the Foundation of Islamic Political Philosophy* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2010). For Alfarabi's approach to the analysis of religion (itself an adaption of Aristotle's *Politics*), which influenced Bacon so heavily, see in particular Muhsin S. Mahdi, *Alfarabi and the Foundation of Islamic Political Philosophy* (see above), 65–124. For the views of Alfarabi as well as Avicenna on the active intellect, which played such a prominent role in Bacon's views on physics and conversion, see Herbert A. Davidson, *Alfarabi, Avicenna, and Averroes: On Intellect: Their Cosmologies, Theories of the Active Intellect, and Theories of Human Intellect* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992).

67 ". . . planetae sic non solum sint signa, sed aliquid faciant in excitando" (. . . thus the planets are not just signs but make things happen), Roger Bacon, *Opus Maius* (see note 1), 267.

68 Roger Bacon, *Opus Maius* (see note 1), 371.

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the Law of Saturn and although other sects recognized its teaching it recognized the teachings of no other (remember uppers influence lowers but lowers cannot influence uppers).[69] The Jewish vision of the afterlife is as good a barometer as any to assess the drives and nature of the species. They hope for joys both in this life and the next and of benefits for both the body and the soul.[70]

When Saturn was in conjunction with Jupiter religious change took place regarding the complexion and nature of the incarnation of Saturn as a religion. It was during such a conjunction that Jewish scripture came into existence.[71]

Islam was the incarnation of the species of Venus. The species of Venus was voluptuous and lascivious which inspired a particularly high degree of bodily delight in those affected by it (a perfect fit for Medieval Christian views of Islamic morality). In discussing the relationship between planetary species and the emergence of religion, Bacon provided much more detail than he did in other instances, enough to adequately piece together his view on how an actual sect came into existence. The species of Venus had long multiplied into the people in the region that would become Islamic, what can be described as "proto-Muslims" for lack of a better phrase, long before Muhammad was born. Influenced by the lascivious properties of Venutian species they had long delighted in sins of the flesh. Bacon quoted Ps. Ovid (astrologer *par excellence*) about that nation in which "anything pleasing is considered lawful, although a written law for it could not be found."[72]

Apparently, Bacon believed that "proto-Islam" circulated as an oral tradition until its species in the region eventually crystallized into a written religious code—"a book called Alcoran." This took place during an all-important tenth revolution in the appropriate zodiacal house (a necessary condition for such an important astrological-religious event). The communal complexion produced by Venus in the region, religiously speaking, went from a potentiality to actuality in the person of Muhammad and his written law under the proper celestial conditions. Unlike Jews who had a combined interest in body and soul and saw the afterworld in both terms of physical and spiritual good, Muslims were myopic in that they focused only on sensual delights, according to Bacon, such as taking on as many wives as they wish which was sanctioned by their law. Thus they lost sight of the true joy of the afterlife.[73]

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69 Roger Bacon, *Opus Maius* (see note 1), 255–56.
70 Roger Bacon, *Opus Maius* (see note 1), 369.
71 Roger Bacon, *Opus Maius* (see note 1), 255.
72 Roger Bacon, *Opus Maius* (see note 1), 256.
73 Roger Bacon, *Opus Maius* (see note 1), 368.

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The emergence and nature of Christianity was a special case as it involved the intervention of God. Yet its appearance and astrological situation followed the rules of the system. Christianity was the "law" of Mercury, the most difficult law in which to believe, just as the planet itself was the most complex to understand due to the difficult subtleties of its motion (e.g., epicyclical, eccentric, etc.). These nuances indicated that the Law of Mercury was beyond the powers of human intellect and the planet's circuit reflected the mysteries of Christian doctrine. Yet the species of Mercury included knowledge and eloquence in concentrated form, making the sciences as well as Scripture natural allies in defending it. Mercury also entered its gaudium (pinnacle of influence) while in the zodiacal house of Virgo, as it was created in Virgo, demonstrating that it was the law that would be introduced by a prophet born of a virgin.

As was the case with Islam and Venus, Christianity experienced its transition from potentiality to actuality in accordance with the proper celestial alignment. Once again, Bacon invoked the testimony of the Pseudo-Ovid: during the reign of Augustus the poet cum astrologer noted that a prophet born of a virgin would introduce a new religion into the world. The law of Mercury was the strongest and truest of laws and would remain firm until it was disrupted for a time by the last manifestation of the Law of the Moon which would be the sect of Antichrist.[74]

In dealing with the thorny problem of how Jesus fits into this "physical" and "astral" dynamic, Bacon underscored the system's power and universal applicability. What about those who say that God cannot be subordinated to or influenced by his own creation? Bacon virtually throws this heretical hot potato into the lap of the opposition. It is an article of Catholic faith that Jesus was both fully divine and fully human. The human dimension was susceptible to all that influences humans. Jesus had a true and natural mother in the Virgin Mary and astral forces, apparently discharging the role of the Holy Spirit, "cooperated" with the material in her (*virtutem coeli cooperatem fuisse virtuti naturali Virginis*) to create Christ. God was not subordinate to the heavens which he created but the physical *materia*, the human part of Jesus that came from a womb, was. In this sense, the purely natural sense (*consideratis pure naturalibus*) it was "more than a sign" (*plus quam signum*), that is a physical, astrally explicable process, just as was the generation of a fetus and its acquisition of a radical complexion that was described earlier. It is not hard to draw the conclusion Bacon led us to: Christianity, the true law, the true sect, was in a physical sense, not just in terms of signification or metaphor, the "Law of Mercury."[75]

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74 Roger Bacon, *Opus Maius* (see note 1), 257–61.

75 Roger Bacon, *Opus Maius* (see note 1), 267–68.

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Bacon made it quite clear that in this he was not discussing mere signs (*non solum sint signa*). The events are signified only because of the physical causes they signal. Religions were the manifestation of celestial species that produced communal complexions that eventually, once a "famous and powerful man" emerged, would crystallize into sects with written laws. In such crystallizations Jupiter was the governor of inter-planetary, inter-species interfaces, but it was during tenth revolutions of Saturn that creations and destructions of religions took place. The oral teachings of Abraham crystallized through Moses during a tenth revolution. Muhammad wrote the Qu'ran codifying the species and complexions of Venus during a tenth revolution. Even Jesus lived during a tenth revolution. Thus religions had nativities. And like all substances, their origins had "form" that made them substances.

So far, if the rules of Bacon's paradigm are accepted, it has a great deal of explanatory power regarding the differences between religions. The main contours of Judaism were astrologically explained in terms of Saturn, those of Islam in terms of Venus, those of Christianity in terms of Mercury. What about the similarities between religions? During conjunctions with Jupiter, as we saw, an interface was established that allowed interspecies influence among the planets involved. And once the species exist on earth they emit rays and permit mutual influence. The result was that religions could absorb aspects of other religions. The primary sects can be likened to base substances which, through interaction, could absorb characteristics of each other and become as Bacon put it "combinatory" or "compound" religions (*sectae compositae*). Buddhists (*idolatrae*) came to have Christian-like ascetic monks who took vows of chastity, possessed "synagogues," and used bells like Christians even though they worshipped multiple gods.[76] Likewise pagans, who worshipped many things in both heaven and earth, yet still believed firmly in an afterlife.[77]

The Mongols worshipped one omnipotent god yet venerated fire all the while educating their children in the Gospel and lives of Church Fathers, and they requested Christian priests, crosses, and holy water when ill.[78] Today we can explain such complexities in historical as well as anthropological and functionalist terms. For Bacon it was all astrology, species, substance, and alchemy. Under the proper conditions a religion became a *mixtum*, a "combinatory religion," which followed physical rules that could be understood, explained, and mastered.

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76 Roger Bacon, *Opus Maius* (see note 1), 369.
77 Roger Bacon, *Opus Maius* (see note 1), 369.
78 Roger Bacon, *Opus Maius* (see note 1), 370.

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Although the number of principal sects was fixed, religious interfaces could produce a variety of composite mixtures.[79]

Astrologically speaking, such transformations of religions were produced when respective planets came into a conjunction with Jupiter, with the most spectacular changes (such as the emergence or destruction of religions) coinciding with tenth revolutions of Saturn. When this happened, one of the following three results could be effected, each differing more in degree than in kind: 1. the followers of one sect would be "inclined" to characteristics of the other planet in the conjunction; 2. the followers of one sect would convert completely to that of the other respective planet; 3. a sect would be "modified" by the species of the other planet by adopting at least part of its tenets. "Through this process compound sects emerge from the parts of the other [principal or base] sects."[80] Hence although Muslims were of the species of Venus they "derived much from the Jewish law and from the Christian law" over generations of inter-species contact.

In this case Venus provided the "radical complexion" for Islam but it was still influenced in its secondary complexion by the species of Judaism and Christianity. The results were eclectic: Islam is voluptuous in nature and desire yet it recognizes that Jesus was a prophet born of a virgin, incorporates aspects of the gospel in its teachings, and they wish to die a Christian death.[81]

The Mongols were a particularly difficult case for Bacon. They were a wild card "in play," so to speak, in the impending apocalyptic drama. There was a good chance, in Bacon's estimation, that the Mongols were the prophesied Gog and Magog who would serve as Antichrist's shock troops in the last days. If this were the case then the Mongols would become heavily influenced or transmuted by the nefarious Law of the Moon, the Law of Corruption, which would power Antichrist and his minions. Bacon thought the identification of the Mongols with Gog and Magog was likely but not certain; the issue, he told Clement, required further study.[82] The base for their complexion, however, was Mars and this was why they

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79 "Sectae autem compositae sunt ex omnibus istis . . . secundum diversas combinationes" (Religions, however, can be composites drawn out of the others . . . and following various combinations), Roger Bacon, *Opus Maius* (see note 1), 367.

80 Roger Bacon, *Opus Maius* (see note 1), 371.

81 "Nam Saraceni licit principaliter utuntur lege Venerea, tamen miscent multum de lege Judaeorum et lege Christiana . . . . Christum autem dicunt Filium Virginis, et maximum prophetarum et multa Evangelica dicta retinent in sua lege, et omnes desiderant mori morte Christianorum" (The Muslims mainly follow the law of Venus though they mingle in much of the laws of Judaism and Christianity . . . . They say, moreover, that Christ was the son of a virgin as well as a great prophet. Many sayings from the Gospel are in their law and they all wish to die a Christian death), Roger Bacon, *Opus Maius* (see note 1), 371.

82 Roger Bacon, *Opus Maius* (see note 1), 268–69.

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venerated fire just as the Chaldeans did, who long ago were children of Mars and subscribed to its law. The complexions of Mars also gave the Mongols their great affinity for war and philosophy. For Bacon, as we shall see below, great prowess for war and philosophy went hand in hand with the Mongols as he believed it was quite clear that they were using the power of the secret sciences of the antediluvian tradition to win their stunning victories. The Mongol Law of Mars, however, had been partially modified by Christianity, the Law of Mercury, which inclined them to aspects of Christianity, as we saw above regarding their consultation of Christian priests and use of holy water.[83]

In the final talley, the Mongols were a grave threat but their ultimate status was yet to be determined.

We can summarize Bacon's thought on religions as substances, as well as how they came into existence and how they changed, in the following three ways. First, there were and could only be at one given time six principal religions that corresponded to the six planetary species without factoring in Jupiter which played the role of governor between the planets/religions. Each planet produced a complexion and corresponded to a principal religion. During a tenth revolution of Saturn the species of a planet and the complexion it imputed to the inhabitants of a region could crystallize into a religious law under a great person, the three greatest examples of this being Moses, Jesus, and Muhammad. When two or more of the planets came into conjunction with Jupiter, a celestial interface was established which permitted a tremendous amount of influence between the bodies and hence the religions, planetary interfaces that produced such effects as Islam accepting that Jesus was a prophet born of a virgin or Mongols teaching the Gospel to their children. In effect, this altered the secondary complexion of the religion, adding a new taste to the "jug" with a strength that varied depending on conditions. These processes followed the rules of Bacon's theory of the multiplication of species and were thus measurable, predictable, and susceptible to human understanding and analysis.

Bacon, Muslims, and Mongols
Altering the Atmosphere: Philosophy, Species, and the Alchemy of Religious Conversion

Physically speaking, Bacon saw religions as products of "atmosphere" and the Kindian rays/species that saturated it to provide individual and aggregate

83 Roger *Bacon*, *Opus Maius* (see note 1), 372.

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complexions. They were substances, with both essence and accidence, and like all substances underwent change. Aristotle's advice to Alexander in the *Secretum* for dealing with enemies was to alter their "atmosphere" if possible and to kill them if it were not. We are now in a position to decipher this statement in physical, Baconian terms.

Bacon's understanding of "changing the atmosphere" was not a metaphorical turn of phrase but an actual physical process that tapped into the very core of antediluvian science. Altering the atmosphere, in a way that smacks of astral magic mingled with alchemy, transformed bodies by transmuting complexions and the new complexions in turn altered morality and "excited" or incited the souls of the targets and drew good morality out of their own free will. This was one of the great secrets that Aristotle taught Alexander though, as a true initiate of prophetic knowledge and science, the Philosopher would never fully divulge the details of such a powerful secret in a single writing.[84] Doing so was the cause for the confusion God threw upon this knowledge long ago when nefarious men used it to make themselves false gods. Doing so again would play into the hands of Antichrist. Just as the Beast would use it to alter the complexions of men and turn nation against nation so it could and should be used for mass religious conversion. Believing as he did that he was living through the last days, Bacon expected apocalyptic mass conversion to happen and that Christendom, under the direction of a great pope and Bacon himself, would play an active role in it. Missionaries of strong spiritual fortitude and armed with Baconian science, the "greatest secret" in the *Secretum*, would bring the world to a successful conclusion.

It is impossible to exaggerate the power that words had for Bacon. Words were the "first work of the rational soul" and when uttered by the right person under the right celestial circumstances were capable of altering physical reality and bending it to the speaker's will. This, Bacon tells us, is how the saints, such as Moses, permformed their miracles and transformed men. Bacon added, in his route yet relentless way, the qualifying clause "excepting the issue of free will," doubtlessly to protect himself from the well deserved charge of astral fatalism.[85] The power of words, however, is crystal clear. Words, for initiates, held the same power that alchemy had over matter in that they could transform one substance into another

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84 "Voluit enim quod aer eorum potuit alterari utiliter, ut complexiones corporum eorum alterentur, et deinde animi excitati per complexiones elicerent bonos mores ex arbitrii libertate . . . ." (He wanted to transform their atmosphere so that he could transform their physical complexions which in turn would incite their souls through the complexions and tap into the potentially good conduct from their free will . . . .), Roger Bacon, *Opus Maius* (see note 1), 218.

85 Roger Bacon, *Opus Maius* (see note 1), 124–25.

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and essentially for the same physical reasons via Bacon's theory of the multiplication of species. Much as Satan did with Eve and the Master of Hungary did with the mob in Paris. Words are the tools of the trade for missionaries of any age but for Bacon they played an actual physical role that went far beyond persuasion and argument. When Bacon's new breed of missionaries spoke words it projected their rational souls and complexions into the atmosphere, multiplied into and recreated the contiguous layers of media in the air, and altered the bodies of potential converts by reshaping their complexions. These refashioned complexions then "excited" the minds of converts, stripping them of the essence and accidence of their moral and religious form, transmuting them from one religious substance into Christians.

The transformation of one religious substance into another was a very difficult and demanding one. To amplify the power of the words they should be synchronized with proper celestial positioning, which could change even hourly, to tap into planetary species in the most potent way. This, for Bacon, was the physical reality that existed beneath religious conversion. Alchemical theories and astral magic, through the mechanism of species multiplication, were unified into a universal master science that forced the physical world to obey the desires of the initiate.

Bacon believed that a "top down" approach to mass conversion was most effective.[86] Conversion of the intellectual elite would result in multiplication of their new species throughout the social hierarchy until the transformation of complexions was complete. Intellectuals would also be easier to convert. Bacon believed that the constant study of philosophy had led many Muslim intellectuals to arrive at Christian conclusions on their own and to criticize many important aspects of their own faith. True philosophy was a cure for incorrect faith. Although Bacon's view on the power and effect of words in religious conversion was unique his approach to what the words themselves would be was in full alignment with the trends and approaches of his time: philosophical disputation.

Philosophy, for Bacon, was a common idiom and pursuit of the intellectual elite among most humans. It was a revealed method God gave to all races, a "vestige of divine wisdom," a tool by which they could prepare to begin the process of approaching divine truths.[87] Although philosophy was a universal language it was

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86 Roger Bacon, *Opus Maius* (see note 1), 373–74. Bacon claims that he could create an effective approach to converting the common people but that it would not really be worth the effort; conversion of infidel philosophers would essentially bring about the eventual conversion of the common people.

87 Roger Bacon, *Opus Maius* (see note 1), 373.

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spoken in a variety of linguistic dialects so missionaries could not even begin to transform subjects until they learned the requisite languages for properly projecting the species of Christianity. In addition to mastering the languages of the subjects Bacon recommended sufficient training in rhetoric to fashion the words in the most effective way.

In addition to disputing in the languages of people targeted for conversion, Bacon insisted that their religious texts must be accepted as premises for the dialogue. To properly refute Judaism, for example, disputation or preaching must be done based on interpretations of scripture in their own language.[88] He firmly believed that philosophy was a divinely revealed tool for distinguishing between truth and fallacies that was acceptable to intellectuals of all races. For philosophy to succeed in this, all religious texts needed to be admitted into evidence. If missionaries refused to deal with the texts of other religions then subjects for conversion would respond by refusing to consider Christian sources.[89] Furthermore, if missionaries did not understand and tackle non-Christian sources they would not be able to demonstrably refute them in a disputation. Bacon was by no means unique in taking this tack in attempts to convert non Christians as the method was gaining wide currency even if its success was limited.[90]

Much of Bacon's approach to disputation was derived primarily from Arabic sources and, interestingly, from William of Rubruck's descriptions of "successful" religious debates between Christians, Muslims, and Buddhists at the court of the Great Khan in Karakorum.[91] It was essentially a synthetic recapitulation and adaptation of the approaches of Alfarabi, Avicenna, and Albumazar. The disputation would begin by examining the implications of the proposition that God was the first cause of all things and the conclusions that must follow from this premise. God was infinite, perfect, and singular and thus created a singular world in which an infinite amount of reverence was due to Him. From this elaboration on the first premise came a chain of further premises: God was a just judge; humans live in a finite world filled with misery but could eventually pass into a

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88 Roger Bacon, *Opus Maius* (see note 1), 120.

89 Roger Bacon, *Opus Maius* (see note 1), 373, 393.

90 For extremely insightful and astute treatments of the "new" approach to disputation with Jews in Spain see Robert Chazan, *Daggers of the Faith: Thirteenth Century Christian Missionizing and the Jewish Response* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989), and Robert Chazan, *Barcelona and Beyond: The Disputation of 1263 and Its Aftermath* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992). For the completely opposite approach to such methods of "conversion," see *The Trial of the Talmud: Paris, 1240*, trans. John Friedman and Jean Connell Hoff. Mediaeval Sources in Translation, 53 (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 2012).

91 Roger Bacon, *Opus Maius* (see note 1), 376.

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future life of infinite bliss; the will of God was infinite and thus impossible to fully understand by finite human beings without divine assistance. This led to the unavoidable conclusion that for a religion to understand God truly it must have been produced by a divine revelation for finite humans to be able to catch a glimpse of the infinite. This was an assumption that the Jewish, Muslim, and Mongol elite already held and would serve as the common point of departure for demonstrating that Christianity was the true religion by taking into account Christian, Jewish, and Muslim beliefs.[92]

Jews, Muslims, and Mongols all believed that their revelations were true and produced the one true religion through their own laws. As Bacon pointed out, members of a religion would not believe in their faith without the understanding that it was produced by a revelation. Since God was singular revelation had to be singular. Multiple revelations would only be possible in a universe containing a plurality of worlds, which was not the case.[93] Bacon cited Avicenna's claim that there could only be one mediator between the singular God and humanity.[94] But was it Moses, Jesus, or Muhammad? How could this be "demonstrated"? Bacon formulated his line of argumentation based on Alfarabi and recast Avicenna's singular mediator into a singular lawgiver.[95] The validity of a religious lawgiver must be evaluated in terms of the validity of divine inspiration which involved comparing claims made in the scriptures of Judaism, Islam, and Christianity.

Moses gave divine laws but they were incomplete and had corruptions (remember God is infinite and perfect not incomplete and corrupt). That his law was incomplete was evident from the fact that Jews still awaited the messiah which demonstrates Judaism was unfinished. The Law of Moses was corrupt in that it "contains abominations, irrationalities, and intolerable things" such as animal sacrifices and other "infinite abuses." According to Bacon these rituals were needed because the law was incomplete and God needed a way "to keep the Jews busy" (*Deus occupavit eos in hujusmodi*) so they would not slip into idolatry. The final goal of the religion also underscored its imperfect nature as the Law of Moses emphasized temporal over spiritual blessings. It needed to be completed and perfected as Jews themselves acknowledged in awaiting the messiah. The Law of Moses, however, had been completed through Jesus and Bacon claimed this was demonstrable through examples from Jewish sources such as Jospehus who, Bacon wrote, claimed that all prophecies had come true in Jesus. The final point Bacon

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92 Roger Bacon, *Opus Maius* (see note 1), 385.
93 Roger Bacon, *Opus Maius* (see note 1), 386.
94 Roger Bacon, *Opus Maius* (see note 1), 386.
95 Roger Bacon, *Opus Maius* (see note 1), 386.

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made was that just as God was infinite and had no end the law based on His true revelation should not have an end. During the time of Christ the Jewish priesthood lost its authority and confirmed Daniel's prophecy.[96]

Disputations with Muslims followed the same approach and, Bacon thought, would yield similar results. Muhammad, in the Qu'ran, said that Jesus was born from the union of a virgin (*dicit Christum natum de virgine*) and the Holy Spirit and it acknowledged that he was a major prophet of God (*majorem prophetam Dei*).[97] Muhammad could not and did not make such a claim for himself, thus demonstrating that Jesus was a greater lawgiver than Muhammad. Since the premise had already been established that there could be only one law, the "superior" one Christ introduced must be the true law, something that could be gleaned even from "the book of their own law."

While the Law of Moses privileged temporal over spiritual good the law of Muhammad was myopic in its focus on the flesh. Bacon claimed that Muslims well versed in philosophy, particularly Avicenna, faulted their religion on this score and contradicted both their priests and general populations.[98] Bacon then claimed that Islam could not be the true law because it was not infinite. He demonstrated this through both an Islamic text and actual events that had recently taken place. Abu Mashar's astrological prediction stated that Islam would cease to exist 693 years after its founding and it was already in its 665th year of existence.[99]

Bacon also pointed out, almost triumphantly, that the destruction of Islam had already begun at the hands of the Mongols. Thirteen years earlier their caliph, "who holds the position of pope among them," was killed and Baghdad captured along with a countless number of Muslims.[100] As Islam was in the very process of ending, and this was verified through both astrological predictions and physical events, the law obviously could not be the true one. According to Bacon's calculations, he was writing in the 665th year of the existence of Islam. So if we insist on exact rather than veiled numbers (though the later is more appropriate for prophetic numerology) then Islam only had twenty eight years of existence left

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96 Roger Bacon, *Opus Maius* (see note 1), 390–92.

97 Roger Bacon, *Opus Maius* (see note 1), 393.

98 Roger Bacon, *Opus Maius* (see note 1), 383.

99 "Et Albumazar in primo libro Conjunctionem docet quod ad plus non durabit secta illa nisi 693 annos, et jam transierunt 665 . . . ." [Albumazar in his first book on Conjunctions taught that Islam would not exist more than 693 years and 665 years have already passed),Roger Bacon, *Opus Maius* (see note 1), 389.

100 "Ita quod Kaliph qui est loco papae apud eos jam destructus est tredecim annis, et Baldach civitas istius Kaliph capta cum infinita multitudine Saracenorum" (The Caliph, who holds the position of pope among them, was killed thirteen years ago and his city, Baghdad, was captured along with a countless number of Muslims), Roger Bacon, *Opus Maius* (see note 1), 390.

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when Bacon wrote the papal opera. This would place the last possible year for the continued existence of Islam as 1294, though Bacon qualified this by stating divine will and other causes could modify the timetable.

Finishing up the case against Islam, Bacon added some *ad hominem* shots against Muhammad which, he claimed, were testified to in the Quran. Muhammad led a very vile life. He was an adulterer. He was a mass rapist. It was impossible that such a man would be chosen by God to receive a revelation and the true law.[101]

Bacon, again heavily leaning on Alfarabi, posited two final measures for establishing the identity of the true lawgiver and religion: testimony by other prophets and the ability to perform miracles. Bacon argued quickly and succinctly that prophets both preceding and following Jesus bore witness to him as the perfect lawgiver and that this claim could be made for neither Moses nor Muhammad.[102] The issue of miracles was much trickier since Jewish and Islamic sources needed to be included.

Regarding the miracles performed by Muhammad Bacon was of the opinion they were produced by fraud but, for the sake of disputation, he would concede that they happened but claimed that there was still no comparison between the miracles performed by Jesus and those of Muhammad. The miracles of Moses were more difficult to deal with as they were important to Bacon not only spiritually but in his conception of science and its ability to bend reality. Conceding that the three candidates for true lawgiver all had miracles ascribed to them, Bacon introduced quantity and quality as criteria for evaluating them. In the Gospel of John it was written that the number of miracles Jesus performed was so great that they could not be listed in a single book.

The miracles of Moses and Jesus were much fewer and more manageable. Qualitatively speaking, Jesus performed the greatest miracle of all in his ability to forgive sins and cure souls, something that only God could do. The "corporeal miracles" of Moses and Muhammad paled in comparison. Here Bacon was almost a syllogism away from what he considered the definitive proof of "the lawgiver we are looking for." Jesus was not only the lawgiver but its author, God, as was proven in his ability to forgive sins. Neither Moses nor Muhammad could claim

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101 Roger Bacon, *Opus Maius* (see note 1), 392.

102 "Unus est quod ille debet esse legislator perfectus cui perhibent testimonium prophetae praecedentes et subsequentes . . . . Sed non perhibent testimonium prophetae praecedentes et subsequentes Moysi nec Machometo. Ergo Christus solus est legislator quem quaerimus" (One proof is that the perfect lawgiver should have the testimony of other prophets both preceding and following him . . . . But none, neither Moses nor Muhammad, have the testimony of prophets both preceding and following them. Therefore Christ alone is the lawgiver we are looking for), Roger Bacon, *Opus Maius* (see note 1), 393–94.

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to be God so the conclusion to draw was the lawgiver who was God gave the true law of God.[103]

There is nothing particularly peculiar about the content of the "words" Bacon proffered for winning converts to Christianity. Learning the appropriate languages and disputations that took into account the scriptures of those who were to be converted were becoming firmly established practices in the mid thirteenth-century. The most interesting thing about the actual "words" of the disputation was that they were modeled on Islamic sources, for the most part Alfarabi and Albumazar, though they were very heavily seasoned with Christology to make specific Christian points.

The real importance of Bacon's model disputation is not in what he "said" but in the physical process that he believed made the words either work or fail. Conversion followed natural laws. This is what makes his view rather unique. Mass religious conversion for Bacon was a physical transformation, inextricably intertwined with astrology, of the bodies and souls of targeted converts rather than mere rhetorical persuasion (though the process certainly involved logic and rhetoric). Primarily it was an astral issue for Bacon and as such "election," that all important astrological timing that made a venture either a success or failure, was critical. Successful mass conversion was a transformation of the atmosphere using words, species, and celestial forces and for Bacon it was physically explicable and to an extent controllable.

Killing the Rest: The New Arsenal of Christendom and Those Who Cannot Be Converted

Bacon had a marked degree of spiritual compassion for those non-Christian souls he believed had been, and would be, condemned to hell for their disbelief. It was his firm belief that Christendom should save as many souls as possible and he listed the conversion of infidels as the third of the four legitimate uses of knowledge. The fourth use was the repression of those who cannot be converted while avoiding the spilling of Christian blood.[104] Those who could not be

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103 "Sed dimittere peccatum et curare animam est infinitum miraculum, et majus quam infinita miracula facere corporalis. Et huic annexum est maximum argumentus pro Christo. Nam nullus potest dimittere peccatum nisi fuerit Deus: ergo ipse fuit Deus" (The forgiving of sins and healing of the soul is the ultimate miracle and far greater than any number of physical miracles. This is a great argument on behalf of Christ. For no one is able to forgive sins unless they were God. Therefore he was God), Roger Bacon, *Opus Maius* (see note 1), 395.

104 Roger Bacon, *Opus Maius* (see note 1), 1.

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converted were dangerous and the non-Christian world was making ever greater territorial gains.

The Mongol onslaught and defeat of Louis IX in Egypt made particularly deep impressions on him and he was convinced that the apocalyptic clock was ticking ever closer to the imminent arrival of Antichrist. Nation would soon turn on nation in the catastrophic conflict that would trap Christians "like birds in birdlime" and begin the end of the world. Those who could not be converted to Christianity would serve in the ranks of Antichrist and this could not be permitted. Bacon heeded well Pseudo Aristotle's words in the *Secretum*: if you can change their atmosphere (i.e., convert them) then do so and if you cannot then kill them. Bacon, as we have seen, had a broad if idiosyncratic view for transforming Christian strategies for conversion. He had an equally broad program in mind for transforming and drastically improving Christendom's performance on the battlefield.

The new weapons that Bacon had planned for Christendom's future arsenal can be divided into two categories. The first was a form of offensive astral magic that was capable of defeating armies that had overwhelming numerical superiority. It seems as though the effect on armies was related to complexion changes involved in his approach to conversion but this cannot be said with certainty. The second form was wondrous military devices, created by experimental scientists, which could inflict massive casualties on enemy forces while reducing or eliminating altogether Christian deaths. Both had been used during the past but knowledge of them had died out long ago; the knowledge, however, was reappearing as it would play a great role, on both sides, in the apocalyptic battle that Bacon believed was imminent based on his understanding of prophecy.

Two examples of this arsenal's effectiveness were the conquests of Alexander the Great (which the *Secretum* explained) and the recent Mongol onslaught (which Bacon himself explained).

Bacon spilled much ink in addressing the threat posed by the Mongols, a threat that he evaluated in terms of prophecy, astrology, and secret sciences. Although not absolutely certain, Bacon thought it likely that the Mongols were the monstrous races Gog and Magog, the future firebrands of Antichrist, whom Alexander had enclosed behind a great gate in the east. Geographically they came from the right region. Through Louis IX's Franciscan ambassador to the Mongols, William of Rubruck, Bacon had confirmation that the gate already had been broken and the Mongols spilled out of it: "Without doubt [*proculdubio*] the Mongols were confined behind those gates and have emerged from them. And we

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know with certainty that those gates have been broken."[105] William, Bacon's source, knew this for a fact and first hand at that: he passed through the remains of the gate while traveling through Mongol lands on his way to their capitol in Karakorum. Definite identification of the Mongols with Gog and Magog, however, would only be possible through a rigorous and systematic study of prophecies. But the fact that the gate was broken and the Mongols emerged from beyond it made it highly probable.

William's experience among the Mongols was a harrowing one.[106] His whole treatise, *The Customs of the Tartars*, gives one the feeling that William was walking through the Inferno without the benefit of a Virgil to guide him. Bacon not only made a study of William's account but personally met him and discussed the Mongol threat in depth. What fascinated and frightened Bacon most was William's description, in his written account and conversation, of Mongol skills in astronomy. Mongol astrologers were more studious than those found in any other nation. They were the principal advisors to the Khan and nothing was done without their consent.

Mongol astrologers not only chose the proper times for conflicts and predicted the future but actively used astrology to produce great works on their battlefields. Here William's observation that Mongol astrologers had the power to affect the weather played an important role. Affecting the weather was surely for Bacon an alteration of atmosphere and hence complexions, the greatest secret of the *Secretum* which Bacon learned. Just as the alteration of the atmosphere transformed complexions to bring about religious conversion so it could also be used as a weapon to attack and weaken enemy forces on the battlefield. We can catch a glimpse of what Bacon had in mind when he explained that Moses used such astrological powers to change matter and produce the miracles that set the Hebrews free of Egyptian bondage.[107]

It was through these astrological works that Mongols won their stunning victories. Mongols were not physically impressive according to Bacon. Actually they were very small, carried few weapons, yet consistently destroyed numerically superior forces. "This is clearly not possible to do through the power of arms but only through the power of science, astronomy in particular."[108] Bacon was convinced that the Mongols, whether they truly were Gog and Magog or not, were

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105 Roger Bacon, *Opus Maius* (see note 1), 268.

106 William of Rubruck's account, *The Customs of the Tartars*, is informative and fascinating reading. See William of Rubruck, "The Journey of William of Rubruck," *Mission to Asia*, ed. and trans. Christopher Dawson. Medieval Academy Reprints for Teaching 8 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1992).

107 Roger Bacon, *Opus Maius* (see note 1), 125.

108 Roger Bacon, *Opus Maius* (see note 1), 401.

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using the same techniques found in the *Secretum* that allowed Aristotle to "hand over the world" to Alexander. The only thing that could slow the Mongol advance was divine intervention in the form of inciting discord among them to give Christendom enough breathing room to plan its response.[109]

Bacon believed that Islam already began its astrological and physical slide into extinction but he was also convinced that it still had quite a bit of fight left in it, enough at least to pose a very serious threat to Christendom. As already noted, Bacon said there could only be six principal sects at any given time. He offers readers, depending on the particular subject at hand, three different rosters for the sects and, significantly, in the last one he deleted Islam and added the sect of Antichrist. Presumably, he decided that in the upcoming apocalyptic drama that was unfolding Islam was now out of the running as Antichrist has entered the race.[110] Albumazar's astrological prediction about the destruction of Islam was right on time: there was no greater proof of this than the Mongol sack of Baghdad, execution of the Caliph, and the slaughter of tens of thousands of Muslims on the battlefield. Although Muslims were getting crushed on their eastern front they were achieving great victories on their western front, their Christian front. Bacon attributed this, somewhat confusingly and rather inconsistently, to Muslims using the same astrological powers against the crusaders.[111]

He gave no explanation for why Muslims did not fare better against the Mongols if they possessed a comparable degree of astral knowledge and power. Muslims or Mongols (or worse yet both), had already struck the Christian homeland with astral based "fascination" to sow discord within Christendom through the Master of Hungary, who Bacon was convinced was a foreign agent from the east.[112] The level of danger here was extremely great because, regardless of the details, the weapons that Muslims and Mongols had for attacking Christendom were the same that Antichrist would use in bringing prophecy to a terrible fruition on a cataclysmic scale.[113]

In addition to the wide power astral magic would wield on the battlefield, Bacon had in mind a rich array of military devices that experimental scientists could produce. Parabolic burning mirrors were one of his favorites. Here Bacon fancied himself as a sort of medieval Oppenheimer who could completely obliterate mass

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109 Roger Bacon, *Opus Maius* (see note 1), 400.
110 Roger Bacon, *Opus Maius* (see note 1), 370.
111 Roger Bacon, *Opus Maius* (see note 1), 401.
112 Roger Bacon, *Opus Maius* (see note 1), 401.
113 "Quicquid sit de Tartaris et Saracenis, certum est de Antichristo et suis, quod haec operabuntur" [Whatever the case may be regarding the Mongols and Muslims, it is certain that Antichrist and his minions will utilize these techniques]. Roger Bacon, *Opus Maius* (see note 1), 402.

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armies and cities from whatever distance was desired without spilling Christian blood. Experimental scientists could manufacture mirrors that could "liquefy any metal, reduce to ashes anything made of stone, destroy any army or any castle; they can destroy anything at all and not just those things that are close but things that are as far away as they wish."[114]

Louis IX failed to secure the holy land with his army but Bacon claimed that one master well versed in this science along with just two assistants (*illum magistrum cum duobus aliis*) could have done "much more than the majority of his troops, probably more than his entire army."[115] These mirrors had defensive functions that were just as impressive as their offensive uses. If the city of Acre had twelve specially designed mirrors (*duodecim talia specula*) then "those living in the Crusader States would be able to drive the Muslims from their borders without Christian bloodshed."[116] Bacon also believed mirrors and optical theory could be used for reconnaissance and intelligence gathering by viewing the enemy at any distance as well as conducting what we today would call "psychological operations" through creating optical illusions that could make Christian armies look much larger than they actually were and other "special effects" that would confuse and terrify the enemy.

Primitive fragmentation grenades also played a role in Bacon's new arsenal. Part of his inspiration for these apparently came from children playing with firecrackers "in diverse parts of the world." These firecrackers were only about the size of a finger but produced fire and sound that hit human ears with great force. Bacon suggested increasing the amount of black powder and encasing it in a solid body that would unleash even greater violence. Bacon advised mixing it with the ingredients for Greek fire or other combustible substances to increase the destructive force to the point in which nothing could survive the blast.[117] Bacon believed such devices were used in the past with a case in point being Gideon's defeat of the Midianites.

Bacon promised many other military "miracles" that would end the Mongol and Muslim menaces as well as provide Christendom with the appropriate tools for confronting Antichrist. Mongols and Muslims were already using such tools and Antichrist certainly would. Such devices were, however, still in what we today would call the "research and development" phase. To create and actually use them, sound leadership and much funding were required. The papal opera were

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114 Roger Bacon, *Opus Tertium* (see note 11), 52.
115 Roger Bacon, *Opus Tertium* (see note 11), 117.
116 Roger Bacon, *Opus Tertium* (see note 11), 116.
117 Roger Bacon, *Opus Tertium* (see note 11), 51.

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in essence much like an extended research grant proposal. As an individual, Bacon had taken the research and development as far as one person could. Bacon cast Clement IV in the mold of a great apocalyptic pope who must properly arm Christendom, intellectually and physically, to weather the storm of the Last Days. Or from another vantage point, Clement would be a new Alexander and Bacon, his Aristotle, would hand him the world just as the *Secretum* related.

When that project fell apart with the untimely death of Clement, Bacon never won another papal hearing. Years later he may well have shifted hopes for such leadership to the King of England, either Henry III or Edward I, for whom Bacon seems to have created his critical edition of the *Secretum*, still confident that it held the key to the successes Christendom so desperately needed.[118]

Conclusion: The Man Who Knew Everything

When Roger Bacon looked to the East he did so primarily from an "Eastern" point of view that was shaped predominantly, though not exclusively, by sources of Islamic origin (original works, commentaries, and of course forgeries). Bacon's soul, in so far as we can attempt to read it, without doubt reveals a moral core that was uncompromisingly Christian and Stoic. The only positive thoughts he had regarding peoples of the East was when discussing their philosophers, chiefly Avicenna, whom Bacon praised greatly for their morals as he refashioned them into quasi-Christians. To be a true philosopher was, for Bacon, to be at the very least Christian-like by definition. His heart and mind, however, belonged very much to the Arabic mystico-illuminationist tradition, a tradition that drank deeply from the Neoplatonism of late antiquity, a tradition that believed in an intellectual elite that could pierce the veneer of the apparent reality around them to find a hidden nexus of seething causation.[119]

A long tradition of scholarship on Bacon has focused on, both for and against, his supposed "uniqueness" as a scientific mind in thirteenth century Western Europe. Bacon was a ferocious anti-scholastic Scholastic, simultaneously a product of the schools and one of their most vehement critics. Much conjecture on Bacon as the intellectual outsider has focused on either some supposed innate genius the man had or the supposed "Englishness" of his cast of mind, a mind nurtured in an incipient Oxford tradition that stressed an English "empiricism" over a

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118 Steven J. Williams, "Roger Bacon and his Edition of the Pseudo-Aristotelian *Secretum Secretorum*" (see note 14): 67.

119 For a fascinating study on how the Hellenic Greek empircal tradition transmuted into a Hellenistic illuminationist tradition, see Arnaldo Momigliano, *Alien Wisdom: The Limits of Hellenization* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1975).

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continental addiction to logical gymnastics.[120] Paris, however, had a thriving and dynamic empirical tradition; "young" Bacon was almost certainly a product of it rather than Oxford. If an Oxford tradition does not explain Bacon's idiosyncratic approach to so many things, then what can?

I would suggest that the answer can be found in two places, one physical and real and the other rather disembodied, abstract, and actually imagined. The first and physical one: ninth-century Baghdad. The translator-scholar group that formed around Al-Kindi, who served as its nominal dean, continued yet also significantly recreated an illuminationist Neoplatonic tradition that played a much larger role in the forging of the "mature" Bacon's mind than had either Oxford or Paris. It should be noted that Albumazar was also a colleague of Al-Kindi and part of the group, and that the *Secretum*'s forged introduction by Pseudo-Yahya connected "Aristotle" to the fruit of this think tank as well. The second, the abstract and imagined: the poly-chronic, inter-sectarian brotherhood of philosopher-scientists who worked together in a textual community that transcended location and time.

Religious affiliation, geography, and time period were no barriers here: all true philosophers were welcome in this textual community because all true philosophers must, by definition, have been illuminated by God. Avicenna was part of Bacon's community even though Bukhara was far indeed from Paris and centuries separated their careers. Alhacen, just as far away in terms of time and place, had membership, too. Alfarabi, Albumazar, Al-Kindi, and many others were also charter members. Who God chose to illuminate, who God chose to be a participant in this community, was predicated solely on divine sovereignty. Again, it must be emphasized that this view shares no common ground at all with modern notions of tolerance or multiculturalism.

The tremendous goodwill Bacon had regarding Muslim philosophers was the same that he extended to non-Christians such as Aristotle, Plato, and Seneca. Bacon was very generous in handing out post mortem baptisms to his favorite pagan and Muslim philosophers. Illumination transformed Muslim philosophers

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120 The high water mark of this alleged "English genius for empiricism" view is certainly R. W. Southern, *Robert Grosseteste: The Growth of an English Mind in Medieval Europe*, 2nd ed. (1986; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992). Although the work is brilliant in so many ways, particularly in its treatment of Grosseteste's work on Aristotle's *Posterior Analytics*, the fundamental thesis of the text has been rejected by virtually all Grosseteste specialists. For the roster of critics, see Steven J. Williams, "Roger Bacon in Context: Empiricism in the High Middle Ages" (see note 3), 124.

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into something altogether different from "real" Muslims. In Bacon's view to be a true philosopher was to forfeit non-Christian status.[121]

Bacon's uniqueness sprang from his wholehearted adoption of and commitment to— almost whole cloth— the mystico-illuminationist world view that emerged from Islamic scholars wrestling with the Greco-Roman science and its implications for monotheism. Scholars such as Albert and Aquinas were far more cautious in shaving this mysticism from the Arabic works they used in the creation of mainstream Scholasticism. Bacon scholarship has focused a bit too much on particular contributions: did Bacon introduce the idea of gunpowder to Western Europe, did Bacon's work play a role in later sea exploration and the discovery of the Americas, did Bacon contribute knowledge to this specific innovation or did he advance our knowledge in that field? Even the best such question of all, the question of Bacon's role in the history of optics, does not even begin to provide an answer to what makes him unique though it certainly established his bona fides as a significant figure in the history of science and his long term importance.

Over the past fifteen years of thinking about Bacon, and trying, as best I could, to think *like* Bacon, I have come to believe that Bacon's greatest importance in the history of science is not in any set of particular contributions but rather in his wild, even reckless penchant for following his imagination and the imaginations found in his sources to believe in the possibility of anything. He had an unyielding, unrestricted, mystical, in retrospect almost naïve belief that there is far more to the functioning of the natural world than what our senses tell us. He did not learn this in either Oxford or Paris. He learned it principally from an amazing group of prodigiously productive scholars based in Baghdad (the Kindi group), an intellectually amazing Persian from Central Asia who wrote in Arabic (Avicenna), and the nameless forgers of forgeries who produced Pseudo-Aristotle's *Secret of Secrets*. To this ensemble we can add, as if it were a classic Cecil B. DeMille film, a cast of thousands. Listing all those who played supporting roles would result in a virtual annotated bibliography of thirteenth-century thought.[122]

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121 For an interesting study on four mendicants (including Bacon) who believed that the great Muslim philosophers did not really believe in Islam, see John Tolan, "Saracen Philosophers Secretly Deride Islam," *Medieval Encounters* 8.2–3 (2002): 184–208.

122 In this paper I have not discussed the numerous Latin authors and sources that obviously played a major role in the development of Bacon's thought. There are two reasons for this. First, to admit such Latin authors into this discussion would have, at the very least, doubled the length of the the paper. The value of doing so, for the subject of Bacon and the East, did not seem to justify the overall process of doing so. Second, in his consideration of the East from the 1260s on Bacon views so many of his Latin sources through the prism of his Arabic sources that, for his larger vision, the importance of the Latinity of these sources becomes rather diluted. For readers wanting to explore further the Christian sources that most influenced Bacon, other than Augustine, good names to begin with are Robert Grosseteste, Adam Marsh, and, probably most important of them all, Peter

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Roger Bacon facing East is historically important mostly because it pushed his thought to the limit. The stakes were high there for many reasons, the most important of which were rooted in his belief that he was living in the apocalyptic age. Knowledge had to have *utilitas*, or it would lead only to "the blindness of Hell." According to Bacon, knowledge had only four proper uses, two of which dealt with the non-Christian world: conversion of non-Christians and defense against non-Christians who could not be converted (which correspond to the *Secretum*'s change the atmosphere or kill them all). Bacon's ultimate goal was preparing for the onslaught of Antichrist; all other issues, in the East or in the West, were subordinate to this greatest of all imperatives.[123]

Bacon struggled most in his attempts to apply his theories to the East and in this struggle we can view its totality, strengths, and weaknesses, best. I think the best way to close this study is not with something as forceful as a "conclusion," but rather with a tentative list of some key ironies that emerge from considering Bacon's approach to the East.

It is ironic that when Bacon viewed the East he did so primarily from an "Eastern" perspective. One would be really hard pressed to find a single Christian textual source, other than William of Rubruck's *On the Customs of the Tartars,* that played a crucial role in Bacon's answer to his "Eastern question." As we have seen, Avicenna, Albumazar, and Al-Kindi, along with some heavy doses of the optical theories of Alhacen and Alfarabi's approach to the comparative study of religions, were the main materials Bacon used to forge his approach to the East. It is also ironic that Bacon has historically been lauded as a "poster boy" for some sort of nascent rationalism in Western Europe. Bacon, it seems to me, was one of the most pronounced mystical minds of his generation and certainly the most idiosyncratic. His mysticism was not one that, say, a Bernard of Clairvaux would recognize, or one that his own Minister General, Bonaventura, would have approved. Phrases such as "experimental science," which was very dear to Bacon, can all too easily—perhaps inevitably—be misconstrued to mean a prototype for the scientific method by those not fully grounded in the totality of Bacon's thought.

Maricourt. Albertus Magnus, although Bacon detested him and would never concede something as complimenatary as a citation of him, was in many ways like-minded and can be read with profit in understanding Bacon.

123 For Bacon's views on Antichrist and his apocalyptic thought, see Amanda Power, "'In the last days at the end of the world': Roger Bacon and the Reform of Christendom," *Acts of the Franciscan History Conference at the Franciscan International Study Center on 9 September 2006.* Canterbury Studies in Franciscan History 1 (Canterbury: Franciscan International Study Center, 2008), 135–51, and Mark T. Abate, "Roger Bacon and the Rage of Antichrist: The Apocalypse of a Thirteenth Century Natural Philosopher," Ph.D. dissertation, Boston University, 1999.

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What someone knew, as well as what someone could come to know, was for Bacon relentlessly regulated through divine revelation and illumination, which meant the direct stimulation of the soul through the active intellect in a very, very Avicennan way. We can only really know, even through "experiments," what God impresses into us through divine grace.

It is also ironic that Bacon, for many generations, has been seen as the opening salvo for modern science rather than a man eyeball deep in what we today would call magic. After all, we are dealing with a man who believed that nature must obey the minds of (granted specifically) qualified men; not *just* in the sense of knowing the rules of nature and adapting to them but in the actual sense of a man willing The Red Sea to part, or willing that a Muslim be transformed into a Christian, or a chicken willing the growth of a horn on its leg! He believed in a world in which Kindian rays emitted a force as powerful as our concept of universal gravitation, with the exception that these rays can be bent to serve human desires in a way that would leave Newton baffled. Here the categories of magic, science, and maybe even science fiction all collapse in Baconian thought.

Bacon might sound strangely modern at times but he is always quick to disabuse us of such anachronistic thinking when he informs us that in Ethiopia men rode dragons in the air to tenderize their flesh before eating them[124] or that Scythian women had two pupils in each eye by which they could simply stare a man to death.[125] Bacon's reputation as a scientist before his time has been mitigated by the parallel tradition that has cast Bacon more as a sorcerer than a scientist, a tradition that Bacon himself posthumously encouraged through his dependence on natural and astral magic in his thought and in his confession to having used magical texts albeit in a proper, experimental, non-demonic way.[126] Many of the most important of these sources were also ultimately of Arabic provenance.

It is ironic that an Arabic forgery purporting to be one long encrypted riddle sent by Aristotle to Alexander the Great had such a profound impact on the development of Bacon's thought and, in a fashion, the history of science. In his efforts to crack the code he created a fascinating model for universal causation, a model which if properly appreciated ranks very high in the intellectual

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124 Roger Bacon, *Opus Maius*: 211

125 Roger Bacon, *Opus Maius*: 529.

126 For an outstanding, informative, and at times even amusing discussion of changing views on Bacon over the centuries see Amanda Power, "A Mirror for Every Age: The Reputation of Roger Bacon," *English Historical Review* (2006): 657–92. For Bacon's reputation regarding magic, the best place to begin is A.G. Molland, "Roger Bacon as Magician," *Traditio* 30 (1974): 445–66, and A. G. Molland, "Roger Bacon and the Hermetic Tradition in Medieval Science," *Viviarium* 31 (1993): 140–60.

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achievements of the thirteenth-century. Over the past several decades the history of science has graduated from a hagiography-like enumeration of disembodied rational achievements to socio-political accounts that address and try to answer the important, deeply rooted questions. Would Copernicus have become "our" Copernicus if he had not tried to solve the "Easter riddle" after having the good fortune of discovering al-Tusi's work? Would Kepler have become "our" Kepler if his Neoplatonic view of the sun did not lend itself (physical senses be damned) in a mystical way to a heliocentric model? Did alchemical exploration not play a role in Newton's theory of universal gravitation? The history of science has tendrils reaching into all aspects of society, just as it should. Disembodied discovery does not lead to the next disembodied discovery. Scientific thinkers, like all people, were and are embedded in historical matrices.

Roger Bacon was "the man who knew everything." His theory of universal causation promised to expose every aspect of the functioning of the natural world. His theory explained why Jews were Jews, why Mongols were Mongols yet leaned toward Christianity when ill, and how a Muslim could be made into a Christian. His theory explained how the Mongols crushed superior forces and why Louis IX's expedition to Egypt failed. His theory explained the secondary causation that existed behind miracles and how to transmute matter itself. The knowledge he possessed was almost as old as Eden. It was passed on through a philosophical brotherhood of initiates. It survived the great flood. It allowed evil men to make themselves into false gods.

It was Solomon's Temple. It was the *Secret of Secrets* that Aristotle entrusted to Alexander the Great and handed him the world. It was what the Antichrist would use in his "rage" against the faithful and what Christendom must use to defeat him. Roger Bacon knew this science, the universal master science, and so he knew everything.

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Chapter 14

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The Exotic and Fabulous East in *The Travels of Sir John Mandeville*: Understated Authenticity

> For fro what partie of the erthe at man duell outher abouen or benethen it semeth alweys to hem that duellen that they gon more right than ony other folk. And right as it semeth to vs that they ben vnder us right so it semeth hem that wee ben under hem.
>
> *The Travels of Sir John Mandeville*, 123

As Tamarah Kohanski and C. David Benson point out, "*The Book of John Mandeville* was a contemporary bestseller [1357], providing readers with exotic information about locales from Constantinople to China and about the social and religious practices of people such as the Greeks, Muslims, and Brahmins."[1] Like Marco Polo's account, its text of unusual and fascinating characters and incidents assures it a wide-ranging and continuous audience. However, Martin Camargo rightly points out that "Unburdened by a Marco Polo's or an Odoric of Pordenone's responsibility to describe what he actually had seen or to retrace an actual itinerary, the unknown author was free to construct an ideal journey for his ideal

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1 *The Book of John Mandeville*, ed. Tamarah Kohanski and C. David Benson. TEAMS Middle English Text Series (Kalamazoo, MI: Published for TEAMS in Association with the University of Rochester by Medieval Institute Publications, 2007). "Introduction," 1. All quotations are taken from this edition.

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traveler, the fictional Englishman Sir John Mandeville."[2] In such a work as this, what is fictional and what has some basis in reality remains a moving target. According to Martin Gosman, "John of Mandeville was well aware of how people thought. He composed a very intelligent 'travel account' in accordance with current European perceptions of the Middle and the Far East."[3] Mary Campbell offers a new insight in claiming "It was the perfect moment for a literary hoax (though Mandeville made something more than that) . . . . And with so few Eastern travelers around, verifiability was not a pressing restriction on a writer's art . . . . Mandeville must be received as truth (where he is so received) because he sounds like truth."[4]

Indeed, Mandeville's widely read compendium of exotic and fabulous tales reinforced people's prior assumptions and provided new images beyond their imaginations. As Scott Westrem indicates, "John of Mandeville was well aware of how people thought. He composed a very intelligent 'travel account' in accordance with current European perceptions of the Middle and the Far East."[5] Indeed, lands in this unknown part of the world provide tantalizing new images of putative reality for those unacquainted with any region but the West. Such a curious audience would have been attracted to the multiplicity and diversity reportedly seen on such travels. Lisa Verner claims that the *Travels* is actually "a synthesis dictated by an increasingly literate public who desired a 'mixture of the pious, the informative, and the diverting, as well as the popular and the learned.'"[6]
Part of the intrigue of these visions lies in the exotic differences found in places such as Asia and the Far East. According to Margaret Meserve,

> as the fourteenth century progressed, Asia came to seem an increasingly remote place to Christian Europe . . . . [Thus] [i]n the travel writing of fourteenth-century France, the

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2 Martin Camargo, "The Book of John Mandeville and the Geography of Identity," *Marvels, Monsters, and Miracles: Studies in the Medieval and Early Modern Imaginations,* ed. Timothy S. Jones and David A. Sprungler. *Studies in Medieval Culture,* Medieval Institute Publications XLVI (Kalamazoo, MI: Western Michigan University, 2002), 67–84; here 67–68.

3 Martin Gosman. "Marco Polo's Voyages: The Conflict between Confirmation and Observation." *Travel Fact and Travel Fiction*, ed. Zweder von Martels (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1994), 72–84; here 77.

4 Mary Campbell, *The Witness and the Other World: Exotic European Travel Writing 400–1600* (Ithaca; Cornell University Press, 1988), 126–27.

5 Scott Westrem, "Two Routes to Pleasant Instruction in Late Fourteenth-Century Literature." *The Words of Dissimilitude: Essays from the Sixth Citadel Conference on Medieval and Renaissance Literature*, ed. David Allen and Robert White (Cranbury, New Jersey: Associated University Presses, 1992), 67–80; here 77.

6 Lisa Verner, *The Epistemology of the Monstrous in the Middle Ages*. Medieval History and Culture Series. New York and London: Routledge, 2005. 143, quoting from Iain Macleod Higgins, *Writing East: the Travels of Sir John Mandeville* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press), 1997. 268.

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> "Orient" began to seem an impossibly distant place, a landscape marked by mystery and fantastic strangeness, inspiring wonder and fear in equal measure.[7]

Meserve summarizes the reason for this increased distance as the collapse of the Mongol Empire, resurgence of Muslim power, the Papal "Babylonian Captivity" which dampened crusade fervor, French dynastic struggles, and the Hundred Year's War with England. Meserve concludes by noting "Thus Mandeville castigates the princes of Christendom for failing to unite their Christian subjects and lead them to reclaim their 'right heritage' of Jerusalem, regaining access to the marvels of the East along the way. This is a recurrent theme of the work."[8] Such an evaluation of Mandeville's theme, however, must be qualified, for the narrator chooses not to reiterate condemnations at each point of cultural intersection. Rather, Mandeville often remains aloof or noncommital, refraining from evaluative judgments or emotional pronouncements. In fact, Westrem contends that "Mandeville's tolerant accounts of religious and social diversity are taken from fourteenth-century travel narratives that use the information to prove a society's pestiferous or abominable behavior: he consistently omits or reverses the prejudices and criticism of his sources."[9] Further, the style Mandeville chooses is highly detached, equally objective and unemotional, with no hint of criticism despite the unusual content. Donald Howard rightly suggests that

> The tone and style of Mandeville's book are controlled and artful. For the most part he adopts an impersonal, factual manner . . . . Almost everything is presented in this general, authoritative voice; it is the flat statement customary in medieval prose and much medieval poetry. The "I" in such writing is an impersonal Everyman who arranges and records truth.[10]

Given the narrator's striking depictions, one might expect surprise or other emotional response to the unusual creatures and phenomenon he claims to have encountered, or critical evaluations of these distinctly different marvels from those found in the West. But as Lisa Verner points out:

> One can see from the examples of the Mongols, the Bragmen and the Cynocephali that Mandeville did not, in fact indulge in the prejudices of medieval Europe of which he has been accused and which would explain the popular reception of the *Travels*; if

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7 *The Travels of Sir John Mandeville: The Fantastic 14th Century Account of a Journey to the East.* Introduction by Margaret Meserve (1964; Mineola, NY: Dover Publications, Inc., 2006), Introduction, viii.

8 Meserve, *The Travels of Sir John Mandeville* (see note 7), Introduction, ix.

9 Westrem, "Two Routes to Pleasant Instruction" (see note 5), 73.

10 Donald R. Howard, *Writers and Pilgrims: Medieval Pilgrimage Narratives and Their Posterity* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press, 1980), 56.

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> anything, Mandeville extended the evenhanded treatment Marco Polo afforded the Mongol to other races that his readers would find even more foreign and threatening.[11]

One might find the principles espoused in Mandeville's tract aligned to Edward Said's twentieth-century contention "that every domain is linked to every other one, and that nothing that goes on in our world has ever been isolated and pure of any outside influence."[12] Said maintains that "the disheartening part is that the more the critical study of culture shows us that this [domain unity] is the case, the less influence such a view seems to have, and the more territorially reductive polarizations like 'Islam v. the West' seem to conquer."[13] Mandeville's approach would disapprove such reductive polarization; rather, both Mandeville and Said would "dismantle the reductive formulae and the abstract but potent kind of thought that leads the mind away from concrete human history and experience and into the realm of ideological fiction, metaphysical confrontation, and collective passion."[14] Further, in 1910, when Arthur James Balfour enjoined his fellow Englishmen to "Look at all the Oriental countries. Do not talk about superiority or inferiority,"[15] the lesson had not been learned. Going back to the non-Western world just before Mandeville's explorations, Janet L. Abu-Lughod points out that:

> Indeed, what is noteworthy in the world system of the thirteenth century is that a wide variety of cultural systems coexisted and cooperated, and that societies organized very differently from those in the west dominated the system. Christianity, Buddhism, Confucianism, Islam, Zoroastrianism, and numerous other smaller sects often dismissed as "pagan" all seem to have permitted and indeed facilitated lively commerce, production, and exchange, risk taking, and the like. And among these, Christianity played a relatively insignificant role.[16]

Often the West forgets these historical facts, and assumes a superior position of authority, eventually encompassing nineteenth-century imperialism, which Mandeville centuries before wisely recognizes and rejects. According to Eric Cheyfitz, to think imperialistically is 'to appropriate the other in the name of a

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11 Verner, *The Epistemology of the Monstrous in the Middle Ages* (see note 6), 129. Verner uses M.C. Seymore's edition of *Mandeville's Travels*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1967.

12 Edward W. Said, *Orientalism* (New York and Toronto: Random House Vintage Books and Random House of Canada Limited, 1978, Afterward, 1994), xxiii.

13 Said, *Orientalism* (see note 12), xxiii.

14 Said, *Orientalism* (see note 12), xxiii.

15 Said, *Orientalism* (see note 12), 32.

16 Janet L. Abu-Lugbod, *Before European Hegemony: The World System A.D. 1250–1350* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989), 354–55.

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national propriety that conceives of itself as universal, as absolutely proper,"[17] an error Mandeville avoided by his judicious and thoughtful appraisal of difference.

Thus, Mandeville's open-minded, careful, but unemotional treatment of the cultures he invades elicits a stronger sense of acceptance and dependability in the reader. In speaking of the languages of Easterners, John Friedman reinforces this notion of toleration, saying "It should be noted that such curiosity about the speech of other races, while showing Western fascination with their strangeness, is often smug or moralizing and rarely depicts these peoples to advantage. Mandeville is one notable exception to this statement."[18] For this wisdom, judgment, and acuity, his product is a finer piece of art. And as Howard suggests, "Such caution is rather the virtue of the scholar than of the traveller, but it was a standard attitude among the pilgrim authors, who were learned men."[19]

Audiences are more likely to accept this reasoned, non-evaluative treatment of the Other. Despite this caution and determination to be precise, Verner contends "In the *Travels* meaning has become fluid and dependent on perspectives or situation, rather than fixed."[20] This balanced, logical understanding of the fluid nature of reality adds to the credibility of Mandeville's tales. According to Howard, "he keeps a balance between his own credibility and the seeming fantasy of his subject matter, matching the reader's skepticism with his own,"[21] and thus gains audience trust and admiration.

Mandeville's goal, then, appears to be story-telling, recounting fascinating narratives, rather than evaluating either the princes of Christendom or the East. As Howard asserts,

> He could have put on much more of a show than he did, and his book could have been much more of a "hoax." But he was constructing a fiction, not a hoax, He chose therefore to construct a "fictive narrator" . . . with a particular quality: he is objective, detached, capable of providing the reader with a vicarious experience.[22]

When West meets East in Mandeville's renditions of those lands from the fourteenth- and fifteenth-centuries, its spectacular discoveries might shock, scare, awe, and overwhelm the potential traveler or his audience unless the author manipulated their affect to blunt the strange otherness encountered. This

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17 Eric Cheyfitz, *The Poetics of Imperialism: Translation and Colonization from the Tempest to Tarzan* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991; expanded version, Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1970), 142.

18 John Block Friedman, *The Monstrous Races in Medieval Art and Thought* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 2000), 29–30.

19 Howard, *Writers and Pilgrims* (see note 10), 64.

20 Verner, *The Epistemology of the Monstrous in the Middle Ages* (see note 6), 153.

21 Howard, *Writers and Pilgrims* (see note 10), 65.

22 Howard, *Writers and Pilgrims* (see note 10), 59.

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normalizing of the unusual Mandeville has contrived to do. The result of his treating the extraordinary as conventional rather than as outrageous is to sound more convincing and credible to a Western audience. His broad spectrum of sights includes animal, vegetable, and mineral artifacts, including the monstrous and ferocious, all of which he renders with a light, underhanded touch. Verner reports that

> Ironically, the *Travels of John Mandeville*, a fourteenth-century work that was rewritten, abridged, emended, and expanded dozens of times over the following centuries, offers the first really useful definition of *monster:* "a monstre is a þing difformed $a_3$en kynde both of man or of best or of ony þing elles" . . . . Whereas very early works confined the monster's significance to the strictly religious realm and the *Bestiary* introduces the possibility of practical morality as well, in the *Travels* monsters signify on the spiritual, moral, political and mercantile planes, sometimes simultaneously but almost always independently . . . . *Mandeville's Travels* presents an apparently infinite variety of arbitrary symbolic functions for the monster, many of which are religious, but some of which appear areligious or even anti-Christian.[23]

This multi-layered dimension of the monstrous presented in a straightforward manner adds richness and vigor to the text's interpretation, and opens up its meaning to extensive referentiality which defy expectations. David Williams concludes that "Thus the monstrosity . . . functions to upset the mental expectations about the relation of the sign to what it is supposed to signify and to underscore the element of the arbitrary in relation of the two."[24] Indeed, both the arbitrary and either their evaluation or acceptance forms the core of this narrative. The knight-author promises, according to Kohanski and Benson,"that he will present the many amazing sights, creatures, and customs he observed during his more than thirty years of travel."[25] In this vicarious fashion, the author displays an alien East to a stationary audience living in the West, hearing of these wonders for the first time, at least in such dramatic fashion. Perhaps the very understated fashion he employs makes them even more startling.

Indeed, *The Book of John Mandeville* does offer astonishing people, places, and things, often with fulsome sensory details, but as noted, surprisingly without a great deal of affect. The style of Mandeville, whomever he may be, is often flat and direct, straightforward and intellectualized. Actually, this guarded strategy of emotional denial, of not leading his audience to a passionate response, of not sharing his own personal, ardent reaction with them, exhibiting by a kind of

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23 Verner, *The Epistemology of the Monstrous in the Middle Ages* (see note 6), 5, 6, 6–7.

24 David Williams, *Deformed Discourse: The Functions of the Monster in Medieval Thought and Literature* (Montreal: McGill-Queens University Press, 1996), 5.

25 Kohanski and Benson, *The Book of John Mandeville*, "Introduction" (see note 1), 1.

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apathy, effectively increases audience involvement: they thus realize the unstated, often shocking reality behind the details through their own kind of discovery. This recognition heightens the emotional impact of the alterity, and adds to the author's credibility.

In so far as Mandeville and his audience represent the West, he has determined to introduce the Western sensibility to that exotic and fabulous, in both senses of the word—of astounding and dubiously true—Eastern extravaganza so antithetical to Western experience. His cleverness in presenting that often-shocking reality in somewhat deadpan fashion heightens its impact, perhaps forcing the audience to claim its own emotional reaction. For example, we are told

> that in the ile of Lango is Ypocrasis doughter in maner of a dragon that is a hundred foot long, as men seyn, for I have hit nought seye [seen]. . . . And sheo lith in an old castel and shewith [reveals] her[self] thre tymes a yer. And she doth no man harm but if any man do her harm, and thus she is changed fro a damysel to dragon thorgh a goddas that men callen Diana. (p. 29, ll. 304–09)

This straightforward account makes no comment about the extreme length of the dragon, nor the daughter's ability to transmogrify herself at will. Rather it concentrates on the specific factual details of the marvel, almost to the exclusion of the unusual or unexpected aspects of the vignette. Such downplaying of the very exotic elements which Mandeville purports to have seen or been told of increases the emotional affinity experienced by the audience and hence the intensity of their involvement. This ingenious literary tactic adds to the pleasure of reading the text and the value of the artistic product Mandeville so scrupulously controls.

When Mandeville reports on Saracen beliefs, he likewise offers no evaluation of their practices but simply states that

> Also Macamete [Mohammed] bade in his Ackaron [Koran] that ech man shold have 2 wyves, other 3, other 4, but now they have 9, and as many lemmans as they like. And if any of her wyves do amys to her hosebondes, he may put her out of his hous and take another, but hym byhoveth [promises] to geve her som of his godes. (p. 55, ll. 1277–80)

Although this matrimonial cultural practice differs from that of the West, the author offers neither emotional surprise nor intellectual or ethical objections. Lisa Lampert-Weissig points to the

> recognition, often admiring, of the seeming openness and tolerance of the narrator, Sir John, toward other cultures. He appears to view the world through the cultures he describes, and unlike many contemporary narratives by Western European Christians,

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> his observations about difference, including Muslim difference, seem relatively tolerant.[26]

His depiction of Paradise, moreover, is delivered in the same matter-of-fact tone, noting that there "ech man shal have 10 wyves, all maydens, and he shal lyge by hem, and they shal ever be maydens, and so they byleveth" (ll. 1238–39, p. 54). His dismissive final phrase, "and so they byleveth," gives the briefest uncritical acknowledgment of the difference between the conventions of East and West concerning heaven, marriage and possession of women. Analogously, Mandeville later points out that on the island of Calonache (South Vietnam),

> the king of that londe hath as many wyves as he wold, and he lyeth never by oon of hem but oons. . . [And] alle the maner fisshes of the see cometh oon tyme of the yer, ech maner of fisshe after other . . . and men of that londe cometh and taketh of hem what hym lyst . . . And so men taketh of hem what they wole. And men wot noght what is the cause, but they say that tho fysshes cometh theder to do worship to the kynge, as for most worthy kinge of the world, for he hath so many wyves and geteth so many chyldren. (p. 69, ll. 1819–20; 1821–22; 1823–24; 1826–29)

Here, the king is rewarded for his human reproduction by the fish of the sea, an unnatural and unlikely event which the author recounts without comment or evaluation. The audience is not fed a response, the more likely to generate its own, perhaps intrigued, stimulated reflex. As Verner indicates, "Mandeville's evenhanded treatment of Saracens contrasts sharply with his sources' disdain and often hatred for the 'heretics' (Odoric of Pordenone [*The Travels of Friar Odoric*] 117; trans. Yule) and the "evil seed of Mohammed (Hetoum [*La Fleur des histoires de la terre d'Orient*] 19; trans. Pynson).[27]

In the kingdom of Mancy in India the author discusses human, animal-related eccentricities, for here

> men have thynne beerdes as cattes. And ther beth fayre wymmen, and therfore som men called hit the lond of Albanye, for the whyte peple that is therynne . . . . [A]nd ther is gret plenté of gret eddres, of which they make gret festes and ete hem in gret solempnytees. For though a man make a feste and dyghte all maner of metes that beth

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[26] Lisa Lampert-Weissig, *Medieval Literature and Postcolonial Studies* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2010), 94. Lampert-Weissig offers an intriguing counter to my argument in seeing Amazonian women and the Jews as intolerantly rejected outcasts. See pp. 86–107 in *Medieval Literature and Postcolonial Studies* for a comprehensive exploration of how the Mandeville-poet excludes these two groups from his circle of acceptance and denies them inclusion in the concept of normalcy.

[27] Verner, *The Epistemology of the Monstrous in the Middle Ages* (see note 6), 129.

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> most deynté, but he ordeyne some eddres and geve hem to mete, they have no thanke for all her feste. (p. 71, 1906–1908; 1911–1914)

Without surprise or any other indication of the unlikeliness of these cat beards or this unusual food, the author moves to another fantastic issue, namely that here also "beth white hennes, but they have no fetheris but woll, as sheep in our land. And wymmen that beth y-wedded bereth crounes uppon her hede to be knowe fro other" (p. 71, ll. 115–17)—seemingly unrelated to the prior tale of adders. Again, no response to these fabricated hens or crowned women is forthcoming, but an acceptance of diversity is implied.

Morton Bloomfield finds in this feature of Mandeville's book "a sense of chronology and cultural diversity [which he shares with Chaucer, and which]. . . shows an affinity with certain emphases in the Renaissance,"[28] thus furthering the social idea of accepting the Other. Bloomfield continues, Chaucer "is paralleled in his sense of the historic only by the *Travels of Sir John Mandeville*, where that sense is largely implicit rather than explicit."[29]

Farther away in the city of Cessay, now Hangchow on the East China Sea, can be found an abbey of monks with a large, fair garden of diverse trees and fruits. The author continues:

> In that gardeyn beth many bestes, as baboyn, marmesettes, apes, and other. And when the covent hath ete among hem, they take the relyfe [remainder] and bere hit to the garden and smyteth ons with a cleket of sylver which he holdeth in his honde. And sone therafter cometh the beestes out and any other, neygh 3000 other 4000, and he geveth hit hem in fair sylver fessel. And when they have ete, he smyteth that cleket again and all the beestes goon agayn where they com fro.
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> And they say that thilke beestes beth soules of men that beth dede. And the fair beestes beth soules of lordes, and the foule beestes beth soules of other men. . . . [Y]it were it more almes to geve hit to thilke soules that suffred ther her penaunce than to hem that may to hem that may go and travayle for her mete. (p. 72, ll. 1929–1935; 1937–1939)

This unusual Eastern story of the conflation of deceased human beings and animals is revealed by the author in direct, matter-of-fact fashion. He offers no indication of the strangeness of such a notion of humans being subsumed into various animal genera upon their deaths, nor the vast numbers involved, nor their returning to the monastery for sustenance. Perhaps these very alien notions alone would stir his readership, without further embellishment from him, or perhaps

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[28] Morton Bloomfield, "Chaucer's Sense of History," *Journal of English and Germanic Philology* 51 (1952), 301–13; rpt in *Essays and Explorations: Studies in Ideas, Language, and Literature,* ed. Morton Bloomfield (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1970), 12–26; here, 23.

[29] Bloomfield, "Chaucer's Sense of History" (see note 28), 23.

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ignoring the fantastical dimension would generate even more response from them than any comment he might offer. His straightforward depiction increases the likeliness of audience acceptance of the bizarre practice.

Mandeville's story of Armenia ("Litel Admonye" / Hermony) describes the tale of the Castle of the Sparrowhawk, an analogue of Jean de Arras' *Melusine*, created later than the *Book of John Mandeville,* ca. 1400, and subsequently reproduced in French (Couldrette) and German (Thüring von Ringoltingen).[30] The author notes that here

> is an olde castel that is uppon a roch that is y-called the castel of Sperver. And ther men fyndeth an hauke on a perche sittyng right wel y-maked, and a fair lady of fayre [fairy] kepeth that hauke. And he that wole wake this hauke 7 days and 7 nyght (and som seith 3 dayes and 3 nyght) alone withoute companye and withoute slepe, this fayre lady shal com to hym at 7 dayes (other the 3 dayes) eynde, and she wol graunte hym the ferst thyng that he wol aske of worldly thyng. For hit hath y-be ofte asayed and y-preved. (pp. 58-59, ll. 1406–13)

The story continues as a rich King once remained awake with the hawk for seven days, whereupon the fairy appeared, offering the King the worldly gift of his choice. But since he was already wealthy, he claimed to want the lady herself, "to have his will of her" (p. 59, ll. 1418–19). The fairy called him a fool, since she was not "worldly," but he refused all else; she then proclaimed he could have something else, namely

> "werre without pees unto the nynth degre, and ye shal be in subjecioun of youre enemys, and ye shal have gret nede to good and to catell. For ye aske thyng out of reson, for ye may have me nought. For Y am a spryte." And fro that tyme, all kynges of Ermonye have y-be in werre and needfull and under tribute of Sarasyns. (p. 59, ll. 1423–25).

No narrative comment concludes this interesting tale of desire and revenge or of spirit-power, despite the magical elements of a wish-granting fairy or an opportunity to offer ethical or critical comments about the king's lechery.

In the hot climate of Lamoryse, part of the Indonesian island of Sumatra, three alien and preposterous customs of increasingly heinous merit are presented with little authorial appraisal. The first of these is that "men and wymmen goon al naked. And they skorneth hem that gothe clothed. For they say that God maked

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30 Stacey L. Hahn, "From Words of Love to Words of Hate in Two Medieval French Prose Romances," *Words of Love and Love of Words in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance*, ed. Albrecht Classen. Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, 347 (Tempe: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2008), 421–37.

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Adam and Eve naked and that men shuld have no shame of that thyng that God makyd, for nothyng is foull that He makyd" (p. 65, ll. 1672–75).

As noted, the author has no comment about this practice rarely seen in the West. More intriguing, however, is the author's second depiction which appears to be more abominable—intensifying as his reported customs become more outrageous. He continues:

> ther is no womman y-wedded, but beth al in comune. And they say that God comaunded to Adam and Eve and to all that come of hem and seyde thus: *Crescite et multiplicamini et replete terram*. That is to say "wexeth and be multeplied and fulfyll the erth." And no man may say "this is my wyff," ne no womman, "this is myne husbonde." And when they have chyldren, they geve hem to wham they wole of men haveth delyd [who have had sex] with hem. (p. 65, ll. 1675–80)

In vain does the audience wait for some sign of outrage or shock. Ceding their children, who are unable to abstain or object, to other adults for use as sex objects is unacceptable and illegal in the West. Such trafficking in prostitution is considered terrible child-abuse. Although this behavior appears more extreme than the first, at least to a Westerner, such interbreeding and even childhood sexual abuse is presented in a factual, straightforward, dismissive manner, with no indication of surprise or horror. Slightly less objectively, however, is the third shockingly bold revelation disclosed, that about cannibalism: "They have an evyl custome: they eten gladloker [more gladly] mannes flessh than other flessh, and thyder bryngeth marchauntes her cheldren to selle. And tho that ben fatte, they eten hem, and the other they kepe and fede hem tylle they ben fatte, and then they ete hem" (p. 66, ll. 1683–86).[31]

This third rehearsal of seemingly monstrous behavior has reached the pinnacle of barbarity and unscrupulous conduct, and finally merits some censure from Mandeville, namely demarcating it as an "evyl custome" but with no further remark. Verner comments that

> After describing the physical and behavioral abnormalities of various races, Mandeville excuses himself from further description by explaining "Many other dyuerse folk of dyuerse natures ben þere in oþer yles abouten, of the which it were to longe to telle & þerfore I passe ouer schortly" (134–35). Here Mandeville includes no

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[31] For comparative and transcultural perspectives on cannibalism, see also Allison P. Coudert, "The Ultimate Crime: Cannibalism in Early Modern Minds and Imaginations," *Crime and Punishment in the Middle Ages and Early Modern Age*, ed. Albrecht Classen and Connie Scarborough. Fundamentals of Medieval and Early Modern Culture, 11 (Berlin and Boston: De Gruyter, 2012), 521–54; Catalin Avramescu, *An Intellectual History of Cannibalism*, trans. Alistair Ian Blyth (2003; Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2009); and Eric Cheyfez, *The Poetics of Imperialism* (see note 17), Chapter 7, "Eloquent Cannibals" 142–72.

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> hint of how the reader should take the monstrous inhabitants of the east, nor does he describe them in judgmental or moralistic terms that might give the reader some idea about the symbolic meaning to be attached to them.[32]

Cannibalism rears its shocking head in other areas of the East as well, and again Mandeville blatantly, but straightforwardly reveals the customs surrounding it. He reports:

> Fro thenne men gon to an ile, and tho beth men of wicked kynde for they norsheth houndes to strangly [kill] men. And when her frendes beth sike and they hope that he shal deye, they lete houndes strangly hem. For hy wole noght that they deye kyndely deeth, for than sholde he suffre to greet penaunce, as they say. And when they beth thus strangled, than ete they his flessh instede of feneson. (p. 69, ll. 1838–42)

In both instances, the author attributes a single adjective—here "wicked," and above "evil"—giving minimal disapprobation at best—to describe the men in question or custom depicted. No other appraisal of such behavior is proffered, and no other emotional affect is established. The more straightforward he recounts the cultural phenomenon, the more likely he will impress the audience with his veracity. Howard rightly remarks about Mandeville's strategy, saying,

> He chose to play the objective observer, distinguishing fact from hearsay and the reasonable from the improbable . . .[but] he makes little effort to convince us . . . He recorded judiciously what others said . . . [while] he remains calmly skeptical, plucking falsehood with diligence from the truth . . . he makes a great show of his reliability.[33]

This type of narrative mastery and control of his outrageous material is adroitly handled. Perhaps Mandeville's motive for such disciplined reservation about the exotic visions and sounds he experienced is his desire to be seen as reliable.

On the isle of Melke, cannibalism is again dexterously noted, preceded also by the single, but potent, word of disapproval: "wicked," as prior atrocities are amplified:

> And ther men ben of wicked kynde, for they have no delyte but to fyghte and sle men, for they drynkyn gladly mannes bloode. And he that may sle most men, he is at most name among hem. And if two men be at the debate and they be makyd at oon [reconciled], hem byhoveth to drynke every otherris [each others] blood other elles the acoorde is noght. (p. 70, ll. 1843–47)

This conduct, unconscionable to a Western sensibility, is summarily ignored by the author, with no invocation of disapproval or imprecation against its perpetrators.

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32 Verner, *The Epistemology of the Monstrous in the Middle Ages* (see note 6), 152.

33 Howard, *Writers and Pilgrims* (see note 10), 62, 63.

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Similarly not denounced is the following behavior at Dodyn, possibly Andaman Island in the Bay of Bengal. Mandeville flatly claims:

> And ther beth many diversytees of men, and they have wicked maneres, for the fadres eteth the sones, and the sones the fadres, and the housbond the wyff, and the wyff the housbond, and ech so of other. And if hit be so that the fader be syke, other the moder, other any of her frendes, the sone anoon goth to the prest of the lawe and prayeth hym that he aske of the god, that is her ydole, if his fader other moder shal deye of that sycknesse other lyve. And then the prest and the sone knelith ado byfore the ydole devoutly and asken of hym and he annswerith hem. And if he say that he shal lyve, thenne they kepe hym wel. And if he sey that he shal deyghe, then cometh the prest with the sone and with the wyff other with what frend hit be to hym that is syke, and they ley her hondes over his mouth to stop his breth. And so they sle hym, and then they hewe his body all to peeces. They preye all his frendes to come and ete of hym that is dede and they maketh a greet feste. And when they have y-ete his flessh they berrieth the bones. (p. 70, ll. 1869– 82)

Despite the complicit cruelty of family members and priests in suffocation of life, the audience will find no more censure than this simple revelation of evil, and no more indication of shock than this straightforward portrayal of cannibalism.

While not cannibalistic, the conditions in India regarding natural animals prove to be very unusual as well as how people inhabit and remain in their region as well, for

> Ther is a water that runeth thorgh the lond that men calleth Ynde; in that water men fyndeth eyles [eels] of 20 foot long. In Ynde beth mo than 5 mille [thousand] yles [islands] that men dwelleth ynne. And in ech of tho beth many citeis and moch peple, for men of Ynde beth of condicioun that they passeth nought out of her lond comonlyche. (p. 62, ll. 1543–47)

The author indicates no surprise at India's twenty-foot eels, its five thousand islands, or the permanent, seemingly immovable status of its citizens. Furthermore, the following outlandish custom by men in India, as provocative as it appears to a Westerner, produces no emotional reaction from the persona describing it:

> . . . Also thorgh Ynde men goth to the Gret See, that is y-callyd Oxean, and then they fynde ther the yle of Ermes, whider marchauntz of Venyse, and of Gene [Genoa], and then partyes of Cristendom comyth to bygge [buy] marchandise. And it is so hoot that mennys ballockys [testicles] hangen doun to her shankys [legs]. And men of that contré byndeth hem ful straythly [tightly] uppe, and they do hem anoynt with oynementz y-maked therfore [for that purpose], other elles myght they nought lyve in that lond. (pp. 62, ll. 1554–59)

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Mandeville offers no response to the habits of these Easterners. The temperature is so hot that residents "lyen al naked in ryvers and wateris fro undren of the day [about nine A.M.] tyl hit be passed noon. And they lye all in water but her face for gret hete that is ther" (p. 62, ll. 1560–61). Again, the writer reveals no affect, no emotional reaction to this unusual physical condition of extreme heat, or the residents' attempt to cope with it. Other animal life beside long eels (noted two previous quotations above) are also found on Mandeville's journey, some of which are startling. For example,

> In thys yle of Cana beth many wylde bestes and ratons [rats]. Ratons of that contré beth also gret as houndes her, and hey take [catch] hem with mastyves, for cattes may nought take hem." (p. 63, ll. 1588–90)

This phenomenon of huge rodents does not seem to faze or disturb the author who blithely recounts his findings. He is accepting of the natural world and human eccentricities without revealing any emotional response.

In Chibence, China, near Nanking on the fresh-water Yangtze River is the land of the Great Khan; this Yangtze River flows

> through the the lond of pegmans [pygmies], wher men beth of littel stature, for they ben but thre spanne long. And they beth ryght fair, and they beth weddede when they beth but half yeres old. These smale men travelen nought, but they have among hem gret men, as we beth, to travele for hem. And they have greet skorne of gret men, as we have of hem. And they lyveth but 8 yer, and he that lyveth so longe is y-holde ryght oolde ther. (p. 72, ll. 1944–49)

Mandeville then moves on to another geographic space without so much as the bat of an eye after discussing a whole race of pygmies with two unusual characteristics: dwarfed men living together whose life span is merely eight years of age, two phenomena little known to the medieval West. The interest of this group is simply dismissed, with no compassion or surprise at their condition. The narrator simply posits reality without affect or evaluation of any sort. Are they real? Did he see them? Verner remarks that "modern critical opinion has it that not only may 'Sir John Mandeville' be an alias but that the author may have forged the entire piece while safely at home at his writing desk. Critical opinion, however, is by no means unanimous on this point."[34]

Also in Cathay or China, in the wealthy twelve-gated city of Cadom can be found unlimited, unbounded gold and richess. Here lives the Great Khan in a splendid palace richly furnished,

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[34] Verner, *The Epistemology of the Monstrous in the Middle Ages* (see note 6), 124. She refers to M. C. Seymour, *Sir John Mandeville: Authors of the Middle Ages*, (Aldershot: Variorum, 1993), 1–2; and C. W. R. D. Moseley, trans., *The Travels of Sir John Mandeville (*New York: Penguin, 1983), 9–18.

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> . . . for withynne the halle beth 24 pylers of goolde, and alle the walles beth y-covered with rych skynnes of beestes that men callen panters [panthers], which ben fair and well smellyng. And for tho skynnes smelleth so well, no wicked smel may come in that palays. And for tho skynnes ben as reed as blood, and they shyneth so agayn the sonne that unnethe any man may beholde hem. And men preesen [prize] tho skynnes for as moche hit were goold.
>
> And at the over eynde of the halle is a trone of the emperour, right heygh, And ther he sitte at his mete, at a table that is well y-bordured with goolde, and that bordure is ful of precious stones and gret perles. And the greces [steps] the which he goth uppon to his trone beth of diverse precious stones bordured with goolde. And at the lift syde of his trone is the sege [seat] of his wiff, a gre [degree] lowere than he sitteth, and that is of jasper bordured with goolde. And the sege of his secunde wyff is a gre lowere than his ferst wyff, and that is also bordured with goolde. And the serge of the thridde wyff is a gre lower than the secunde, for alway he hath thre wyves with hym, wherso he be. Besyde thes wyves on the same syde sitteth ladyes of kynne, ech lower than other as they beth wedded and of degree. And all tho that beth y-wedded haveth a contrefeit of a mannes foot uppon her hedes, half a foot longe and all y-maked with precious stones wel and rychely, in tocknynge that they ben in subjeccioun to man and under mannes foot. And they that beth noght wedded have no soch toknynge. (p. 73, ll. 1968–86)

The narrator has packed numerous controversial issues within this fine description. The magnificence of the castle hall recalls the vast Russian Hermitage in St. Petersburg created centuries later which boasts gold-lined walls with all manner of bejewelled decoration. Yet no comment is made acknowledging this Chinese luxuriance. More surprising and even eerie are the bloody-red panther skins lining the walls, prized more highly than their weight in gold, but also generating no emotive response. Equally unusual is blatant polygamy, and the seating hierarchy of the multiple wives. which we learn in straightforward, unimpassioned fashion. Perhaps most disrespectful is expectation of wives wearing insignias of their husbands' feet squarely on their forehead signifying abject subservience. Once again, Mandeville makes no indication that such extreme cultural practices are in any way outrageous.

The religious practices of certain Eastern peoples also differ radically from those common to Westerners. For example, the narrator recreates religious rituals, likewise with no hint of astonishment, incredulity, or disapproval:

> men of this yle [of Cana] han dyverse lawes, for for somme worshippeth the sonne, and somme the fyre, and somme addres, and som trees, and som the ferst thyng that they mete on the morwenyng, and som worshippeth simulacres and som ydoles. . . . For som ymage hath thre hedes: on of man, another of an hors, and on of an oxe or other best that a man wole. (p. 63, ll. 1566–72)

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When they worship simulacres, or replicas of humans, they worship some worthy men, not believing that these idols are naturally the Creator but because "they beth ryght wel with God for mervayles that they doth" (p. 63, ll.1576–77). Thus, if the idol is in contact with the Almighty power, they are to be worshiped for their proximity. Further, they justify their worship of nature, finding the sun a nourisher, the fire profitable, and the water valuable, for example. Since the ox is best and holiest to them, they make their god with his likeness, believing "that [he is] oon half man and the other half an oxe" (p. 63, l. 1585). Each of these revelations is delivered in a straightforward, non-involved attitude, without hint of incredulity or dismay. Perhaps the audience, imagining the multi-headed god-figure, would respond with disdain or awe, but is not encouraged to do so by the narrator.

Mandeville somewhat violates his principle of remaining distant when he acknowledges his personal experience of having drunk at a particular well which he deems profitable. He recounts that in the land of Bomk in the city of Polomee [on the Malabar coast of India] can be found a well:

> And whoso drynketh thries a day of that well, he shal be maked hole of alle maner syknesses that he hath. For Y have dronke of that well, and me thynketh yet Y fare the better. Som men callen hit the well of youthe, for they that drynketh thereof seemeth evermore yonge and lyveth withoute gret syknesse. And they say that the well cometh fro Paradise, for hit is vertuous. (p. 63, ll.1595–1600)

This first-hand testimony—that he himself drank from the well and was nourished by it—is unique and perhaps indicates a measure of intimate involvement not experienced elsewhere. On the other hand, he suggests no youthful rejuvenation from that well water, regardless of the fable. Yet another practice Mandeville reports upon is that of the rather painful human self-branding, practiced on the isle of Somaber, part of Sumatra. He blandly details that:

> Men of that yle and wymmen leet merke [mark] hem in the visage [face] with an hoot yre [iron] that they beth knowe fro other peple, for they holdeth hemself the worthiest of the world. (p. 68, ll. 1780–82)

After that vivid picture of self-mutilation, the author simply moves on to another topic without further comment, assessment, objection, or disparagement.

Yet another similar human abnormality from the Western perspective is the fabulous, perhaps even fictive, vision of men from the Isles of Dodyn, probably in the Bay of Bengal, as noted above. Here the audience is asked to imagine several breathtaking spectacles of

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> men that haveth but oon eye, and that is in the middes of her forhede, and they ete noght but raw flessh. And in another ile ther dwelleth men that haveth noon heed, and her eyen beth in her shuldres, and her mouth in her brest.
>
> And in another ile beth men that haveth a plat [flat] visage withoute nose and eye, but they have two smale holes instede of eyen, and they have a plat mouth lyples [lipless].
>
> And in another ile beth peple that beth bothe man and womman, and have membres of bothe. And when they wole they use bothe, that on at on tyme and that other at another tyme. And they gete children when they usen the mannes membres, and they bereth children when they use the membre of the womman.
>
> . . . [One can find] an ile wher men beth right smale, and they have a litel hole instede of her mouth, and they mowe noght ete. But when they sholde ete other drynke, they souke hit thorogh a pype that is holgh [hollow] thorghout. (p. 71, ll.1886–95; 1897–1900)

What comment does Mandeville make about these seemingly preposterous versions of humanity found in the East? In fact, not a word. The audience is left to mull over these and other fantastic images, more fabulous than realistic, with little guidance, commentary or critique. One can concur with Verner's comment that "[I]n *Mandeville's Travels*, the east does not function as just another physical base waiting to be read (by Christians) or misinterpreted (by Alexander the Great) but rather as a multi-thematic venue full of potential meanings–religious mercantile, and political."[35]

At the court of the Great Khan, loyalty to his majesty is displayed in an extraordinary fashion despite Mandeville's understated depiction:

> And by that emperouris syde at the emperouris table sitteth many philosophers and of many sciences, of astronomye, nigromancy, geometrye, piromancy, and other many sciences and som haveth after hem astrelabers of goold and of precious stone full of sond other coles brennyng. Som have orlages [clocks] wel y-dight and richely, and other maner instrumentes of her sciences. And at certain oures when they seith tyme, they say to men that stonden byfore hem "Maketh pees," and then tho men that stondeth byfore crieth loude, that all tho in the hall may here "Now beth stylle a while!" And then speketh oon of the philosopheres, and saeth thus: "Every man do reverence and loute to the emperour, that is Goddes sone and lord of all lordes and of all the worlde, for now hit is tyme." And then all men louteth and kneleth to hym on the erthe. And then byddeth the philosophers hem aryse up agayn. And at other oures other philosophers bidderh hem all put her fynger in her earis, and they do so. And at another oure, another philosophere byddeth that all men sholde ley her hondes on her mouth and they do so. And so after he byddeth hem take away, and they do so. And thus fro oure to hour they byddeth diverse thynges. (p. 77, ll. 2114–29)

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35 Verner, *The Epistemology of the Monstrous in the Middle Ages* (see note 6), 127.

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Here, an amazing array of intellectuals at court display their loyalty and subjection to the king by actions of deference—bowing their bodies and blocking their senses. In a private voice, the narrator says "And Y asked prevyly what hit sholdle mean" (l. 2130) and was told a prophecy that all men bowing and kneeling, deafening their ears and staunching their mouths would always be true to the emperor. Such admirable profession of loyalty by well-heeled intelligentsia was often not the norm in the West.

Is Mandeville duplicitously duping his audience? Is he testing just how naive his listeners are? Is he probing how far his audience will go in accepting such patently absurd visions of supposed reality, lacking proof, verification, or evidence of any type? Is he expecting their shocked emotional reaction will silence or solidify his views for readers or listeners? Does he anticipate his vivid portrayals without tangible endorsement or evaluation will stimulate an even greater emotional retort or acknowledgment? If he wishes to leave them speechless, does he assume they are so shocked by the visions that they are mesmerized? Does he expect to thereby wield power over his inexperienced, uninformed, untraveled listeners? While these speculations remain viable, the more cogent response of Verner may suggest a more pregnant signification. Speaking of various odd races of "folk," she claims:

> Mandeville implies here that it is entirely natural for every race of people, monstrous or or not, hence European, to think of itself as 'normal' while considering any deviation from its standard as abnormal. But while this response may be natural, Mandeville's purpose in pointing this out appears as an effort to unveil how arbitrary such 'normality' is. [36]

Thus, to assume that Western life and its cultures is the norm would be prideful in the light of so many alternatives in every dimension of human and animal life. Furthermore, these peoples are described in the most straightforward fashion, the more easily to be accepted. Howard aptly summarizes Mandeville's accomplishment in this way:

> Mandeville establishes his claim to authority with such a display of candor . . . [his marvels] are all reported in the flat language of fact, and we are seduced into believing them because the author implies he saw them and betrays no doubts.
> Anything is possible, he makes us feel.[37]

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36 Verner, *The Epistemology of the Monstrous in the Middle Ages* (see note 6), 150.

37 Howard, *Writers and Pilgrims* (see note 10), 64.

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Conclusion

The result of Mandeville's brilliant tactic of delivering emotionally understated authenticity is that the audience feels the weight of that authority, the skill and wisdom of the narrator, the open possibilities of life beyond their immediate Western experiences. Do the spectators of his magnificent and bizarre visions believe that this picture-painter of new realities is in fact an arm-chair connoisseur, reveling in his travel books in his study from which he concocts these fictive but historical accounts of the world? Does today's audience suspect or presume that this creator of fantastic and perhaps fabulous worlds has in fact not traveled to lands abroad filled with magnificent wonders beyond their comprehension? Albrecht Classen, speaking of Mandeville in his article "Marco Polo and John Mandeville: The Traveler as Authority Figure, the Real and the Imaginary," finds that "The likelihood that here we are dealing with an armchair traveler who had available an excellent library of relevant books and maps, including Marco Polo's account, is rather high."[38]

Undoubtedly, some of his specific geographic detail proves that Mandeville utilized relevant information about such places, locations, distances, and geographic features which could only have been found in specialized encyclopedias. Further, his knowledge of Oriental rituals and cultural practices might necessitate employing books presenting such esoteric information. But of course, one cannot prove a negative; thus we cannot verify or fully substantiate that Mandeville did not voyage to certain regions of the East and subsequently back up his observations with scientific and cultural data.

Given the in-depth interpretations of human behavior beyond mere description, intimate recounting of specific credible psychological details, particular narrative responses to ritual enactors, clear explanations of symbolism strengthening credibility, and a penchant for explaining objective psychological actions, I contend that Mandeville did indeed: 1) experience certain first-hand travel to the East, based on his recording of intimate details and psychological insights; 2) observe extraordinary human behavior and reactions; 3) record astonishing natural and animal phenomena; 4) creatively fashion an elegant literary compilation of them all; and 5) supplement his fantastic tales with one or more geographically accurate *mappa mundi* and encyclopedic references from his library. He further developed a restrictive, impassive façade, a strategy to reveal little personal emotional affect and thus heighten his impact on a sedentary Western

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38 Albrecht Classen, "Marco Polo and John Mandeville: The Traveler as Authority Figure, the Real and the Imaginary," *Authorities in the Middle Ages: Influence, Legitimacy, and Power in Medieval Society*, ed. Sini Kangas, Mia Korpiola, and Tuija Ainonen. Fundamentals of Medieval and Early Modern Culture, 12 (Berlin and Boston: De Gruyter, 2013), 229–48.

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audience. Such encyclopedic breadth of knowledge and display of narrative artistry may well explain the centuries of enormous popularity of his work. According to Verner, Higgins also appreciates the universal conception of his design, and argues

> that Mandeville's encyclopedic intent was to make "a vision of the 'universal world' an overarching scheme within which the East's marvelous abundance of customs, manners, and diversities can be contained, made sense of, and contemplated."[39]

We might add that such contemplation is aimed at normalizing the outrageous, accepting the unacceptable, and appreciating the diversity of object and ideology. No note of disapprobation intrudes in most experiences that Mandeville reports, revealing his comfort with cultural diversity and the Other. Howard concurs, concluding that

> The whole seems a linear, episodic narrative, combining two pre-existing genres of travel literature, with details pilfered from many sources. His objectivity and tolerance, even to infidels, remain exemplary. Far from excoriating their errors, he seems altogether optimistic about their closeness to truth.[40]

Although the definitive intent of Sir Thomas Mandeville remains enshrouded in the past, buried in history and psychology, a modern audience exploring this vicarious voyage can only marvel at the splendid, imaginative panoply of bestial and human images he ingeniously envisioned or plagiarized, however fabulously fictive they may have been. No tenor of imperialist hegemony or pejorative Orientalism mars his presentation of his exotic sights, sounds or customs. And as Howard concludes, the narrator

> chose to provide a vicarious experience that calls forth a frame of mind . . . . he had a penchant for understatement and anticlimax. He had a habit of pairing and juxtaposing, which produced in his work a series of contrasts and contradictions. Mandeville's art is one of vivid, precise detail and forthright statement, but more than that one of selection and arrangement.[41]

This "robust soldier-traveller, observant, open-minded, accurate, and discreet,"[42] has gifted posterity such selection and arrangement of elements, not so alien or exotic after all; wedded to a consistent tolerance for alterity, they have proven to instruct, intrigue and please audiences for nearly eight centuries and counting.

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39 Verner, *The Epistemology of the Monstrous in the Middle Ages* (see note 6) 150, quoting Iain Macleod Higgins, *Writing East*, 79.

40 Howard, *Writers and Pilgrims* (see note 10), 67.

41 Howard, *Writers and Pilgrims* (see note 10), 67.

42 Howard, *Writers and Pilgrims* (see note 10), 61.

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Chapter 15

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Merveilles du Monde: Marco Millioni, *Mirabilia*, and the Medieval Imagination, or the Impact of Genre on European *Curiositas*

The fourteenth century witnessed the creation of three great travelogues, each detailing, inter alia, its author's sojourns in the far East: the *Merveilles* of Marco Polo, the *Travels* of John Mandeville, and the *Riḥla* of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (*A Gift to Those Who Contemplate the Wonders of Cities and the Marvels of Travelling*). The two European pretensions, the first ostensibly true, though greated with some contemporary suspicion, the second largely apocryphal, though accepted with some contemporary gullibility, were embraced almost immediately into the European canon, where they remained literary landmarks through the subsequent voyages of discovery and beyond. The third, largely true though serious questions remain regarding the author's Chinese peregrinations, was viewed with skepticism, if not complete scorn and ridicule, quickly falling into long relative desuetude. This essay considers two related issues. The first concerns the characteristics of genre, and more particularly, what respective literary conventions readily admitted both a rather dry journal and a phantasm to the European canon, while Arabic standards rejected from its canon what today is hailed as a major historical source on the Eastern hemisphere in the late Middle Ages. The second considers the implications of those elements of genre for encounters of East and West in terms of frequency and desirability, particularly regarding the prism defining Oriental phenomena.

In addressing the first of these issues, it is necessary to consider the influence of an author whose work was largely unknown in most of Europe from the Carolingian era until the Italian Renaissance. Sometime in the second quarter of the fourteenth century, perhaps twenty-five years or more after Marco Polo had

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presented a copy of his *Livre*, to be variously titled *Devissement du monde*, or *Merveilles du monde*, to Thiebault de Cepoy, a French nobleman then in Venice as envoy to Charles de Valois,[1] Petrarch returned from Avignon with another description of the world in tow, a twelfth-century manuscript of the *Chorography* of Pomponius Mela.[2] This opus was frequently cited from the date of its composition in the reign of Claudius through late antiquity, and subsequently was employed by Einhardt before its annotation by Heiric of Auxerre. Thereafter it was known almost exclusively in France until finding its way to Avignon whence Petrarch plucked it, subsequently serving as a source for Boccaccio's *jocosus labor*, a topographical guide to classical literature on which he worked from the mid-1350s until his death.[3] It also became widely used as a school text, and over one hundred twenty-one manuscripts have been located, as well as one hundred fifty printed editions, one of which accompanied the Portuguese explorer, Pedro Alvares Cabral.[4]

Mela's work—both its genesis and the mentalities that it engendered which ultimately brought it back to Italy—interests our current analysis of why the travels of an erstwhile unnotable Venetian would become an instant classic in Europe, while the equally remarkable journey of the Tangierian, Ibn Battūta, would quickly fall into relative oblivion from which it was rescued only in the nineteenth century and then by Christian scholars,[5] for at least two reasons. First

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1 See M. G. Pauthier's introduction to his edition of *Le Livre de Marco Polo* (1865; Geneva: Slatkine, 1978), lxxxiv.

2 Standard text is that of C. Frick, *Pomponii Melae. De chorographia libri tres.* Bibliotheca Scriptoroum Graecorum et Romanorum (Leipzig: Teubner, 1880). An interesting introduction to Mela is provided by Frank E. Romer, *Pomponius Mela's Description of the World* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1998), to which I am much indebted.

3 *De Montibus, silvis, fontibus, lacubus, fluminibus, stagnis seu paldibus, et de nominibus maris liber.* See G(iuseppi) Billanovich, "Dall' antica Ravenna alle biblioteche umanistiche," *Aevum* 30 (1956): 319–53, reprinted with corrections in *Annuario dell' Univ. Catt. d. S. Cuore, 1955–57 (*1958*):* 71–107*;* P(iergiorgio) Parroni*, Pomponius Mela: De chorographia libri tres.* Racolta di studi e testi 160 (Rome: Editore di Storia e Letteratura, 1984), 55–81.

4 On the medieval fortunes of Mela's work generally, see in particular C(atherine) M. Gormley, M(ary) A. Rouse and R(ichard) H. Rouse, "The Medieval Circulation of the 'De Chorographia' of Pomponius Mela," *Medieval Studies* 46 (1984): 266–320.

5 Although it did circulated in a few manuscript abridgements, largely in North Africa, it was entirely unknown outside the Islamic world until Lee published a translation in 1829 based on an abridgement acquired by John Burckhardt. Mid-century, C(harles) Défrémy and B(eniamino) R. Sanguinetti published an Arabic version with French translation and apparatus based on two complete and three abridged Arabic versions discovered in Algiers, *Voyages d'Ibn Battuta* , 4 vols. (1853–1858; reprinted Paris: Éditions Anthropos, 1979). See Ross E. Dunn, *The Adventures of Ibn Battuta, a Muslim Traveler of the 14th Century,* rev. ed. (1986; Berkeley, Los Angeles and London: University of California Press, 2005), 4. See also the pleasantly solid article in *Wikipedia*: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ibn_Battuta (last accessed on March 5, 2013), which provides helpful maps of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's travels.

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is its status as the initial geographical work composed in Latin,[6] hence a linguistic predecessor and a major source for the subsequent popularizing collations of Pliny the Elder, of the vulgarizing early third-century compiler, Solinus, whose gullible fascination with the anthropologically grotesque would influence Honorius Augustodunensis in the twelfth century, and relied upon by the fifth-century encyclopedist, Martianus Capella, and the sixth-century historian, Jordanes.[7] The second significant aspect of Mela's chorography is its unorthodox arrangement that takes the reader on a fictive circumnavigation of the known world.[8] No geographer himself, the contents of his excursus beyond the familiar borders of the Mediterranean were, in Bunbury's phrase, "calculated to supply to its readers a compendious collection of the stories current with regard to different countries and their inhabitants . . . ."[9]

In particular, this included *fabulae* of the day, just as tall tales had circulated of gold-digging Indian ants[10] or of tribesmen with assorted and assundry reproductive or alimentary peculiarities, only to be recorded by Greeks such as Herodotus. Even Megasthenes, envoy of Seleucus I to the Mauryan emperor Chadragupta, and author of the *Indica,* perhaps the finest ancient work on the subcontinent, accepted the existence of the Skiapods.[11] It was this tendency to combine the accurate and the fabulous that drew the ire of the rationalist geographer, Eratosthenes, whose strictures impressed Strabo and led him to pronounce his specific distrust of Megasthenes.[12]

The emergent standard of geography and history emphasizing credibility over entertainment traced from Eratosthenes to Strabo would provide the model

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6 See A(lain) Silberman, "Le première ouvrage latin de géographie: La Chorographie de Pomponius Méla et ses sources Greques," *Klio* 71 (1989), 571–81. For an interesting argument that Mela was intentionally avoiding a geography in the sense of the Greeks, see Roger Batty, "Mela's Phoenician Geography," *The Journal of Roman Studies* 90 (2000), 70–94.

7 On the use of Mela by the ancients, see A(lain) Silberman, *Pomponius Mela: De chorographie* (Paris: Belles-Lettres, 1988), lii–liii; and Kai Brodersen, *Pomponius Mela: Kreuzfuhrt durch die alte Welt (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1994), 14–20.*

8 This is a major argument of Frank E. Romer, *Pomponius Mela's Description of the World* (see note 2) 18–27.

9 E(dward) H. Bunbury, *A History of Ancient Geography,* 2 vols. 2nd ed. (1879; London: J. Murray, 1883), 2:367.

10 Herodotus, *Histories,* trans. A. D. Godley. Loeb Classical Library. 4 vols. rev. ed. (1920; Cambridge, MA, and London: Harvard University Press, 1926), 3: 102–05.

11 On Megasthenes, and Hellenistic exploration generally, see Peter Green, *Alexander to Actium: The Historical Evolution of the Hellenistic Age* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1990), 326–28.

12 *Geography* , trans. H. L. Jones. Loeb Classical Library. 8 vols. (Cambridge, MA, and London: Harvard University Press, 1917–1932), , 2.1.9.

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pursued by subsequent Greek writers such as Arrian of Nicomedia in his *Indike*, describing Alexander the Great's conquest of part of India.[13]

Mela, however, was not concerned with pursuing geography in the rationalist Greek style, and indeed embraces geography as entertainment. Mela's use of the store of incredible *loca communes* provided his readers with a sense of immediacy and familiarity, while the sparsity of detail regarding distant locales engendered curiosity for fuller information and elicited puzzlement regarding causality. The ellipsis of the narrative, as in Virgilian epic, Hellenistic epigram, and Horatian ode, served an evocative economy relying on the reader's active collaboration[14]; that is, the sparsity of detail demanded that the reader actively participate by imagining the omitted detail. Thus using both form and content, Mela played, to borrow Romer's phrase, ". . . on his readers' mental images of persons, places and things, and he offered his audience a kind of armchair travelogue in prose." Such literature served the dual purposes of *otia* and *curiositas*, for, as Cicero had written:

> . . . cum sumus necessariis negotiis curisque vacui, tum avemus aliquid videre, audire, Addiscere cognitionemque rerum aut occultarum aut admirabilium ad beate vivendum necessariam ducimus."[15]
>
> [. . . when we have leisure from the demands of business cares, we are eager to see, to hear, to learn something new, and we esteem a desire to know the secrets or wonders of creation as indispensable to a happy life.]

From its genesis, Latin travel literature included geography or history proper along with adventure, fiction, or moral instruction. However, it was anticipated that all such literature contain *mirabilia*—wonders, in the sense of things surprising, or admirable, or strange, so as to entertain the reader. Hence, Latin travel literature, and indeed, geography which seldom met the rigorous specifications of Strabo, was relatively ill-defined as a genre, and little distinguishable from the *mirabilia* that constituted it or the compilations that contained it.

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13 Philip A. Stadter, *Arrian of Nicomedia* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1980), Chapter 7. See also *The Landmark Arrian: The Campaigns of Alexander = Anabasis Alexandrou*, new trans. Pamela Mensch, with maps, annotations, appendices, and encyclopedic index ; edited by James Romm; with an introduction by Paul Cartledge (New York: Pantheon Books, 2010).

14 On which use of the elliptical narrative in Virgil, Horace, and Hellenist writers, see Kenneth Quinn, *Latin Explorations: Critical Studies in Roman Literature* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1963), 202–11. For a similar use of ellipsis in the Middle Ages by Mandeville, consider Jean E. Jost, "The Exotic and Fabulous East in *The Travels of Sir John Mandeville:* Understated Authenticity," in this volume.

15 *M. Tullii Ciceronis de De officiis* libri III, ed. C. F. W. Müller (Leipzig: Teubner, 1884), Book I.IV.13.

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Arabic literature, insofar as it borrowed from the Greeks, as well as from the Persians and the Indians, did so largely from the rationalistic school of Greek geography, and developed independently a number of fairly well-defined genres of geography and peregrination. In the tenth century, al-Muqaddasī (ca. 949–991) wrote a compendium of the physical and human geography of the known world based on his own and eye-witness accounts.[16] Two hundred years later, al-Yāqūt (1179–1221) composed a sort of geographical dictionary.[17] As Hourani notes, these works evidence a desire to study and describe systematically the peoples and countries of the world, and the routes which linked them,[18] a goal certainly consistent with those of Eratosthenes, Strabo, or Arrian. That systematic approach was common to Arabic historiography, and indeed, compilations generally, which, though they never seemed to have evolved into a separate genre of Arabic literature, certainly manifested no small degree of art. At its foundation was a scientific method based on gathering and verifying data, probably derived from the conventions of *isnad* (chain of transmission) integral to *ḥadīth* studies.[19]

Partially as a consequence, Arabic literature, much like rationalist Greek geography *chez S*trabo, seems to manifest something of a hostility to the blending of factual and fictitious elements in the same genre. This certainly does not obviate the transmission of marvels, though linguistically, Arabic did have the advantage of distinguishing between the surprising or unfamiliar (*ajab*) and the truly marvelous and inexplicable (*gharib*).[20] Somewhat more prosaic among itineraries was the *kitāb* or *risāla,* literally, book or chapter, but which could perhaps be better expressed by report, as in the case of the tenth-century *Kitāb* of Ibn Fadlān, dealing with the embassy sent by the Abbasid caliph, al Muqtadir Billah, to the king of the Bulgars.

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16 Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad Shams al-Dīn al-Muqaddasī, *Aḥasan al-taqāsim fī ma'rifat al-Aqālīm*, trans. as *The Best Divisions for Knowledge of the Regions,* trans. Basil Anthony Collins (Reading: Garnet, 1994).

17 Yāqūt ibn-'Abdullah al-Rūmī al-Hamawī, *Kitāb mu'jam al-buldān*, 10 vols. (Cairo: n.p., 1906–1907).

18 Albert Hourani, *A History of the Arab Peoples* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1991), 201.

19 *Ḥadīth* are the sayings of the Prophet Mohammad, preserved in either written or memorized form. See, generally, Uthman ibn Abd al-Rahman al-Shahrazuri, *Introduction to the Science of Hadith,* trans. Eerik Dickinson (Reading: Garnet, 2006); Muhammad Zubayr Siddiqi, *Hadith Literature* (Oxford: Islamic Texts Society, 1993).

20 See Joël Thomas, "*Mirabilia:* Tropismes de l'imaginaire antique," *Conceptions et representations de l'extraordinaire dans le monde antique.* Actes du colloque international, Lausanne, 20–22 mars 2003, ed Olivier Bianchi and Olivier Thévenaz. ECHO 4 (Bern, Berlin and Brussels: Peter Lang, 2004), 1–13 ; here 5–6; cf. the collection of articles in *L'étrange et le merveilleux dans l'Islam medieval : Actes du colloque tenu au College de France á Paris, mars 1974*, ed. M(ohammed) Arkoun, J(acques) Le Goff, T(awfiq) Fahd and M(axime) Rodinson, . (Paris: Editions J.A., 1978).

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The literary gem of travelogues, however, particularly from the twelfth to the fourteenth centuries, was the *riḥla,* literally journey, but which became an Islamic literary genre designed for entertainment and edification, detailing the author's *haj* and study tour, describing pious institutions, public monuments and religious personalities of the great Islamic centers. The most perfect model of the *riḥla* is provided by Ibn Jubayr in the last decades of the twelfth century, describing the author's pilgrimage in penance for imbibing wine.

It was this latter genre chosen for the relations of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa to his manumensis, Ibn Juzayy. A number of scholars have suggested that this choice was dictated by their patron, Sultan Abu 'Inan of Fez. However, according to Ibn Juzayy's introduction, the sultan merely instructed Ibn Baṭṭūṭa that:

> . . . he should dictate an account of the cities which he had seen in his travels, and of the interesting events which had clung to his memory, and that he should speak of those whom he had met of the rulers of countries, of their distinguished men of learning, and of their pious saints.[21]

It was a given that Ibn Juzayy was:

> . . . to polish and to correct the style, to render this discourse clear and intelligible enough that one is able to enjoy the curiosities and so that one realizes a great profit from this pearl once one extracts it from its shell." (375)

Nothing in the instructions directed a specific form, though surely the manumensis was more than passingly familiar with the great *riḥla* of Ibn Jubayr, given the extent to which he in modern terms plagiarized that work.[22] On the other hand, it may have been Ibn Baṭṭūṭa himself, being a *faqīh* (jurist) of the Mālikī *madhhab,* who gravitated toward the *riḥla* as a literary form more in keeping with the tastes of the *madrasas.* His secretary, despite being himself an adherent of the *Mālikī* school and a legal scholar of some repute, having penned *inter alia* a noted work comparing the systems of the four schools,[23] nonetheless perhaps on account of his Andalusian refinement, seems more predisposed to a classical form of chorography, here the *khoros* being the Islamic world. In this sense, Netton has a point.[24] Ibn Juzayy uses the *riḥla* form as a frame for a further reaching work, much

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21 My translation from the French edition of Paule Charles-Dominique, *Voyageurs arabes* (Paris: Gallimard, 1995), 374.

22 Not that such borrowings from tradition, as opposed to copying from contemporaries, were considered *sariqa,* any more than they were in the West. See generally, W(olfhart) Heinrichs, "An Evaluation of Sariqa," *Quaderni dei Studi Arabe* 5–6 (1987–1988): 357–68. However, plagiarism of contemporaries was seriously stigmatized. See Doris Behrens-Abouseif, *Beauty in Arabic Culture.* Princeton Series on the Middle East (Princeton, CT: Marcus Wiener, 1988), 101–02.

23 Being the four schools of law, or *madhabs,* of Sunni Islam, i.e., Ḥanafī, Shāfi'ī, Mālikī and Ḥanbalī.

24 Ian Richard Netton, "Myth, Miracle and Magic in the *Rihla* of Ibn Battuta," *Journal of Semitic Studies* 39 (1984): 131–40.

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in the fashion of the *Kalīla wa-Dimna* or the *Panchatantra.* Into this frame, Ibn Baṭṭūṭa is free to pour his self-aggrandizing stories, his biases against the Shī'a, his fascination with Sufism, and his eye for the ladies, while his secretary is free to fill gaps with liberal borrowings of other travelers and writers, and a rather classical fascination with myth and magic.

This use of the *riḥla* as a frame suggests the basis for the at least superficial similarity of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's opus and Mandeville's travels which has concerned some scholars such as Ana Pinto.[25] It seems likely that Mandeville, certainly familiar with the idea of a frame story from the *Arabian Nights*, the *Seven Sages,* or the *Kalīla,* even as were his approximate contemporaries Boccaccio and Chaucer, chose the pilgrimage as a frame for his travels just as Ibn Juzayy used the *riḥla* for Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's.

The resulting mishmash of personal observation and pastiche is probably more edifying to the modern reader than it was to the author's contemporaries. Perhaps the extensive discussions of Islamic saints and spiritualists, and the endless details of religious establishments and theologians in long-Islamic Saracenic countries, which Klaproth from a modern geographic perspective and with little regard for the *riḥla* form, attributed to stupidity, were as Yule conceded somewhat laborious for the uninitiated.[26]

Nonetheless, more than most medieval travelogues, the *Riḥla* of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa reveals something of the personality of the man in all his complexity,[27] as well as representing a monument of a now lost Islamic *oikoumene, Dar al-Islam* writ large. One suspects that Ibn Juzayy would in some respect be pleased with the latter success. Yet, as a *riḥla* much is left to be desired, and one can imagine the displeasure in certain schools with the traveler's apparent fascination with less than orthodox sects and topics, especially the apparent attraction to Sufism. That enthusiast sect had played, after all, so significant a role in the escalation of *khilāf,* or religious dispute, to *fitna,* or violent doctrinal disagreement, in the tensions between the Naṣrid and the Banū Ashqilūla that racked al-Andalus in the last quarter of the thirteenth century, driving the latter to ally itself with Castille as the

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25 *"Mandeville's Travels": A "Rihla" in Disguise* (Madrid: Complutense, 2005). While Pinto's thesis that somehow Mandeville borrowed the *riḥla* form or was even familiar therewith has been justly criticized, for example see Suzanne Conklin Akbari's review in *Speculum* 82 (2007): 474–76, the resemblance is real.

26 *Cathay and the Way Thither; Being a Collection of Medieval Notices of China,* ed. and trans. Henry Yule. Hakluyt Society, 1st series, 36–37 (London: T. Richards for the Hakluyt Society, 1866), 37: 431–32.

27 This is likewise the evaluation of Ross E. Dunn, *The Adventures of Ibn Battuta, a Muslim Traveler of the 14th Century* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London: University of California Press, 1986; rev. ed. 2005), 5; 311, et seq.

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former consolidated power by adopting a rigorous, indeed persecuting, foundation in the orthodox religious establishment of the Mālikī.[28]

At the same time, the work is essentially useless as practical geography, which, of course, it was never intended to be. Quite simply, the *Riḥla* fails to fit neatly into any recognized genre of its period, and must have been rather confusing and disappointing to its contemporary readers, constituting neither geography nor history proper, blending fact and fiction, and with no clear devotional perspective. Perhaps this frustration resulted in the skepticism regarding both Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's credibility[29] and his scholarship,[30] more so than a simple contempt for his "pedestrian erudition" or the "incredulous parochialism of Far Western Muslims," suggested by some scholars.[31] Simply put, a literary work failing to comply with the requisites of recognized genre could not be trusted in terms of content either.

One can but surmise that shortcomings of form were of greater significance in Islamic literature than in Western vernacular literature, perhaps because the latter had little in the way of canon except by analogy to Latin literature which itself as "poor cousin" to the vaulted Greeks was permutable enough to defy even the categorical medieval mind. Indeed, Latin genre as formulated by Isidore did not even distinguish between fact and fiction, but included between *res gestae* and *fabulae* a broad middle category of *argumenta,* reports of things that are possible, even if they did not actually happen.[32] Apparently, style was not an insurmountable issue either, else Polo's account surely would have failed for stolidity of prose.

As Aubertin wrote nearly a century and a half ago, one can but regret that Polo had neither the cogent imagination of a Froissart nor the vivacious spirit of a

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28 On these religious disputes, see L(eonard) P. Harvey, *Islamic Spain, 1250–1500* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1990), particularly Chapter 2, p. 33 et seq.

29 'Abd al-Rahmān ibn Khaldūn, in his *Muqaddimah,* paints a portrait of Ibn Baṭṭūta as a weaver of tall tales with a reputation as a liar. *The Muqaddimah,* ed. and trans., Franz Rosenthal, 3 vols. (Princeton: University of Princeton Press, 1958), I:369–71.

30 Ibn Khaldūn reports the low opinion Abu l'Barakat al-Balafīqī held toward Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's scholarship. Op.cit., I:371. Ibn al-Khaṭīb reported that al-Balafīqī considered Ibn Baṭṭūṭa a liar as well. See E. Lévi-Provençal, "Le voyage d'Ibn Battuta dans le royaume de Grenade (1350)," *Mélanges offerts á William Marçais*, ed. Institut d'études islamiques de l'Université de Paris (Paris: G.-P. Maisonneuve, 1950), 205–24, here 213.

31 Having discussed the foregoing reports concerning the reputation of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, this is the suggestion of Dunn, *The Adventures of Ibn Battuta* (see note 5), 316.

32 "Nam historiae sunt res verae quae factae sunt; argumenta sunt quae etsi facta non sunt, fieri tamen possunt; fabulae vero sunt quae nec factae sunt nec fieri possunt, quia contra naturam sunt." *Etymologiarum, e*d. W. M. Lindsay. Oxford Classical Texts. 2 vols. (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1911). I: xliv. On this aspect of late antique and medieval literary theory, see Ernst Robert Curtius, *Europäische Literatur und lateinisches Mittelalter* (Bern: A. Francke, 1948), translated as *European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages,* trans. Willard R. Trask. Bollingen Series, 36 (Princeton, CT: Princeton University Press, 1953), Excursus VI, section3.

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Joinville,[33] nor may I add, in Rustichello a manumensis capable of providing the least inspiring editorial guidance except perhaps in describing battle scenes for which he had some experience from composing his own romances. Yet, though none of the splendors and marvels of the Orient are expressed with the least force or color, indeed, many of the *mirabilia* being rationalized in part or in whole by Polo and Rustichello, the chronicle of Polo's adventures became a mainstay of medieval literature on the marvelous.

Scholars frequently place the blame for this phenomenon, for indeed many deem it a negative factor in the *receptio pollini,* on editors and librarians who often collated the Polo manuscript into *collectanea.* These collections not uncommonly included romances such as the *Alexander* texts or Colonna's *Historia Troyana,* the fantastic sojourns of Odoric and Mandeville, and the ever popular spurius epistle of Prester John.[34] Other favorite targets of scorn are the illuminators who insisted on accompanying the text with familiar images of unicorns, dragons and human monsters. This discounts the obvious fact that many of Marco's marvels would make for uninteresting illustration—who craves a miniature of burning black rocks or paper currency?

I think it also fair to consider the juxtaposition of text and painting in the same light as a gloss, which can either add consistent information to the text, or state contrary positions held by persons of note. So when Polo discusses a rhinoceros and the illustrator provides a unicorn, or Polo's description of the Andamans as dog-faced is accompanied by a diagram of Cynocephali, the interplay of text and image can itself be demythologizing, presuming this constituted a goal.[35] For the *collectanea,* and there are those binding the Polo manuscript with devotional literature or natural history, represent topical collections, usually of what could be considered *mirabilia.*

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33 M. Charles Aubertin, *Histoire de la langue et de la literature françaises,* 2 vols. (Paris: Librairie classique d'Eugène Belin, 1878), II:550: "Marco Polo dit exactement ce qu'il a vu, mais il le decrit faiblement. Son style est simple, bref, un peu sec, comme le style d'un journal de voyage. Rien des splendeurs et des merveilles orientales ne se reflète dans ces descriptions sans force et sans couleur; on se prend á regretter, en les lisant, que le puissante imagination d'un Froissart ou meme la vivacité d'esprit d'un Joinville n'ait pas eu la fortune de se trouver en face de tells spectacles et de se déployer dans l'imprévu et la variété de tells aventures."

34 See R(udolph) Wittkower, "Marco Polo and the Pictorial Tradition of the Marvels of the East," *Oriente Poliano: Studi e conferenze tenute all'Is.M.E.O. in occasione del VII Centenario della Nascita di Marco Polo (1254–1954)* (Rome: Instituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente, 1957), 155–72, here 170.

35 This does not go so far as some scholars who suggest Marco and Rustichello simply rationalize traditional marvels. Cf. Debra Higgs Strickland, "Text, Image, and Contradiction in the *Devisement dou monde," Marco Polo and the Encounter of East and West,* ed. Suzanne Conklin Akbari and Amilcare A. Iannucci, (Toronto, Buffalo, and London: University of Toronto Press, 2008), 23–59, at 44.

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The Christianization of the Western World did not dim the Latin appetite for wonders in the least. After all, as Augustine had expressed in *De Civitate dei*, how could Christians simply deny the existence of phenomena outside daily experience when their religion itself rested on the possibility of the inexplicable. Thus he concluded that particular *mirabilia* could be either falsehoods, mistaken descriptions, or unfamiliar phenomena produced by either nature, man or daemonic forces.[36] They are puzzlements, and that is part of their fascination. Indeed, one of the great medieval collections of *mirabilia* is that of Gervase of Tilbury, who specifically entitled his work *Otia imperialia,* and stated, "Mirabilia vero dicimus quae nostrae cognitioni non subjacent etiam cum sint naturalia" ["We call 'wonders' those thing not subject to our knowledge, though they may be natural occurrences"] ,[37] a sense also employed by Roger Bacon in *De secretis operibus*.[38]

Perhaps Mabille is not far off when he writes, "Marvelous journeys offered more than just pleasure, satisfaction of curiosity, amusement, escape, terror and enjoyment; they offered a more thorough explanation of the whole of reality than was available anywhere else,"[39] except in suggesting that curiosity was satisfied and in presuming that explanation was a significant authorial goal. It was understood that by their very nature, *mirabilia* were in some sense neither true nor false. They were often the subject of *fabulae* or legends, which could be true or not, and hence the subject of speculation and investigation. Skepticism was invited as

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36 Augustine spends much of Book 21, C. 4 through C. 6 on this topic, noting at one point, "Addimus enim istam lucernam inextinguibilem et humanarum et magicarum, id est per homines daemonicarum, artium et ipsorum per se ipsos daemonum multa miracula; quae si negare voluerimus, eidem ipsi cui credimus sacrarum litterarum adversabimur veritati." [Indeed, we add to this inextinguishable lamp many wonders engendered either by man or magic, which is to say, by men under the effect of demons or the demons themselves, for if we should deny such marvels, we should likewise deny the Holy Scriptures that we believe to be true.]

37 Also variously known as *Liber de mirabilibus mundi, Solatia imperatoris* and *Descriptio totius orbis.* See generally, introduction to *Otia imperialia,* eds. S.E. Banks and J.W. Binns. Oxford Medieval Texts (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), this quotation, 558–59.

38 *Opera inedita,* ed. J.S. Brewer. Rerum Brittanicarum Medii Aevi Scriptores (London: Longman, Brown, Green, Longmans, and Roberts, 1859).

39 Pierre Mabille, *Le Miroir du merveilleux* (Paris: Minuit, 1962; originally published Paris: Le Sagittaire, 1940), quoted in Jacques Le Goff, "The Marvelous in the Medieval West," *L'Imaginaire medieval* (Paris: Gallimard, 1985), trans. Arthur Goldhammer, *The Medieval Imagination* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1988), 27–44; here 40; originally published in a different form in *L'Etrange et le merveilleux dans l"islam medieval,* ed. M. Arkoun, J. Le Goff, T. Fahd, and M. Rodinson (Paris: Editions J. A., 1978), 61–79.

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it had been in the Roman Silver Age when Vitruvius,[40] Varro[41] and Seneca[42], to name a few, had expressed doubts regarding contemporary *mirabilia*.

So in the fourteenth century, Jan de Langhe[43] expressed doubts concerning alchemy, Giovanni de 'Marignolli, partially based upon his own experience, expressly denied the existence of monstrous races or many other purported wonders of the East,[44] and Thomas Bradwardine seems to have had a distinct preference for the more demythologizing narratives of the Pollini over more popular and fantastic descriptions of the Orient.[45] Indeed, Nicholas Oresme questioned in *Le livre du ciel et du monde,* whether certain phenomena described in scripture were not simply expressions conforming to customary usage of popular speech.[46]

And this is where I would submit that scholars such as Le Goff err in their assessments of medieval *scientia*.[47] For example, it is true that many late medieval

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40 See Mireille Courrént, "*Non est mirandum.* Vitruve et la résistance á l'étonnement," *Mirabilia – Conceptions et representations de 'extraordinaire dans le monde antique,* (see note 20) 265–78.

41 A point made by Augustine, when he writes: "Sed nos, sicut iam in libro duodevicensimo huius operis dixi, non habemus necesse omnia credere, quae historia continent gentium, cum et ipsi inter se historici, sicut ait Varro, quasi data opera et quasi industria per multa dissentient. . ." [But we, just as I said in Book eighteen of this work, need not believe everything that profane history contains, for just as Varro says, historians themselves disagree on many things just as though on purpose and at pains to do so.] *De Civitate Dei,* Book 21, c. 6, ll. 17–23.

42 On Seneca's rationalist spirit as expressed particularly in the *Questions Naturelles,* see Françoise Toulze-Morriset, "Sénèque s'étonne-t-il dans les *Questions Naturelles*?" *Mirabilia – Conceptions et representations de ''extraordinaire dans le monde antique* (see note 20), 199–220.

43 *Chronica monasterii Sancta Bertini auctore Johanne Longo,* ed. O. Holder-Egger. Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores, 25 (Hanover: Hahn, 1880), 887.

44 John De'Marignolli, "Recollections of Travel in the East," *Cathay and the Way Thither* (see note 26) 311–94, 378–81.

45 See Suzanne M. Yeager, "The World Translated: Marco Polo's *Le Devisement dou monde, The Book of Sir John Mandeville,* and their Medieval Audiences," *Marco Polo and the Encounter of East and West* (see note 35), 156–77; here 159–60.

46 "Au sixte, de la sainte Escripture qui dist que le soleil tourney et cetera: l'en diroit l'en voit est meue ou se le voiement est meu, ce ne fait difference; et aussi diroit que elle se conforme en ceste partie a la maniere de commun parler humain aussi comme elle fait en pluseurs lieux, si comme la ou il est escript que Dieu se repenti et que il se courrousa et rapaisa et teles choses qui ne sont pas ainsi du tout comme la letter sonne." [One could answer the sixth argument, which concerns the reference in Holy Scripture aoubt the sun's turning, etc., by saying that this passage conforms to the customary usage of popular speech just as it does in many other places, for instance, in those where it is written that God repented, and He became angry and became pacified, and other such expressions which are not to be taken literally.] Book II, c. 25, fols. 141d–142b, ed A(lbert) D. Menut and A(lexander) J. Denomy, with trans. by A. D. Menut, The University of Wisconsin Publications in Medieval Science (Madison, Milwaukee, and London: University of Wisconsin Press, 1968), p. 530, ll. 227–32.

47 In particular, see Jacques le Goff, "L'Occident medieval et l'océan Indien: un horizon onirique," *Atti del VI Collequio Internzionale di Storia Marittima* (Florence: Olschki, 1970), 243–63, rpt. id., *Pour un autre Moyen Age: Temps, travail et culture en Occident: 18 essais (*Paris: Gallimard, 1977), 280–98.

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intellectuals accepted the Ptolemaic conceptualization of the world with its enclosed Indian Ocean. However, any reader of Mela was aware that Hanno had allegedly circumnavigated Africa and Cornelius Nepos had reported that Eudoxus had done so as well, sailing from the Arabian sea to Cadiz. But these were issues of contention, not dogma. Perhaps medieval people were ignorant of many aspects of the physical world, but they were not necessarily mired in that ignorance. Generally aware of the limits of their knowledge, they engaged in the same sort of assembling and collation of data as had their Latin intellectual precursors such as Pliny the Elder, whose nephew in correspondence reveals his uncle to have been an obsessive collector of memorabilia,[48] here synonymous with *mirabilia,* a sort of hoarder of both fact and strange story.

Indeed, as Curtius observed, the compilation itself was both a highly popular and highly respected literary genre in its own right in late antiquity, the line from Gellius leading through Nonius Marcellus and Macrobius to Isidore himself.[49] The reader could extract what he found interesting, edifying, or credible. As Isidore wrote:

> Sunt his plura sacra, sunt mundialia plura;
> Ex his si qua placent carmina, tolle, lege."
>
> [Here are presented a number of verses sacred, a number secular; / From these, if any are pleasing, take and read.][50]

But for this reason, incredulity, which was an obstacle to the reception of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, had less significance on the fortunes of Polo's opus. Whether true or not, it was disseminated and catalogued, probably much in the spirit modern sightings of UFOs, Yetis, or Big-foot are logged for future reference, then eagerly perused by some portion of a public possessed of an insatiable appetite for something new, that popularizing writers not only satisfy but whet.

The fact that these *collectanea* were read for enjoyment, and thus, being familiar served as fonts for exemplars or were employed as *topoi* in artistic works, no more proves that people of the Middle Ages were possessed of a self-satisfied geographical ignorance than medieval bestiaries prove that they were incapable of separating fiction and serious natural philosophy, though Le Goff suggests this as well, despite their respectable herbals and falconries. On the other hand, a compiled work even as venerable as Pliny's *Natural History* served, to use Nauert's

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48 See, e.g., Plinius, *Epistulae. A Critical Edition*, ed. Selatie Edgar Stout. Indiana University Humanities Series, 49 (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1962), III:5.

49 Ernst Robert Curtius, *Europäische Literatur und lateinisches Mittelalter* (see note 32), Excursus 6, at 455–56.

50 Charles Henry Beeson, *Isidor-Studien*. Quellen und Untersuchungen zur lateinischen Philologie des Mittelalters, 4.2 (Munich: C. H. Beck, 1913) 135 ff., quoted and discussed by Ernst Robert Curtius, *Europäische Literatur und lateinisches Mittelalter* (see note 21), Excursus 6, 456.

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phrase, "as a storehouse for useful information with little concern for the accuracy of the text."[51]

Only later in the Renaissance when the focus shifted to critical editing of ancient texts would the issue of whether their information was scientifically accurate come to the fore.[52] Quite simply, medieval scholars and readers possessed agenda differing from either Renaissance Humanists or modern scientists, which included, aside from pure entertainment, a broad, albeit often superficial, familiarity with *topoi* for rhetorical purposes or speculative rather than empirical natural philosophy.

Practically, it turned out irrelevant who believed which texts. All were contestable assertions that dealt with the unknown, although not necessarily the unfamiliar. Two millennia of *mirabilia* and speculation had lent through sheer tradition a certain authority to marvel-filled accounts that invested them with a sort of reliability.[53] At least for the public at large, the incredible had become credible. But while Columbus may have had his Polo,[54] Frobischer and Sir Walter Raleigh their Mandeville,[55] all proved as useless as Ptolemy' *Geographia,* except for their inspirational value. For every mariner had, as Columbus observed, the desire

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51 "Humanists, scientists, and Pliny: changing approaches to a classical author," *American Historical Review* 84 (1971): 72–85. Of course, Pliny himself sought not so much to create a comprehensive natural history, but a storehouse of interesting and entertaining information. See David C. Lindberg, *The Beginnings of Western Science: The European scientific Tradition in Philosophical, Religious, and Institutional Context, 600 B.C. to A.D. 1450* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1992), 141 et seq.

52 See Pamela O. Long, "Humanism and Science," *Renaissance Humanism: Foundations, Forms and Legacy,* ed. Albert Rabil, Jr. 3 vols. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1988), 3: 486–512.

53 See Suzanne M. Yeager, "Text, Image and Contradiction" (see note 35); Mary B. Campbell, *The Wtiness and the Other World: European Travel Writing, 400–1600* (Ithaca: cornell University Press, 1991); John Larner, *Marco Polo and the Discovery of the World* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999). On the role of *auctoritas* in medieval travel literature, see Albrecht Classen, "Marco Polo and John Mandeville: The Traveler as Authority Figure, the Real and the Imaginary," *Authorities in the Middle Ages: Influence, Legitimacy, and Power in Medieval Society*, ed. Sini Kangas, Mia Korpiola, and Tuija Ainonen. Fundamentals of Medieval and Early Modern Culture, 12 (Berlin and Boston: De Gruyter, forthcoming). For the clash between tradition and evidence within another context, consider Scott L. Taylor, :*Judicium Dei, vulgaris popularisque sensus:* Survival of Customary Justice and Resistance to its Displacement by the "New" *Ordines iudiciorum* as Evidenced by Francophonic Literature of the High Middle Ages," *Crime and Punishment in the Middle Ages and Early Modern Age: Mental-Historical Investigations of Basic Human Problems and Social Responses,* ed. Albrecht Classen and Connie Scarborough. Fundamentals of Medieval and Early Modern Culture 11 (Berlin and Boston: Walter DeGruyter, 2012), 109–30.

54 *El libro de Marco Polo anotado por Cristóbal Colón,* ed. J(uan) Gil (Madrid: Testimonio, 1987).

55 See, respectively, E(va) G(ermaine) R(imington) Taylor, *Tudor Geography, 1485–1583* (London: Methuen, 1930), 36–37; Walter Raleigh, *The Discoverie of Guiana,* ed. Joyce Lorimer. Hakluyt Society, 3rd series, 15 (Aldershot, Hants, and Burlington: Ashgate, 2006), 178.

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to know the secrets of the world.[56] In this curiosity, exploration and geographical speculation fed off each other, as evidenced by late medieval cartography which not uncommonly scattered imaginary and mythical islands about the oceans, perhaps encouraged by the freedom of conjecture sensed in academic geography as well.[57]

Of course, even after discoveries disproved many assertions of ancient and medieval compilations, they continued to be printed in otherwise respectable compendia. Sometimes, this was for political purposes, such as Hakluyt's *Principal Navigations, Voiages, and Discoveries of the English Nation,* which in 1589 printed among its eyewitness accounts the *Travels of John Mandeville,* principally to assert English claims to discovery in an age of competing international rivalries to stake out the newly expanded colonial horizon.[58] However, other *mirabilia* proved to have a shelf-life far exceeding their refutation simply because of what Amy Glassner Gordon has termed "preferred thinking," that preference of many people for "a romantic, fantastic view of other peoples and especially of the East, to the banality of what was reported thereafter as reality."[59]

This thinking was by no means exclusive to the Middle Ages, nor did it end with the *Frühneuzeit.* As Hourani observes with respect to the Western cultural impact of the expanding curiosity of Europeans in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, "The romantic imagination, the cult of the past, distant and strange, working on the knowledge or half-knowledge derived from travel and scholarship, produced a vision of the Orient, mysterious, enticing and threatening, cradle of wonders and fairly tales, which fertilized the arts."[60] But while Said finds in this construct of "Orientalism" a vehicle of imperialism,[61] the tendency predates

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56 "La mesma arte inclina a quien le prosigue a desear de saber los secretos d'este mundo," *Cristóbal Colón. Textos y documentos completos,* ed Consuelo Varela and Juan Gil. 2nd ed. (1982; Madrid: Alianza,, 1984), 277.

57 See Felipe Fernández-Armesto, "Exploration and Discovery," *The New Cambridge Medieval History VII: c. 1415–c.1500,* ed. Christopher Allmand (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), Chapter 9, 175–201; here 181–84.

58 See John Larner, "Plucking Hairs from the Great Cham's Beard," *Marco Polo and the Encounter of East and West* (see note 35), 133–55; here 146.

59 Stefan Halikowski Smith, "The Mystification of Spices in the Western Tradition," *European Review of History: Revue europeenne d'histoire* 8 (2001): 119–36; here 134–35, characterizing Amy Glassner Gordon, "Autres Mondes, Autres Moeurs: French Attitudes Toward the Cultures Revealed by the Discoveries," *Asia and the West: Encounters and Exchanges from the Age of Explorations, Essays in Honor of Donald F. Lach,* ed. Cyriac K. Pullapilly and Edwin J. Van Kley (Notre Dame, IN: Cross Cultural Publications, Cross Roads Books, 1986), 45–81.

60 Albert Hourani, *A History of the Arab Peoples* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University, 1991), 300.

61 Edward W. Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Vintage, 1978).

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the imperialist era proper, and indeed is found among Europeans whose home countries had no imperialist pretensions whatsoever sojourning on extended bases in Eastern lands in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.[62]

In any event, the Latinate travel genre developed alongside and as barely distinguishable from the *compilatio.* Accordingly, it served multiple functions, mostly unrelated to scientific or academic geography, though the curiosity engendered thereby would and could encourage and accommodate itself to the latter. Not surprisingly, science would not entirely obviate either the rhetorical or the entertainment functions of the older *topoi* at once, and when at last those topoi faded, writers would create entirely new worlds for much the same purpose. As Mandeville wrote, "Et on dit tousiours, et voir est, que choses nouvelles plaisent et si les ot on volentiers."[63] [It is often truly said that curious things are entertaining, and people will readily listen to them.] To which we may respond: *Plus ça change, plus la même chose.*[64]

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62 Consider, for example, Sanjay Subrahmanyam, "Further Thoughts on an Enigma: The Tortuous Life of Nicolò Manucci, 1638–c. 1720," *Indian Economic & Social History Review* 45 (2008): 35–76.

63 The Paris Text, ch. 34, *Mandeville's Travels. Texts and Translations.* ed. Malcom Letts. Hakluyt Society, 2nd series, 102 (London: The Hakluyt Society, 1950), 411.

64 The concept of monsters has, of course, not disappeared, but it became commodified and entered deeply the field of medical imagination and research since the sixteenth century; see Wes Williams, *Monsters and Their Meanings in Early Modern Culture: Mighty Magic* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011).

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Chapter 16

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Embalming and Dissecting the Corpse between East and West: From Ar-Razi to Henry de Mondeville[1]

As Albrecht Classen already mentioned in the Introduction to this volume, scientific contacts between East and West were startlingly close, and especially from the twelfth century onwards, one can hardly underestimate the importance of the influx of Arabic knowledge into the Latin Occident. This holds particularly true for the history of medicine, and the translation of medical texts in the cultural contact zones of Southern Italy and Spain established a new level of erudite and university-based practical and theoretical knowledge on how to stay healthy and heal illnesses. Greek treatises like those of Galen (129–199), which formed the basis of Arabic medicine, became available to the West combined with the advances of great Muslim scholars from all around the Islamic world. However, there has been a genuine Western tradition, too, and scholarly debate has tended to overlook its part in the development of late medieval medicine and its crucial importance for the history of dissection at European universities. The major reason for this seems to be the often oral dissemination and practical nature of medieval Western medicine during the early and high Middle Ages, and thus it was much easier for historians merely to trace the influence of Arabic treatises in the written Latin culture of the medieval Occident.

In outlining the traditions of embalming techniques, this paper tries to exemplify how both roots of erudite medicine at late medieval universities were of equal

[1] I would like to thank the Alexander von Humboldt-Foundation for the generous support in form of a Feodor Lynen Grant that enabled my stay in the USA at Duke University, NC, in 2011–2012 to carry out my research on the history of the corpse; this article is one fruit of my endeavors in this field.

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importance and that only in scrutinizing Arabic *and* Western traditions, written *and* practical knowledge, a proper understanding of how dissection became important in medieval and early modern medical education can be achieved.

Regarding the Middle Ages, the history of embalming is a relatively unknown field of research.[2] We could call this the result of an "Egyptian Curse," as two French anthropologists recently named it.[3] Since we all connect embalming with the ancient Egyptian pharaohs, medievalists and anthropologists alike must have been somewhat disappointed from what they found in medieval tombs. They usually hardly contained anything even close to resembling an Egyptian mummy.

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2 This holds particularly true for German and French research; extensive works on embalming were published in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, e.g., Dietrich Schäfer, "Mittelalterlicher Brauch bei der Überführung von Leichen," *Sitzungsberichte der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften* 26 (1920): 478–98; Ernst von Rudloff, "Über das Konservieren von Leichen im Mittelalter. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Anatomie und des Bestattungswesens," Ph.D. diss. Freiburg i. Br. 1921, 13, and Émile-Auber Pigeon, "De l'embaumement des morts à l'époque mérovingienne," *Bulletin du comité des travaux historiques et scientifiques* (1884): 138–45. In the second half of the twentieth century, interest gradually ceased. Only recently, the findings of archaeology led to a growing sense that this topic should be addressed, and scientific interest in the corpse increased in analogy to the advances of anthropological and biochemical techniques; cf. Philippe Charlier and Patrice Georges, "Techniques de préparation du corps et d'embaumement à la fin du Moyen Âge," *Inhumations de prestige ou prestige de l'inhumation? Expressions du pouvoir dans l'au-delà (IV^e–XV^e siècle)*, ed. Armelle Alduc-Le Bagousse. Tables rondes du CRAHM, 4 (Caen: Publications du CRAHM, 2009), 405–37; Éric Crubézy, Élisabeth Lorans, Franck Perrin and Laurence Tranoy, *Archéologie funéraire.* Collection „Archéologiques". 2nd ed. (2000; Paris: editions errance, 2007), 218 and 229–31; Thomas Meier, *Die Archäologie des mittelalterlichen Königsgrabes im christlichen Europa*, Mittelalter-Forschungen, 8 (Stuttgart: Thorbecke, 2002), 1–35; Rudolf J. Meyer, *Königs- und Kaiserbegräbnisse im Spätmittelalter: Von Rudolf von Habsburg bis zu Friedrich III.* Forschungen zur Kaiser- und Papstgeschichte des Mittelalters. Beihefte zu J. F. Böhmer, Regesta Imperii, 19 (Cologne, Weimar, and Vienna: Böhlau, 2000), 202–06. This trend is especially visible in Italy, where recent research was undertaken by scientists, too; Gino Fornaciari and Luigi Capasso, "Natural and artificial 13th–19th century mummies in Italy," *Human Mummies: A Global Survey of their Status and the Techniques of Conservation*. ed. Konrad Spindler, Harald Wilfing, Elisabeth Rastbichler-Zissernig, Dieter zur Nedden, and Hans Nothdurfter. Veröffentlichungen des Forschungsinstituts für Alpine Vorzeit der Universität Innsbruck, 3 (Vienna and New York: Springer, 1996), 195–203; Ezio Fulcheri, "Mummies of Saints: A Particular Category of Italian Mummies," *Human Mummies* (see above), 219–30; Bruno Kaufmann, "Mummification in the Middle Ages," *Human Mummies* (see above), 231–38. For England, the situation is more complex and interest in embalming a little more common in historic research, although the general trend (interest of historians at the turn of the last century, recent interest by scientist in these phenomena) is comparable; cf., for example, Andrew T. Chamberlain and Michael Parker Pearson, *Earthly Remains: The History and Science of Preserved Human Bodies* (London: Oxford University Press, 2001).

3 Charlier and Georges, "Techniques" (see note 2), 412–14, call it a "malédiction égyptienne." The same problem was addressed by an Italian pathologist looking into the mummies of medieval saints: "Whenever anybody mentions mummies, the mind reverts straight away to Ancient Egypt and both experts and laymen start picturing the beautiful mummies of the Pharaohs still preserved in their splendid tombs." Fulcheri, "Mummies" (see note 2), 219.

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But embalming in the Middle Ages did take place and its methods were a conglomeration of Arabic knowledge and Western practical traditions.

Not finding many medieval mummies, however, historians have concluded that embalming was not practiced in a society that strongly believed that God would recollect all body parts on the day of the Last Judgment Himself. From a theological viewpoint at least, this seemed reasonable: Augustine (354–430) had established the idea that due to divine intervention no part of the body will be lost, and his thoughts were most influential during the Middle Ages.[4] This belief was depicted in art, be it in a miniature from the *Hortus deliciarum* of Herrad of Landsberg (d. ca. 1196) or in a mosaic from Torcello near Venice. Both depictions show the beasts of the Earth on Last Judgment Day, vomiting out the bodily parts they ate during their lifetime. Thus, these pictures reflect on theological discussions of contemporary scholars.[5]

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4 "Restituetur ergo quidquid de corporibus uiuis uel post mortem de cadaueribus periit, et simul cum eo, quod in sepulcris remansit, in spiritalis corporis nouitatem ex animalis corporis uetustate mutatum resurget incorruptione atque immortalitate uestitum. Sed etsi uel casu aliquo graui uel inimicorum inmanitate totum penitus conteratur in puluerem atque in auras uel in aquas dispersum, quantum fieri potest, nusquam esse sinatur omnino: nullo modo subtrahi poterit omnipotentiae Creatoris, sed capillus in eo capitis non peribit." Aurelius Augustinus, *De civitate Dei*, ed. Bernard Dombart and Alphons Kalb. Corpus Christianorum Series Latina, 47–48 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1955), t. 2, 841 [XXII,21]. This viewpoint is reflected in the works of influential medieval theologians from Julian of Toledo (ca. 642–690) to Thomas Aquinas (1224/5–1274); Julian of Toledo, "Prognosticorum futuri saeculi libri tres," *Opera: Pars I*, ed. J. N. Hillgarth. Corpus Christianorum Series Latina, 115 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1976) 9–126; here 105–06 [III, 31] and Thomas Aquinas, *Opera omnia*, ed. Stanislaus Eduard Fretté and Paul Maré (Paris: Ludovicus Vivès, 1882), t. 6, 270–71 [q. 83,2]. Cf., for example, Caroline Walker Bynum, *The Resurrection of the Body in Western Christianity, 200–1336* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1995); Sebastian Scholz, "Das Grab in der Kirche – zu seinen theologischen und rechtlichen Hintergründen in Spätantike und Frühmittelalter," *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte. Kanonistische Abteilung* 84 (1998): 270–306; here 276–77; Michel Lauwers and Cécile Treffort, "De l'inhumation privilégiée à la sépulture de prestige. Conclusion de la table ronde," *Inhumations de prestige* (see note 2), 439–50; here 440–41; Dieter Scheler, "In ungeweihter Erde: Die Verweigerung des Begräbnisses im Mittelalter," *Inszenierungen des Todes: Hinrichtung – Martyrium – Schändung*, ed. Linda-Marie Günther and Michael Oberweis. Sources of Europe, 4 (Berlin, Bochum, Dülmen, London, and Paris: Europäischer Universitätsverlag, 2006), 157–67; here 157–58; J. Kollwitz, "Bestattung. B. Christlich," *Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum* 2 (1954): 208–19; here 208; Elizabeth A. R. Brown, "Death and the Human Body in the Later Middle Ages: The Legislation of Boniface VIII on the Division of the Corpse," *Viator* 12 (1981): 221–70; here 223–24, and Arnold Angenendt, *Heilige und Reliquien: Die Geschichte ihres Kultes vom frühen Christentum bis zur Gegenwart*. 2nd ed. (1994; Hamburg: Nikol, 2007), 110–11, and Darren Oldridge, *Strange Histories: The Trial of the Pig, the Walking Dead, and Other Matters of Fact from the Medieval and Renaissance Worlds* (London and New York: Routledge, 2007), 32.

5 Herrad of Hohenbourg, *Hortus deliciarum: Reconstruction*, ed. Rosalie Green, Michael Evans, Christine Bischoff and Michael Curschmann. Studies of the Warburg Institute, 36, (London and Leiden: Warburg Institute, 1979), 423–25 and 427 [fol. 249 and 251r; No. 850–52 and 855]. Regarding the "Hortus deliciarum," cf. Bynum, *Resurrection* (see note 4), 117–20; Caroline Walker Bynum, *Fragmentierung und Erlösung: Geschlecht und Körper im Glauben des Mittelalters*, transl.

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But a closer scrutiny of our written and archaeological sources reveals that embalming was an important issue during the Middle Ages. Today, we do not have to rely on spectacular finds like the embalmed body of King Edward I of England (1239–1307) alone, whose well preserved body was found wrapped up in linen in Westminster Abbey in 1774.[6] Put together, the evidence for Western and Central Europe suggests that embalming was practiced during almost the entire Middle Ages, although the techniques changed considerably. This has been largely overlooked by medievalists, and one major reason is the lack of any surviving theoretical treatise on embalming between the sixth and the twelfth century. This changed only with the transfer of knowledge from East to West during the High Middle Ages.

In this context, the *Liber medicinalis ad Almansorem* is of utmost importance.[7] This treatise from the early tenth century, written by the Persian physician Abu Bakr Muhammad ben Zakariya ar-Razi, or Rhazes (865–925), was translated by Gerard of Cremona (ca. 1114–1187) in Spain during the twelfth century. His Latin translation included the first treatise on embalming accessible to Occidental surgeons. Ar-Razi recommends the following embalming technique: First, you try to remove the feces from the body. Therefore, you turn the corpse upside down, with the head on bottom, and give it an enema made of colocynth and red borax, which is filled into the body through the anus. Then you move the corpse and turn it around again, so that the enema can exit by massaging the belly. You repeat this

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Brigitte Große. Gender Studies (Frankfurt a. M.: Suhrkamp, 1996), 8 and Oldridge, *Strange Histories* (see note 4), 32. For the mosaics of Torcello, cf. Paul Binski, *Medieval Death: Ritual and Representation* (Ithaca and New York: Cornell University Press, 1996), 202–03; Bynum, *Resurrection* (see note 4), 188–90 and Maurizia Vecchi, *Torcello: Nuove ricerche*, Studia archaeologica, 34 (Rome: "L'Erma" di Bretschneider, 1982), 37–44.

6 An extensive account of the findings within Edward's coffin were already published in the year after the opening of his tomb; Joseph Ayloffe, *An Account of the Body of King Edward the First, as it Appeared on the Opening his Tomb in the Year 1774* (London: unknown publisher, 1775). Cf. John Hope, "On the Funeral Effigies of the Kings and Queens of England, with special reference to those in the Abbey Church of Westminster," *Archaeologia* 60 (1907): 517–70; here 528–30; Chamberlain and Parker Pearson, *Earthly Remains* (see note 2), 28; Danielle Westerhof, *Death and the Noble Body in Medieval England* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2008), 80–81 and Dominic Olariu, "Johannes Paul Supertod. Ikone eines neuen Todesverständnisses?," *Die neue Sichtbarkeit des Todes*, ed. Thomas Macho and Kristin Marek (Munich: Fink, 2007), 59–78; here 67–68.

7 Ar-Razi, "Ad regem Mansorem," *Opera exquisitora* (Basel: Heinrichus Petrus, 1544), 5–328; here 134 ("De custodia corporis mortui ne foeteat et ne cito putrefiat") [V,55]. Cf. Rudloff, *Konservieren* (see note 2), 28–29; Fritz Paul, "Die Leichenkonservierung im Mittelalter," *Ciba Zeitschrift* 43 (1937): 1481–86; here 1482; Alfred Hermann, "Einbalsamierung," *Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum* 4 (1959): 798–821; here 818; Steffen Berg, Renate Rolle and Henning Seemann, *Der Archäologe und der Tod: Archäologie und Gerichtsmedizin* (Munich and Lucerne: Bucher, 1981), 104 and Bernd Päffgen, *Die Speyerer Bischofsgräber und ihre vergleichende Einordnung: Eine archäologische Studie zu Bischofsgräbern in Deutschland von den frühchristlichen Anfängen bis zum Ende des Ancien Régime*. Studia archaeologiae medii aevi, 1 (Friedberg: Likias, 2010), 192.

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for all orifices of the body. In a second step, another enema is prepared, based on rose water, aloe, myrrh, camphor, and some similar spices. It is filled into the anus, and the anus closed by a cotton pad soaked into this ointment. In a third step, the fluid is mixed with some vinegar and salt, and used to anoint the joints. Now, mercury is injected into the nostrils to prevent "the brain to leak out," before all remaining orifices are shut by a cotton pad. In a fifth step, the whole body is anointed with a mixture of aloe, myrrh, alum, salt, and some other spices. Ar-Razi recommends explicitly a prone position for the dead body during this process, so that the belly can not inflate. Finally, you wrap the body into bandages which are soaked in alkitran, which is a somewhat blackish resin of conifers.

We'll have to wait until the fourteenth century to see a Western surgeon writing down explicit ideas of how to embalm corpses. It is the treatise of Henry de Mondeville (ca. 1260–ca. 1320),[8] and although this is not the only treatise of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries that one could scrutinize in our context,[9] it is certainly the most influential one. Henry was the physician of King Philipp IV (1268–1314) and King Louis X of France (1289–1316), and he himself states that his embalming techniques were not merely meant to be part of a theoretical discussion, but that he actually embalmed two French kings himself.

At the same time, we can be certain that his *Chirurgia* owed a lot to the professional discussions at the thriving universities of the time, since he himself taught at Montpellier and Paris at the turn from the thirteenth to the fourteenth centuries. Taking part in these complex intellectual discussions and at the same time searching for a method of embalming that could solve the difficult task to the satisfaction even of the royal court led him to acknowledge the problems he faced himself. Therefore, he did not simply copy the well-known treatise of Ar-Razi, but

8 Henry of Mondeville, *Die Chirurgie des Heinrich von Mondeville (Hermondaville) nach Berliner, Erfurter und Pariser Codices*, ed. Julius Leopold Pagel (Berlin: August Hirschwald, 1892), 390–93 [3,1,7]. A French translation by E. Nicaise was published in Paris in 1893; an English translation in two tomes by Leonard D. Rosenman came out in the US in 1998. Cf. Rudloff, *Konservieren* (see note 2); Hans Hugo Lauer, "Henri de Mondeville," *Lexikon des Mittelalters* 4 (1989): 2100–2101; Olariu, "Supertod" (see note 6), 69; Patrice Georges, "Les techniques de l'embaumement médiéval," *Histoire(s) de squelettes: Archéologie, médicine et anthropologie en Alsace*, ed. Bernadette Schnitzler et al. (Strasbourg: JC Lattès, 2005), 35; Charlier and Georges, "Techniques" (see note 2), 410, and Faith Wallis, *Medieval Medicine: A Reader* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2010), 220–22.

9 Like Henry, the French physician Guy de Chauliac (d. 1368) gave detailed instructions on how to embalm corpses, and Pietro d'Argelata (d. 1423) claimed his success in embalming the corporeal remains of Pope Alexander V (ca. 1340–1410) in 1410; Guy de Chauliac, *Inventarium sive Chirurgia magna*, ed. Michael R. McVaugh and Margaret S. Ogden. Studies in ancient Medicine, 14 (Leiden, New York, and Cologne: Brill, 1997), t. 1, 307–308 [6,1,8] and Pietro d'Argelata, Cirurgia (Venice: unknown publisher, 1499), 108v–109r [V,XII,3]. A French translation of Guy's work was published by E. Nicaise in Paris in 1890, an English translation by Leonard D. Rosenman in the US in 2005. Cf. Rudloff, *Konservieren* (see note 2), 34–39, and, regarding Guy's life, Michael R. McVaugh, "Introduction," *Inventarium sive Chirurgia magna* (see above), 1, ix–xviii.

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he instead insisted on including three different methods of embalming in his manual. Let's have a quick look at all three of them.

The first method used bandages and pads to wrap the body; Henry describes meticulously how to close the bodily orifices and to wrap the body tightly with them. All of these tissues had to be soaked in a mixture of incense, mastic, dragon's blood, and Armenian bole, mixed with egg white and flour to obtain a honey-like texture. Then, the embalmed body was wrapped into a waxed canvas and placed into the coffin, surrounded by flowers, herbs, and other fragrant substances. Henry adds that it would be necessary to insert some mercury into the nostrils, if one wants to show the open face of the deceased at the funeral.

As Henry himself claims, one main goal of this first method was to dry out the corpse. This highlights the way medieval embalmers approached the problem of conserving the corpse: Using the Galenic system of the four humours, one could explain the corruption of the corpse by its abundance of moisture and cold. Although it was not possible to restore life to an already dead body, it seems obvious that in analogy to the healing process in Galenic theory the balancing of the qualities seemed a viable path for medieval embalmers to preserve the corpse, too. Therefore, Henry de Mondeville recommended a desiccation of the corpse by the use of small hemp-filled cushions and by the means of an ointment that combined ingredients Galenic medicine would classify as hot and dry. Especially the resins like incense, mastic, and dragon's blood seemed a good choice for this purpose. Interestingly, although the logic is similar to the ingredients used by Ar-Razi, the named spices differ widely from the resins and substances described by the *Liber medicinalis ad Almansorem*.

There was another tradition that could be easily linked to the Galenic ideas held by medieval physicians, which at the same time underlined the correctness of their assumption that resins could preserve the corpse. It was the biblical example: According to all four Gospels, Joseph of Arimathea asked Roman authorities for the body of Christ and wrapped him in a shroud; the Gospel of John adds that Nicodemus helped Joseph in his efforts and brought a mixture of myrrh and aloe with him for that purpose.[10] And the Old Testament confirmed the practice of embalming for Joseph and his father Jacob.[11] There are hints that the biblical term "aromatibus conditum," which was frequently used for embalming in the Middle Ages, was understood to refer to resins that could be burned, and Sicard of Cremona (d. 1215) defines these "aromata" as myrrh and aloe.[12] These biblical

10 Mt 27,59; Mc 15,46; Lk 23,53 and Joh 19,39. The embalming of Christ is discussed in the biblical apocrypha, too; the "Gesta Pilati" (the Gospel of Nicodemus) not only describe the procedure but combine them typologically with Jacob in the Old Testament; *Evangelia apocrypha adhibitis plurimis codicibus graecis et latinis maximam partem nunc primum consultis atque ineditorum copia insignibus*, ed. Constantin Tischendorf (Leipzig: Avenarius et Mendelssohn, 1853), 312–410.

11 Gen 50.2–7 and 26. Cf. Jos 24.32.

12 "Cum sero factum esset, nobilis decurio ab Arimathia nomine Ioseph peciit a Pilato corpus Iesu.

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references have one common feature with Ar-Razi's method of embalming: They are non-invasive operations. Both methods respected the integrity of the body, and in this they were deeply rooted in embalming techniques from antiquity.[13]

But, as strongly as early Christians and their heirs in the Islamic East stuck to this tradition, embalmers in the medieval West searched for new paths to handle bodily decomposition after death. Already in the ninth century, the opening of the body for embalming ceased to be a major concern in Catholic Christendom.[14] And

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Venit et Nichodemus ferens mixturam myrre et aloes. Hii corpus involutum syndone et ligatum cum aromatibus posuerunt in monumento novo in petra exciso." Sicard von Cremona, *Cronica*, ed. Oswald Holder-Egger. Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Scriptores, 31 (Hannover: Hahn, 1903), 22–181; here 96.

13 Especially in Egypt, Coptic Christians used the techniques of embalming for their venerated dead; Tanja Pommerening, "Mumien, Mumifizierungstechnik und Totenkult im Alten Ägypten – eine chronologische Übersicht," *Mumien: Der Traum vom ewigen Leben: Begleitband zur Sonderausstellung "Mumien - Der Traum vom Ewigen Leben" in den Reiss-Engelhorn-Museen vom 30. September 2007 bis 24. März 2008*, ed. Alfred Wieczorek, Michael Tellenbach, and Wilfried Rosendahl (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2007), 71–88; here 84–85 and plate 14; Beatrix Gessler-Löhr, Eckhardt Grabbe, Björn-W. Raab and Michael Schultz, "Ausklang: Eine koptische Mumie aus christlicher Zeit," *Ägyptische Mumien: Unsterblichkeit im Land der Pharaonen*, ed. Daniel von Recklinghausen et al. (Mainz: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft 2007), 255–65; Hermann, "Einbalsamierung" (see note 7), 812–15; Henri Leclercq, "Embaumement," *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie* 4 (1921): 2718–2723; here 2721; Philippe Ariès, *Geschichte des Todes*. 11th ed. (1978; Munich and Vienna: dtv, 2005), 45–46; Päffgen, *Bischofsgräber* (see note 7), 201; Charlier and Georges, "Techniques" (see note 2), 408 and Joachim Maurer, Thomas Möhring and Jürgen Rullkötter, "Plant Lipids and Fossil Hydrocarbons in Embalming Material of Roman Period Mummies from the Dakhleh Oasis, Western Desert, Egypt," *Journal of Archaeological Science* 29 (2002): 751–62; here 751. For the West, the exceptional find of a female corpse with clear traces of embalming techniques from the Abbey of Saint-Victor in Marseille, probably dating to the late fifth century, enables us to gain some insight into similar attitudes in the Occident; Raymond Boyer et al., *Vie et mort à Marseille à la fin de l'Antiquité: Inhumations habillées des V^e^ et VI^e^ siècles et sarcophage reliquaire trouvés à l'abbaye de Saint-Victor* (Paris: Boccard, 1987), 45–93.

14 The first – although still debated – such example is provided by the descriptions of the burial of Charles the Bald (823–877); unfortunately, these accounts differ considerably and use biblical allusions to describe the events; *Annales Bertiniani: Annales de Saint-Bertin*, ed. Felix Grat, Jeanne Vielliard and Suzanne Clémencet (Paris: Klincksieck, 1964), 216–17 [ad a. 877]; *Annales Fuldenses sive Annales regni Francorum orientalis*, ed. Friedrich Kurze. Monumenta Germania Historica. Scriptores rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum separatim editi, 7 (Hannover: Hahn, 1891), 90 [ad a. 877]; "Annales Vedastini," *Annales Xantenses et Annales Vedastini*, ed. Bernhard von Simson. Monumenta Germania Historica. Scriptores rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum separatim editi, 12 (Hannover and Leipzig: Hahn, 1909), 40–82; here 42; Regino of Prüm, *Chronicon cum continuatione Treverensi*, ed. Friedrich Kurze. Monumenta Germania Historica. Scriptores rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum separatim editi, 50 (Hanover: Hahn, 1890), 113 [ad a. 877]; *Monumenta Germaniae Historica: Poetae Latini aevi Carolini* 4/2.3, ed. Karl Strecker (Berlin: Weidmann, 1923), 1028. Cf. Janet L. Nelson, "La mort de Charles le Chauve," *Médiévales* 31 (1996): 53–66; Janet L. Nelson, *Charles the Bald*, The Medieval World (London and New York: Longman, 1992), 253; eadem, "Carolingian Royal Funerals," *Rituals of Power: From Late Antiquity to the Early Middle Ages*, ed. Frans Theuws and Janet L. Nelson. The Transformation of the Roman World, 8 (Leiden, Boston, and Cologne: Brill, 2000), 131–84; here 163–64; Achim Thomas Hack, *Alter,*

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this tradition was well known and established when Henry de Mondeville wrote his recommendations on embalming five centuries later, as we will see soon.

But let us first have a look at the second method described by Henry. According to him, this method is used to preserve the body for a longer period of time, like several months or a year, and enables the transportation of the corpse. Here, Henry refers more directly to Ar-Razi: One tries to extract the faeces by using the enema made of colocynth and red borax, moving the corpse and squeezing out the belly as described by Ar-Razi. The rest follows the procedure mentioned in Henry's first method, just that this time the corpse is not sewed into a waxed canvas, but into bulls' leather, and the coffin is to be made out of lead. This leaden container shall be kept together by several iron slings, to which iron rings are attached. This measure allows the corpse to be transported. "In this way," Henry writes, "the decomposed or uncorrupted body can be stored and transported to any place, because neither smell nor bad air can leak out of it, as long as the container is sufficient and it is not broken up by collision or another reason of any kind."[15]

In many regards, this method is directly dependent on Ar-Razi's account; especially the enema and the spices used are taken from Ar-Razi, and the efforts for the removal of the faeces match exactly the Persian doctor's advice. The use of mercury in the nostrils, which Henry describes in both of his first two methods on embalming, is another direct quotation from Ar-Razi. It is difficult to trace how widespread the use of mercury for the preservation of corpses was in the Middle Ages. As far as I know, there are only a handful of such findings in an archaeological context, and unfortunately most of them were uncovered already in the nineteenth and early twentieth century and therefore tend to be less reliable from the perspective of scientific methods applied in modern archaeology.

These cases include Marie de Bretagne (1345–1404), the wife of Duke Louis I of Anjou (1339–1384), deceased in 1404 at Fontevrauld; John of Lancaster (1389–1435), Duke of Bedford and brother of King Henry V of England (1387–1422), who died at Rouen in 1435; and King Charles VII of France (1403–1461), who died in 1461 and was buried at Saint Denis.[16] Two recently excavated cases of mercury

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Krankheit, Tod und Herrschaft im frühen Mittelalter: Das Beispiel der Karolinger. Monographien zur Geschichte des Mittelalters, 56 (Stuttgart: Hiersemann, 2009), 203–04; Paul Cattin, "Nantua," *Lexikon des Mittelalters* 6 (1993): 1018–19; Alain Erlande-Brandenburg, *Le roi est mort: Étude sur les funérailles, les sépultures et les tombeaux des rois de France jusqu'à la fin du XIIIe siècle*. Bibliotheque de la société française d'archéologie, 7 (Paris: Arts et métiers graphiques, 1975), 8–9 and 28; Rudloff, *Konservieren* (see note 2), 13, and Schäfer, "Überführung" (see note 2), 493–94.

15 "Sic enim corpus sive corruptum sive non corruptum potest servari et portari per universum, quod foetor inde non exiret citra diem judicii nec fumus, si vas esset sufficiens, nisi ex collisione aut alia causa extrinseca frangeretur." Henry of Mondeville, *Chirurgie* (see note 8), 391–92 [3,1,7].

16 Cf. Daniel Prigent and Jean-Yves Hunot, *La mort: voyage au pays des vivants: Pratiques funéraires en Anjou* (Angers: Service Archéologique Départemental, 1996), 66; Georges-Auguste Le Roy, "Sur un mode d'embaumement mercuriel à l'époque médiévale," *Comptes rendus hebdomadaires des*

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embalming were found in royal burials at Naples.[17] The archaeological evidence suggests that this was a substance used mainly in fifteenth–century burials, and not used before the fourteenth century. Therefore, one is tempted to link the emergence of the use of mercury in these cases directly to Ar-Razi's method of embalming and its reception in the *Chirurgia* of Henry de Mondeville.

Although this means we are looking at a direct translation of knowledge from East to West here, there are still several aspects of Mondeville's second method that are linked to a genuine Occidental tradition. The shrouds mentioned by Mondeville are more ambiguous than the use of mercury: The waxed canvases he recommends in his first method of embalming were actually already used since the thirteenth century at the latest[18]; this could coincide with an earlier reception of Ar-Razi, although Ar-Razi does not talk of a waxed canvas, but of a shroud impregnated with alkitran, a sort of resin. But wax could have looked like an ideal substitute for this somewhat exotic substance, ascribing to the wax the same warm and dry characteristics that seemed essential for the process of embalming. But, all the more astoundingly, Henry of Mondeville does not recommend the use of such shrouds in his second method, which in other regards is much closer to Ar-Razi. Here, he wants his readers to use bull's leather. The use of such leather can be traced back well before the translation of Ar-Razi: Already in the twelfth century

séances de l'académie des sciences 167 (1918): 996–99, and, for Charles VII, the report on the opening of the royal tombs in 1793 hints at a similar technique with mercury: "Une singularité de l'embaumement du corps de Charles VII, c'est qu'on y avait parsemé du vif-argent, qui avait conservé toute sa fluidité. On a observé la même singularité dans quelques autres embaumements de corps du XIVe et du XVe siècle." Germain Poirier, "Rapport sur l'exhumation des corps royaux à Saint-Denis en 1793," in Alain Boureau, *Le simple corps du roi: L'impossible sacralité des souverains français XVe–XVIIIe siècle*. Le Temps et l'histoire (Paris: Editions de Paris, 2000), 71–91; here 83.

17 Fornaciari and Capasso, "Mummies" (see note 2), 199.

18 Such canvases were used, for example, in the embalming of King Louis VIII of France (1187–1226) in 1226 or for the preservation of the corpse of Anna of Hohenberg (d. 1281), the first wife of Rudolf of Habsburg (1218–1291), in 1281; Matthaeus Parisiensis, *Chronica majora*, ed. Henry Richards Luard. Rerum Britannicarum Medii Aevi Scriptores, 57 (London: Kraus Reprint, 1964), t. 3, 117 and *Chronicon Colmariense*, ed. Philipp Jaffé. Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Scriptores, 17 (Hannover: Hahn, 1861), 240–70; here 253. Cf. Alwin Schultz, *Das höfische Leben zur Zeit der Minnesänger*. 2nd ed. (1879–1880; Leipzig: Hirzel, 1889), t. 2, 467; Schäfer, "Überführung" (see note 2), 482–83; Rudloff, *Konservieren* (see note 2), 15; Erlande-Brandenburg, *Mort* (see note 14), 30; Brown, "Death" (see note 5), 230–31; Kaufmann, "Mummification" (see note 2), 231–32; Thomas Meier, "Grabkrone der Königin Anna," *Der Basler Münsterschatz* (Basel: Christoph Merian, 2001), 178–80; here 178 and Olariu, "Supertod" (see note 6), 64. There are even older examples, and the use of waxed tissues is mentioned for Saint Ulrich (ca. 890–973) in the tenth century, Ansbert of Rouen (ca. 630–ca. 693) in the seventh century, and Cuthbert (ca. 634–687) in the sixth century; cf. Schultz, *Das höfische Leben* (see above), t. 2, 466; Anton Joseph Binterim, *Die vorzüglichsten Denkwürdigkeiten der Christ-Katholischen Kirche aus den ersten, mittlern und letzten Zeiten mit besonderer Rücksichtnahme auf die Disciplin der katholischen Kirche in Deutschland*, vol. 6.3 (Mainz: Simon Müller'sche Buchhandlung, 1831), 391–92, and Donald Bullough, "Burial, Community and Belief in the Early Medieval West," *Ideal and Reality in Frankish and Anglo-Saxon Society*, ed. Patrick Wormald, Donald Bullough and Roger Collins (Oxford: Blackwell, 1983), 177–201; here 188.

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this kind of leather is mentioned as a cover for the corpse, with the body of King Henry I of England (1068–1135) as a most prominent example in 1135.[19]

A similarly old tradition could be found in the form of the leaden container that Henry so meticulously describes. His remark that the corpse could be kept therein "whether it is decomposed or uncorrupted,"[20] shows that embalming seemed to him only a secondary goal of the whole procedure. It is the bad smell of the corpse that he wanted to eliminate, and this enabled—like the iron rings—the transportation and storage of the corpse. With this, he stepped back from a moral stance regarding the smell of the dead. Such a view is typical for early and high medieval hagiography: Here, the saint's body emits a sweet and pleasant odor, whilst the villain's corpse rots and releases a vile, infectious smell.[21] Compared to this, the language of Henry de Mondeville is more scientific. But are his methods and aims entirely new inventions from fourteenth century universities? At least the metal strips were already in use as early as the eleventh century, when the corpse of Emperor Conrad II (ca. 990–1039) was transferred to the yet unfinished cathedral at Speyer. Here, too, the well closed coffin was meant to prevent foul smells to come out of the coffin and metal strips enabled the transportation of the imperial body for more than 300 miles from Utrecht to Speyer.[22]

In his third method, Henry de Mondeville tried to explain the most complicated and delicate matter in embalming: How to preserve a body for a long time and allow the open display of the face at the same time? To answer this question, he uses the theory of Galenic complexion, explaining why the bodily characteristics of the deceased, the exact date and the season of death played an important role in the success–or failure–of the procedure. Moreover, he obviously refers to the miasma theory, stressing the bad air coming out of the corpse and corrupting the body.[23] But the solution he proposes is based on another tradition, entirely

19 Henry of Huntingdon, *Historia Anglorum*, ed. Thomas Arnold. Rerum Britannicarum Medii Aevi Scriptores, 74 (London: Longman, 1879), 256–58, and "Historia Gaufredi ducis Normannorum et comitis Andegavorum," *Chroniques d'Anjou* 1, ed. Paul Marchegay and André Salmon (Paris: Jules Renouard, 1856) 227–310; here 279–80. Cf. Hope, "Funeral Effigies" (see note 6), 522 and Westerhof, *Death* (see note 6), 22.

20 Cf. note 14.

21 Angenendt, *Reliquien* (see note 4), 119–22; Waldemar Deonna, *ΕΥΩΔΙΑ: Croyances antiques et modernes: L'odeur suave des dieux et des élus*, Europa restituta (Turin: Nino Aragno, 2003); Cuthbert F. Atchley, *A History of the Use of Incense in Divine Worship*, Alcuin Club Collections, 13 (London: Longman, 1909), 108–111; Bernhard Kötting, "Wohlgeruch der Heiligkeit," *Jenseitsvorstellungen in Antike und Christentum: Gedenkschrift für Alfred Stuiber*, ed. Theodor Klauser. Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum. Ergänzungsband, 9 (Münster: Aschendorff, 1982), 168–75; Peter Dinzelbacher, *Europa im Hochmittelalter 1050–1250: Eine Kultur- und Mentalitätsgeschichte*. Kultur und Mentalität (Darmstadt: Primus, 2003), 271.

22 Cf. Hans Erich Kubach, "Baugeschichte," *Der Dom zu Speyer: Textband*, ed. Hans Erich Kubach and Walter Haas, Die Kunstdenkmäler von Rheinland-Pfalz (Munich: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 1972), 839–922; here 861, and Päffgen, *Bischofsgräber* (see note 7), 93.

23 Cf. Westerhof, *Death* (see note 6), 22, and Jerry Stannard, "Camerarius' Contributions to Medicine

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Western in thought: The opening of the dead body to extract the intestines. This technique was foreign to both the Christian embalmers of late antiquity and to Arabic embalming techniques; both cultures highly valued the integrity of the dead body, and, consequently, Ar-Razi did not mention the opening of the corpse. Where did the idea of opening the body for its preservation come from?

Although researchers have shown that by the time Henry was compiling his *Chirurgia* the practice of dissection had already evolved in European universities, and that it may have been influenced by embalming techniques used to preserve the body of female saints in late thirteenth and early fourteenth century Italy, as Katharine Park remarked recently.[24] I would go even further and stress how common such embalming techniques have been throughout the Occident already during the High Middle Ages.

There is strong evidence that all three cavities of the body had already been opened in embalming of the secular and ecclesiastical elite long before Arabic treatises reached the West. First, starting from the ninth century and becoming a frequent practice during the tenth and eleventh century, the intestines were removed. The heart was extracted probably as early as the tenth century, but certainly in the eleventh and twelfth century, when written sources and archaeological evidence alike corroborate this statement.[25] Last came the opening

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and Pharmacy: Observations on his De theriacis et Mithridateis commentariolus," *Joachim Camerarius (1500–1574): Beiträge zur Geschichte des Humanismus im Zeitalter der Reformation*, ed. Frank Baron. Humanistische Bibliothek, 1 (Munich: Fink, 1978), 152–68; here 156.

24 Katharine Park, *Secrets of Women: Gender, Generation, and the Origins of Human Dissection* (New York: Zone Books, 2010).

25 The cases of the Emperors Otto III (980–1002) and Henry III (1017–1056) are most important here; for both, the extraction of their intestines is sure, and there is little doubt that at least some of the many examples of the transportation of corpses over long distances during this period was only made possible by embalming. Although it seems probable from my perspective that the heart, too, was extracted in the cases of Otto and Henry, this could be doubted on the grounds of the written sources; Thietmar of Merseburg (975–1018) remarks that Otto was embalmed and his intestines transported in two (sic!) vessels, which seems suggestive (one for the proper intestines, one for the heart); Thietmar of Merseburg, *Chronicon*, ed. Robert Holtzmann. Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Scriptores rerum Germanicarum. Nova series, 9 (Berlin: Weidmann, 1935), 190 [IV,51]. In the case of Henry III, there is a written account explicitly mentioning the burial of the heart, but unfortunately, it is a thirteenth century chronicle; *Chronik des Stiftes S. Simon und Judas in Goslar*, ed. Ludwig Weiland. Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Deutsche Chroniken, 2 (Hannover: Hahn, 1877), 586–608; here 605. However, that an evisceration of some sort took place is certified by the contemporary Annales Palidenses, which makes the younger account a little more credible; *Annales Palidenses auctore Theodoro monacho*, ed. Georg Heinrich Pertz. Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Scriptores, 16 (Hannover: Hahn, 1859), 48–98; here 69. Moreover, there is an anthropological find of a cut sternum from the eleventh century found in Ganagobie that suggests the opening of the chest for the extraction of the heart; Bertrand-Yves Mafart, J.-P. Pelletier and Michel Fixot, "Post-mortem Ablation of the Heart: a Medieval Funerary Practice. A Case Observed at the Cemetery of Ganagobie Priory in the French Department of Alpes De Haute Provence," *International Journal of Osteoarchaeology* 14 (2004): 67–73, and Charlier and Georges, "Techniques" (see note 2), 423, fig. 4a. Although in the broader picture of embalming, heart

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of the skull, where our first written sources date back as far as the twelfth century, although archaeological evidence begins only with the fourteenth century.[26] The dissections of dead bodies practiced at European universities of the late thirteenth century were therefore deeply rooted in an older tradition of opening up the corpses of the society's elite in the process of embalming, and the description of this technique by Henry de Mondeville just shows his own awareness of the fact that opening the body cavities was a normal and somehow effective procedure of medieval embalming.

When we compare Ar-Razi's method of embalming with the descriptions in Henry de Mondeville's *Chirurgia*, we can not simply look at this development in a teleological perspective, stringing one treatise together with the next and claiming this to be the consequent progress of medicine. There has not been a merely passive adoption of Arabic medical knowledge in a somewhat barbaric West, at least in medical terms. On the contrary, the history of embalming shows how different Oriental and Occidental approaches to the dead body were: The Islamic approach toward the corpse was much more cautious about opening the body, and therefore it very much reflected the state of things in late antiquity. But in the West, embalming techniques had evolved during the Middle Ages, turning away from that idea to respect the integrity of the corpse already in late Carolingian times.

At least in embalming, late medieval medicine had two major roots: One was the erudite Arabic medicine translated into Latin mainly in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries and only thereafter available to the West in its written form. And the other was a genuinely Western, orally transmitted knowledge about the practice of embalming. Unfortunately, we can only uncover this tradition by painfully scrutinizing historiography with its often rather vague remarks on embalming

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burials seem therefore rather probable to me already during the eleventh century, one should also take into consideration the careful examination undertaken by Immo Warntjes, who dates the first extractions of the heart to a genuine twelfth-century context; Immo Warntjes, "Programmatic Double Burial (Body and Heart) of the European High Nobility, c. 1200–1400. Its Origin, Geography, and Functions," *Death at Court*, ed. Karl-Heinz Spieß and Immo Warntjes (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2012), 197–259.

26 The oldest written evidence is to be found in the account on the embalming of King Henry I of England, who died in 1135; see above, note 18. For the archaeological evidence, cf. Charlier and Georges, "Techniques" (see note 2); Georges, "Mourir" (see note 8), 375; Fornaciari and Capasso, "Mummies" (see note 2), 199; Frederique Valentin and Francesco d'Errico, "Brief Communication: Skeletal Evidence of Operations on Cadavers From Sens (Yonne, France) at the End of the XVth Century," *American Journal of Physical Anthropology* 98 (1995): 375–90; Prigent and Hunot, *Mort* (see note 16), 66; Bernadette Fizellier-Sauget and Germaine Depierre, "Mise au jour de crânes sciés lors d'interventions archéologiques: techniques et finalité d'une telle pratique," *Chroniques Historiques d'Ambert et de son arrondissement. Bulletin annuel du groupe de recherches archéologiques et historiques du Livradois-Forez* 12 (1990): 19–27.

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techniques and gathering the scattered archaeological evidence. But I find this highly rewarding, since the society's dealings with the corpse tell us a lot about its traditions, beliefs, cultural contacts, and mentality. Last but not least, it can help us explain the very roots of dissection in European universities of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.

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Chapter 17

Stefanie Helmschrott
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West-östliche Dialoge in der *Mörin* Hermanns von Sachsenheim (1453)

Abstract

Die Mörin was composed by the Swabian knight Hermann of Sachsenheim in 1453, the year when the fall of Constantinople left an indelible mark on the Western world and had a traumatic impact. This late-medieval German novel can be summarized as the narration of a Christian knight who is accused by Queen Venus of having violated her rules of courtly love and who is compelled to stand trial in front of an Oriental court, threatened with the death penalty. This essay focuses on the communication between members of the Occidental and Oriental cultures. These conversations—both public and private—serve as means of subdividing the story. But they do not only formally determine the structure of *Die Mörin*, they also constitute its topic and demonstrate cultural approaches and exchanges as well as hostility and disrespect on both sides, thus reflect the critical issues on the political and military stage at that time. Hermann's primary audience might have recognized how the application of certain values concerning the interaction among people from different worlds, which seem to be related to crucial ideas already expressed in Wolfram von Eschenbach's *Willehalm*, could have a positive effect on intercultural communicative acts.

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I. Einleitung

"Das Interkulturelle ist konstitutiv für das Kulturelle."[1]

Mit dieser Aussage verdeutlicht Tzvetan Todorov, dass Kulturen heterogene Gebilde sind, die durch die Interaktion mit anderen Kulturen bzw. deren Vertretern in ständiger Bewegung sind. Der Terminus 'Kultur' wird deskriptiv verwendet und im anthropologischen Sinne als Sammelbecken für die Lebensweisen einer sozialen Gruppe verstanden.[2] Kulturelle Identität stützt sich somit auf Faktoren wie Religion, Sprache, Herkunft, Sitten und Gebräuche. Somit meint interkulturelle Kommunikation die Beziehungen und den Austausch zwischen Vertretern verschiedener Kulturen.[3] Der interkulturellen Kommunikation kommt im Kulturtransferansatz,[4] der seit den 80er Jahren vor allem bei der Untersuchung der Beziehungen zwischen Deutschland und Frankreich an Bedeutung gewonnen hat,[5] ein herausragender Stellenwert zu. Die Vertreter dieser Theorie untersuchen interkulturelle Kommunikationsprozesse im Kontext vielfältiger Formen des Kulturkontakts und der Kulturvermittlung.[6]

Die vorliegende Untersuchung möchte u.a. zeigen, dass sich auch in der Altgermanistik ein Blick auf – wohlgemerkt literarisch inszenierte – kulturelle

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1 Vgl. Tzvetan Todorov, *Le croisement des cultures.* Communication, 43 (Paris: Seuil, 1986), 43.

2 Vgl. Jean-René Ladmiral, Edmont Marc Lipiansky, *Interkulturelle Kommunikation: Zur Dynamik mehrsprachiger Gruppen.* Europäische Bibliothek interkultureller Studien, 5 (Frankfurt a. M. und New York: Campus-Verlag, 2000), 18. Geertz, dessen Ansatz ebenfalls kulturanthropologisch geprägt ist, betrachtet Sprache, Religion etc. als Subsysteme der jeweiligen Kultur. Vgl. Clifford Geertz, *Dichte Beschreibung: Beiträge zum Verstehen kultureller Systeme.* Suhrkamp-Taschenbuch Wissenschaft, 696 (Frankfurt a. M.: Suhrkamp, 2006), 44–95.

3 Vgl. Jean-René Ladmiral und Edmont Marc Lipiansky, *Interkulturelle Kommunikation* (siehe Anm. 2), 20.

4 Nemes und Rabus fordern die Weiterentwicklung und Fruchtbarmachung des Kulturtransferansatzes für die Mediävistik und liefern einen detaillierten bibliografischen Überblick über die Forschungsgeschichte zu diesem Ansatz. Balázs J. Nemes und Achim Rabus, "Einleitung," *Vermitteln – Übersetzen – Begegnen: Transferphänomene im europäischen Mittelalter und in der Frühen Neuzeit: Interdisziplinäre Annäherungen*, hg. von id. Nova Mediaevalia, 8 (Göttingen: V&R unipress, 2011), 7–16.

5 Die jüngst erschienene mediävistische Arbeit von Martin Przybilski beschäftigt sich mit dem Kulturtransfer zwischen Christen und Juden und dessen Bedeutung für die volkssprachliche mittelalterliche Dichtung. Vgl. Martin Przybilski, *Kulturtransfer zwischen Christen und Juden in der deutschen Literatur des Mittelalters.* Quellen und Forschungen zur Literatur- und Kulturgeschichte, 61 (Berlin und New York: De Gruyter, 2010).

6 Vgl. Hans-Jürgen Lüsebrink, "Interkulturelle Kommunikation im Kontext der Globalisierung," *Interkulturelle Kommunikation: Perspektiven einer anwendungsorientierten Germanistik. Beiträge einer internationalen Fachkonferenz in Kairo*, hg. von Eckehard Czucka (München: ludicium, 2011), 32–47; hier 41.

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Transferphänomene lohnt,[7] und legt daher den Schwerpunkt auf die Analyse der kommunikativen interkulturellen Beziehungen in Hermanns von Sachsenheim *Die Mörin*, ein Werk, in dem Mechanismen interkultureller Begegnungen in Kraft treten.[8]

Den Gesprächsszenen in diesem spätmittelalterlichen Werk haben sich in der Vergangenheit mehrere Mediävisten angenommen. Hier seien die wichtigsten Vertreter und ihre Untersuchungsergebnisse kurz aufgeführt. Peter Strohschneider hat in seiner Monographie, die 1989 erschienen ist, die Bedeutung der Gespräche in der *Mörin* systematisch herausgearbeitet. Nicht zuletzt deuten auch die Überschriften im Straßburger Druck von 1512 darauf hin,[9] dass die Gespräche sowohl als Gliederungseinheiten als auch als konstitutive Textbestandteile wahrgenommen wurden. Strohschneider unterteilt die Dialoge in asymmetrische und symmetrische Kommunikationsformen mit unterschiedlichem Grad an Öffentlichkeit.[10] Dabei stellen für ihn Handlungsort, zeitliche Begrenztheit, Kommunikationspersonal, Erzählperspektive, Zentriertheit um ein Thema und direkte Rede wichtige Kriterien zur Charakterisierung der Gesprächssituationen dar.[11] Auch Dietrich Huschenbett konstatiert in seiner Monographie die Dominanz

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7 Gregor Kokorz und Helga Mitterbauer, zwei Vertreter der Kulturtransferforschung, definieren 'kulturellen Transfer' als einen "auf Mehrdeutigkeit basierenden multiplen Prozess des Austauschs von Gegenständen, Informationen, Symbolen oder Bedeutungszuschreibungen." Gregor Kokorz und Helga Mitterbauer, "Einleitung," *Übergänge und Verflechtungen. Kulturelle Transfers in Europa*, hg. von Gregor Kokorz, Helga Mitterbauer. Wechselwirkungen, 7 (Bern, Berlin, Brüssel und Frankfurt a. M.: Peter Lang, 2004), 7–22.

8 Albrecht Classen thematisiert in dem Einleitungskapitel dieses Bandes mittelalterliche Begegnungen zwischen Ost und West. Dabei stellt er in Reiseberichten beschriebene oder in literarischen Werken inszenierte interkulturelle Begegnungen in den Vordergrund.

9 Die Herzog August Bibliothek stellt auf ihrer Homepage ein Digitalisat des Straßburger Druckes zur Verfügung. Siehe http://diglib.hab.de/wdb.php?dir=drucke/153-5-quod-2f-1 (letzter Zugriff am 02.06.2012)

10 Vgl. Peter Strohschneider, *Ritterromantische Versepik im ausgehenden Mittelalter. Studien zu einer funktionsgeschichtlichen Textinterpretation der "Mörin" Hermanns von Sachsenheim sowie zu Ulrich Fuetrers "Persibein" und Maximilians I. "Teuerdank"*. Mikrokosmos, 14 (Frankfurt a. M., Bern und New York: Peter Lang, 1989), 202.

11 Strohschneider, *Ritterromantische Versepik* (siehe Anm. 10), 192, liefert eine tabellarische Übersicht über sämtliche Gesprächssituationen, verortet diese im Handlungsgeschehen, definiert Ort und Zeit, benennt die Gesprächsteilnehmer und differenziert die Gespräche nach ihrem unterschiedlichen Grad an Öffentlichkeit. Dietrich Huschenbett, *Hermann von Sachsenheim – Namen und Begriffe: Kommentar zum Verzeichnis aller Namen und ausgewählter Begriffe im Gesamtwerk*. Würzburger Beiträge zur Deutschen Philologie, 34 (Würzburg: Königshausen und Neumann, 2007), 116 und 285, bietet ebenfalls eine Auflistung sämtlicher Kommunikationssituationen und unterscheidet dabei zwischen 'Gesprächen' innerhalb des Prozesses und 'Unterhaltungen' außerhalb des Gerichtsgeschehens. Rüdiger Schnell bezeichnet Gespräche, die in lockerer Atmosphäre und thematisch ungebundener ablaufen, als Konversationen. Zur Definition dieses Subtyps siehe Rüdiger Schnell, "Einleitung," *Konversationskultur in der Vormoderne: Geschlechter im geselligen Gespräch*, hg. von id. (Köln: Böhlau, 2008), 1–30; hier 7. Im vorliegenden Beitrag wird

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des Gesprächs und spricht von einer dem Werk zugrunde liegenden "Dialogtechnik."[12] In seiner jüngst veröffentlichten Studie wendet sich Burghart Wachinger der kommunikativen Rollenverteilung, der Funktion des indirekten anspielungsreichen Sprechens und der Stellung der Gesprächspartner zum Thema Liebe und Liebesverrat in exemplarischen Gesprächsszenen höheren und minderen Öffentlichkeitsgrades zu.[13] Der vorliegende Beitrag stellt das Kriterium der Interkulturalität, das die Mehrzahl der Kommunikationssituationen ausmacht, in den Fokus der Betrachtung.

In den folgenden Ausführungen stehen die kommunikativen Beziehungen[14] zwischen dem Angeklagten als Vertreter des Okzidents und einzelnen Orientalen aus und außerhalb von Venus' Gefolge im Zentrum.[15] Es geht um die Art und Weise, wie im Gespräch kultureller Andersartigkeit begegnet wird.[16] Die interkulturelle Dimension erhält folglich eine besondere Berücksichtigung. Dass

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der Terminus 'Gespräch' für alle kommunikativen Akte angewandt. Die beiden Termini 'Dialog' und 'Gespräch' werden in den folgenden Ausführungen wie Synonyme behandelt.

12 Dietrich Huschenbett, *Hermann von Sachsenheim: Ein Beitrag zur Literaturgeschichte des 15. Jahrhunderts*. Philologische Studien und Quellen, 12 (Berlin: Erich Schmidt, 1962), 70.

13 Burghart Wachinger, "Gespräche in der *Mörin*," *Literatur und Wandmalerei II: Konventionalität und Konversation*, Burgdorfer Colloquium 2001, hg. von Eckart Conrad Lutz, Johanna Thali und René Wetzel (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer, 2005), 139–54.

14 Hier folgt die Arbeit Peter Strohschneiders Vorgehensweise, bei der die Kommunikationsakte aus funktionaler Perspektive analysiert werden. Das Augenmerk liegt dabei auf der Funktion der Gespräche im Hinblick auf die Aktivierung und Generierung kulturell bedingter Sichtweisen und Umgangsformen gegenüber dem Anderen. In jüngster Zeit hat Sandra Linden in ihrer Arbeit zu Ulrichs von Liechtenstein *Frauendienst* Kommunikationsakte zum Untersuchungsgegenstand erhoben. Sandra Linden, *Kundschafter der Kommunikation: Modelle höfischer Kommunikation im "Frauendienst" Ulrichs von Liechtenstein*. Bibliotheca Germanica, 49 (Tübingen und Basel: Francke, 2004).

15 Eckhart hat innerhalb von Venus' Hofstaat eine Sonderrolle inne. Er gehört als einzige Figur dem christlichen Glauben an, abgesehen von Eckharts Dienern, deren christliche Glaubensmoral in einem fragwürdigen Licht erscheint (4563–73). Der Angeklagte und Eckhart identifizieren sich über äußerlich sichtbare Körperzeichen, die nicht näher definiert werden, als Getaufte (2968–71). Zudem besteht zwischen dem angeklagten Ritter und Eckhart von Beginn an ein kommunikatives Vertrauensverhältnis, das sich u.a. in der gegenseitigen Anrede mit "geselle" äußert (1967). Eckhart weiß über die "tüttschen" Tischsitten Bescheid und lässt dem Angeklagten überdies Wein aus Bozen servieren (5536–39). Beide sind sich einig, was eine konsequente Umsetzung des Kreuzzugsgedankens angeht (5304–11). Sie üben Kritik an der Tatenlosigkeit der Verantwortlichen auf deutscher Seite. Außerdem sehen sich Beide in der orientalischen Welt als Fremde (4656–57). Diese Beispiele demonstrieren, dass im Falle Eckharts von einer Affinität zur kulturellen Identität des Ich-Erzählers ausgegangen werden kann, die mit einer Abgrenzung von der lokalen Kultur auf der Venusinsel einhergeht. Demzufolge können auch die Gespräche zwischen Eckhart und den einzelnen Vertretern der Venus-Welt als interkulturell charakterisiert werden. In diesem Beitrag wird der Fokus allerdings auf die Kommunikationssituationen zwischen dem christlichen Angeklagten und muslimischen Orientalen gerichtet.

16 In den interkulturellen Gesprächen in der *Mörin* werden vor allem Glaubenszugehörigkeit, religiöse Praxis sowie Sitten und Gebräuche zum Gegenstand interkultureller Kommunikation.

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die Lokalisierung der Handlung im Orient – die christliche dominierte abendländische Welt ist lediglich Ausgangs- und Endpunkt der Reise – und das Zusammentreffen von Vertretern unterschiedlicher kultureller Zugehörigkeit auf orientalischem Boden in der *Mörin* ein bemerkenswertes Faktum darstellt, zeigt der Vergleich mit Hermanns Erzählung *Der Spiegel*. Ihr Entstehungszeitpunkt wird von der Forschung auf ein Jahr vor der *Mörin* datiert. In ihr wird ebenfalls ein Minnevergehen juristisch verfolgt.[17] Die Handlung findet jedoch ausnahmslos in der abendländischen Welt statt. Nur ein Jahr später widmet sich Hermann einem nahezu identischen Thema, wählt dasselbe Handlungsgerüst, verlagert aber das Geschehen in die Welt des Orients.

Das orientalische Milieu schlägt sich auch auf sehr augenfällige Weise in den Holzschnitten der *Mörin*-Drucke nieder. Huschenbett sieht in der Verortung der Handlung im Orient einen der wichtigsten Anreize für die rege Druckproduktion und die Beliebtheit der Dichtung.[18] In den Holzschnitten werden die Vorstellungen einer exotisch-mirakulösen 'Anders'-Welt, einer von höfischem Prunk durchdrungenen Venusinsel, die auch in der Erzählung mancherorts entfaltet werden,[19] intensiviert und mit Klischees und Stereotypen angereichert. Außerdem bezeugt die höchstwahrscheinlich nach Hermanns Tod in der Druckrezeption nachträglich stattgefundene Betitelung des Werkes, dass die orientalische Figur der Mörin Brünhild und somit auch die orientalische Welt als Ganzes als zentrales Element der Dichtung aufgefasst wurden.[20]

II. Zwei Kommunikationsmodi in den west-östlichen Dialogen

Die Erzählung des zur Zeit der Abfassung weit über 80 Jahre alten schwäbischen Ritters Hermann von Sachsenheim ist im Sommer 1453 entstanden und in sechs Handschriften und fünf Drucken überliefert.[21] Der Text wurde von der

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17 Dietrich Huschenbett, "Hermann von Sachsenheim," *Die Deutsche Literatur des Mittelalters: Verfasserlexikon*, 2., völlig neu rev. Ausg., hg. von Kurt Ruh et al., Bd. 3 (Berlin und New York: De Gruyter, 1983), Sp. 1091–1106; hier Sp. 1096.

18 Dietrich Huschenbett, *Hermann von Sachsenheim: Namen und Begriffe* (siehe Anm. 10), 8.

19 Als Elemente eines von Mirabilien geprägten Orients können z.B. Venus' Thronsessel (1839–43), die in der Wahrnehmung des Angeklagten paradiesähnliche Topografie der Venusinsel (180) oder das kopflose und einbeinige Dienervolk (5326–33) gelten.

20 Stephen L. Wailes, *The Character of Love in Hermann von Sachsenheim's "Die Mörin"*, hg. von Paul Stapf. Colloquia Germanica, 9 (Tübingen, Basel und Bern: Francke, 1975), 205–22; hier 206. Der Auftraggeber des Druckes, Johann Adelphus Muling, spricht in der der Erzählung vorangestellten "vorrede" von einer nachträglichen Namensgebung.

21 Zur Überlieferungssituation der *Mörin* siehe Hermann von Sachsenheim, *Die Mörin*, hg. von Horst Dieter Schlosser. Deutsche Klassiker des Mittelalters, 3 (Wiesbaden: Brockhaus, 1974), 15–28. Zum Œuvre des Dichters und zur Chronologie seiner Werke: Dietrich Huschenbett, "Hermann von

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mediävistischen Forschung im Umkreis des Hofes der Württembergischen Pfalzgräfin Mechthild und späteren Erzherzogin von Österreich angesiedelt.[22] Ihr ist das Werk zusammen mit ihrem Bruder Pfalzgraf Friedrich I. gewidmet (6042–47).[23] In der *Mörin* wird detailreich beschrieben,[24] wie einem altersgreisen

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Sachsenheim", *Die Deutsche Literatur des Mittelalters* (siehe Anm. 17), Sp. 1092–95.

22 Renate Kruska zeigt, dass spätere Werke, die *Die Mörin* rezipieren, wie beispielsweise die *Zimmerische Chronik* (Mitte 16. Jahrhundert), Hermanns literarisches Schaffen mit Mechthilds Hof in Verbindung bringen. Renate Kruska, *Mechthild von der Pfalz: im Spannungsfeld von Geschichte und Literatur*. Europäische Hochschulschriften: Reihe 1, Deutsche Sprache und Literatur, 1111. Europäische Hochschulschriften, 1111 (Frankfurt a. M., Bern et al.: Peter Lang, 1989), 101–11. Zu dieser Erkenntnis kommt auch Horst Dieter Schlosser. Hermann von Sachsenheim, *Die Mörin* (siehe Anm. 21), 9; Peter Strohschneider weist ferner darauf hin, dass die überlieferten Handschriften und Drucke der *Mörin* im südwestdeutschen Raum sowie an Fürstenhöfen, die mit Mechthild in Beziehung standen, zu lokalisieren sind. Peter Strohschneider, *Ritterromantische Versepik* (siehe Anm. 10), 26.

23 Horst Dieter Schlosser befasst sich in der Einleitung zu seiner *Mörin*-Ausgabe mit den historischen Anspielungen in der Erzählung und verweist auf die Beziehungen, die Hermann mit seiner Auftraggeberin Mechthild verbanden. Hermann von Sachsenheim, *Die Mörin* (siehe Anm. 21), 7–14. In dem vorliegenden Beitrag dient Schlossers Ausgabe als Textgrundlage.

24 Häufig wird die *Mörin* der Gattung der Minnerede zugeordnet. Wilhelm Brauns, *Hermann von Sachsenheim und seine Schule* (Halle a. d. S.: Klinz, 1937), 30; Tilo Brandis, *Mittelhochdeutsche, mittelniederdeutsche und mittelniederländische Minnereden: Verzeichnis der Handschriften und Drucke*. Münchener Texte und Untersuchungen zur deutschen Literatur des Mittelalters, 25 (München: Beck, 1968), 182; Dietrich Huschenbett, *Hermann von Sachsenheim: Ein Beitrag zur Literaturgeschichte des 15. Jahrhunderts* (siehe Anm. 12), 124; Ingeborg Glier, *Artes amandi: Untersuchung zu Geschichte, Überlieferung und Typologie der deutschen Minnereden*. Münchener Texte und Untersuchungen zur Deutschen Literatur des Mittelalters, 34 (München: Beck, 1971), 318. Horst Dieter Schlosser kommt in seinem Beitrag zu dem Ergebnis, dass in der *Mörin* die Gattung der Minnerede als nicht mehr zeitgemäß und kraftlos entlarvt werde. Horst Dieter Schlosser, "Das politische Ende der Minnerede in der *Mörin* Hermanns von Sachsenheim," *Ûf der maze pfât: Festschrift für Werner Hoffmann zum 60. Geburtstag*, hg. von Waltraud Fritsch-Rößler. Göppinger Arbeiten zur Germanistik, 555 (Göppingen: Kümmerle, 1991), 291–308; hier 308. Jacob Klingner sieht in seiner jüngst veröffentlichten Arbeit einen Zusammenhang zwischen dem Gattungsende der Minnerede – wozu er auch *Die Mörin* zählt – und dem Medienwechsel. Jacob Klingner, *Minnereden im Druck: Studien zur Gattungsgeschichte im Zeitalter des Medienwechsels*, Philologische Studien und Quellen, 226 (Berlin: Erich Schmidt, 2010), 238–39. Andere Forschungsansätze betonen, dass Hermann den traditionellen Rahmen der Minnerede überschreite und dass das Muster der Minnerede lediglich als Folie diene. Ralf Schlechtweg-Jahn, *Minne und Metapher: Die "Minneburg" als höfischer Mikrokosmos*. Literatur, Imagination, Realität, 3 (Trier: Wissenschaftlicher Verlag Trier, 1992), 144; Peter Strohschneider, *Ritterromantische Versepik* (siehe Anm. 10), 10. Dietrich Huschenbett, "Hermann von Sachsenheim," *Die Deutsche Literatur des Mittelalters* (siehe Anm. 17), Sp. 1098–1100, betont die parodistische Verkehrung des traditionellen Minneredenmodells und die Parallelen zu den zeitgenössischen Fastnachtsspielen. Einen umfassenden Überblick über die Forschungsliteratur zur *Mörin* liefert Dietrich Huschenbett, "Eine *Mörin*-Quelle: Die *Minnelehre* des Johann von Konstanz als Vorlage zur *Mörin* Hermanns von Sachsenheim," *Vir ingenio mirandus: Studies presented to John L. Flood*, hg. von William Jervis Jines, William A. Kelly und Frank Shaw. Göppinger Arbeiten zur Germanistik, 710 (Göppingen: Kümmerle, 2003), 227–41; hier 227.

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Ritter der Minneprozess gemacht wird.[25] Dieser wird bei einem sommerlichen Waldspaziergang von einem Zwerg und einem Greis gewaltsam überwältigt, in einer Truhe gefangen genommen, mit Hilfe eines Zaubers in Schlaf versetzt und in den Orient entführt (44–171). Er landet auf der Insel der Königin Venus, die er aufgrund ihrer Topografie zunächst als paradiesisch wahrnimmt (172–180). Die Vorzeichen ändern sich aber rasch: Er wird dort von Venus, vertreten durch ihre Fürsprecherin die Mörin Brünhild, wegen eines Eidbruchs zu einem Prozess verurteilt (1082–1117 und 1534–72).[26] Der Angeklagte, der zugibt, in jungen Jahren gegen die von Venus auferlegten Vorschriften gehandelt zu haben, bestreitet hingegen, ihr jemals einen Schwur geleistet zu haben (1610–35). Der schwäbische Ritter wird bei seiner Verteidigung von Eckhart, einem Christen aus Venus' Gefolge und von weiteren Personen (vor allem dem Marschall, einem Hofbeamten und Schreiber) unterstützt. Es kommt zu einer juristischen Pattsituation,[27] in der Aussage gegen Aussage steht (3441–45 und 3662–67).

Erst als auf Drängen von Venus weitere Schöffen herangezogen werden, wird der schwäbische Ritter verurteilt (3650–3710). Diesem richterlichen Entschluss begegnet der Angeklagte mit der Forderung, bei der nächst höheren Instanz, nämlich "Frow Ăbenthür" in Berufung gehen zu dürfen (3712–43). Doch das Appellationsverfahren wird von dem Vorsitzenden des Gerichts aus finanziellen Gründen, aus Angst, in Seenot zu geraten (5166–75) und aus Furcht vor möglichen

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25 Bei der Prozessschilderung scheinen Hermanns eigene juristische Kenntnisse als württembergischer Rat und Lehensrichter eingeflossen zu sein. Hermann war von 1419 bis 1422 als württembergischer Rat, von 1421 bis 1426 als Vogt von Neuenburg und Eichelberg und schließlich ab 1431 als Lehensrichter im Dienst des Württembergischen Grafengeschlechts tätig. Vgl. Dietrich Huschenbett, "Hermann von Sachsenheim," *Die Deutsche Literatur des Mittelalters* (siehe Anm 17), Sp. 1091. Hugo Loersch, "Der Process in der Mörin des Hermann von Sachsenheim: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des gerichtlichen Verfahrens im 15. Jahrhundert," *Drei Abhandlungen zur Geschichte des deutschen* Rechts, (Bonn: Marcus, 1871), weist auf die Affinität des Gerichtsverfahrens zur juristischen Praxis des 15. Jahrhunderts hin. Otfried Kies, "Graf Ludwig von Wirtemberg verleiht Burg und Ort Sachsenheim an Hermann von Sachsenheim," *Die Mörin*. Schriftenreihe des Vereins für Heimatgeschichte Sachsenheim, 32 (Sachsenheim: Verein, 2002), 3–5, liefert einen Abdruck des Lehensbriefes der Grafen zu Württemberg an Hermann von Sachsenheim.

26 Dietrich Huschenbett sieht in der Namensgebung eine Reminiszenz an das *Nibelungenlied.* Die Königin von Island fordere im Streit mit Kriemhild ebenfalls eine auf 'juristischem' Wege herbeigeführte Lösung. Dietrich Huschenbett, *Hermann von Sachsenheim – Namen und Begriffe* (siehe Anm. 10), 63. Anders als im *Nibelungenlied* sehnt sich die Mörin Brünhild zwar auch eine defintive Lösung herbei, doch der tödliche Ausgang des Verfahrens kann durch gemeinsame Beratungen zwischen Verteidiger- und Klägerpartei, von denen Brünhild ausgeschlossen wird, abgewendet werden (5630–77).

27 Ralf Schlechtweg-Jahn, "Der juristische Diskurs in Hermanns von Sachsenheim *Die Mörin*," *Mediävistik und Kulturwissenschaften. Mediävistik und Neue Philologie. Akten des X. Internationalen Germanistenkongresses Wien 2000: Zeitenwende – Die Germanistik auf dem Weg vom 20. ins 21. Jahrhundert*, hg. von Peter Wiesinger. Jahrbuch für Internationale Germanistik: Reihe A, Kongressberichte, 57 (Bern: Lang, 2002), 347–46; hier 348.

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Konfrontationen mit der türkischen Armee abgelehnt (5782–85). Bei einer nächtlichen geheimen Beratschlagung, die auf die Initiative des Marschalls zurückzuführen ist, wird entschieden, den Angeklagten gegen Leistung eines Eides freizulassen (5630–77). Nach fünf Gerichtstagen schwört er, sich auf Vorladung von Venus in einer der vier Städte, nämlich Köln, Straßburg, Basel oder Konstanz, zu stellen. Da der Begnadigte den Schwur in lateinischer Sprache ablegt, wovon Venus kein Wort versteht, kann alles Unliebsame gestrichen werden, ohne dass Venus und die ohnehin zu spät zum Prozessende erscheinende Mörin etwas daran ändern könnten (5750–57). Nach dem am Ende ohne juristische Folgen gebliebenen Aufenthalt auf der Venusinsel kehrt der Ritter mit Hilfe eines weiteren Zaubers nach Hause zu seiner Familie zurück (5944–96).

Neben dem Schlagabtausch vor Gericht und den juristischen Beratungsszenen von Ankläger- und Angeklagtenpartei kommt es jenseits des Prozessgeschehens zu Gesprächen zwischen Venus und ihren Verbündeten und zu jenen zwischen dem Angeklagten und seinen Verteidigern. Diese Gespräche finden überwiegend in den Zelten der einzelnen Parteien statt. Im Folgenden soll anhand exemplarischer Szenen aufgezeigt werden, dass Hermann in den west-östlichen Dialogen zwei verschiedene kommunikative Handlungsmodelle kontrastiert, die nicht zwangsläufig an den Ort und die jeweiligen Akteure der Kommunikation gebunden sind. Im Anschluss daran werden die beiden unterschiedlichen Arten der interkulturellen Kommunikation mit der *Willehalm*-Rezeption innerhalb der Erzählung in Verbindung gebracht. *Die Mörin* weist signifikante Parallelen zu Wolframs *Willehalm* auf. Daher stellt sich die Frage, ob Wolframs Epos als Modell für *die Mörin* gedient haben könnte.

Auf der Venusinsel angekommen, verwechselt der Entführte die Mörin mit der Königin Venus. Forsch und in spöttischem Ton bezeichnet sie ihn als Dummkopf, erklärt die Erziehung, die er von seiner Mutter erfahren hat, für unwirksam und betont seine Untauglichkeit zum Rittertum:

> hab danck, min lieber goch! / Das dich din můter ye erzoch, / Das ist wol dryer helbling wert. / Bist du gewidmet zů dem swert, / dem sihst du da ga ungelich. (329–33)

Der landfremde Ritter beteuert daraufhin die Unabsichtlichkeit der Verwechslung und tastet sich vorsichtig heran, um sie erneut nach ihrer Funktion zu fragen:

> zart frow, dis red getŏn / Hon ich gen üch ŏn argen list. / So sagent mir zů dieser frist, / Was schaffent ir dann by mir hie? (346–49)

Auf seine Frage hin wird er von ihr in einer Drohgebärde mit seinem möglichen Schicksal konfrontiert:

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> du ungetrüwer man, / Ich lad und aisch dich für gericht. / Macht du dich morn versprechen nicht, / So ist der tod din aydgesell. Zů hymmel oder zů der hell / Würd dir geschickt din arme sel. (352–57)

Oder an anderer Stelle:

> du schalckhaft wicht, / Mich blangt nach dir, wie bist du so lang? / Sichstu den hencker mit dem strang: / Der sol dir werden hüt zů tail. (1648–51)

Beide Passagen demonstrieren, wie Brünhild ihre Macht gegenüber ihrem Gesprächspartner mit Hilfe von Drohungen, Hohn und Spott verbal auszuspielen versucht.[28] Das Gespräch findet nicht unter gleichgestellten Kommunikationspartnern statt, was sich auch darin manifestiert, dass der Ritter die Mörin ihrzt und sie ihn duzt. Der eingeschüchterte Ritter kann ihr nichts entgegenhalten, meidet das Gespräch und wendet sich in einem Monolog flehend an sämtliche himmlische Instanzen (358–61). An einer anderen Stelle erhöht sich Brünhilds Aggressionsbereitschaft, und sie droht dem Ritter bei Nichtschweigen körperliche Gewalt an: "swig still, uff minen ayd, / Ich schlach dich mit der funst ins mul" (380–81)

Hier zeigt sich, dass es ihr auch darum geht, durch ihr Auftreten auf performative Weise Macht zu demonstrieren.[29] Dies äußert sich beispielsweise in zornigem sich die Lippen blutig Beißen (418–19) sowie in wutentbrannten und unkontrollierten Bewegungen (1044 und 5767). Reden bzw. Schweigen sind zusammen mit nonverbalen Kommunikationsmitteln Ausdruck von Macht und Ohnmacht und konstituieren Hierarchien. Dass der weibliche Umgangston gegenüber dem Angeklagten aber nicht nur durch herablassende Beschimpfungen und Zorn geprägt ist und die Sprecherinnen nicht nur zu "scharpffen worten" greifen,[30] zeigt das Mitgefühl einer orientalischen Fürstin:

> Gesell, gesel, hab gůten můt! / Ich hoff, din ding söl werden gůt. / Hie sind gar vil der frowen zart, / Ain tail geboren von hoher art. / Wir wellen bitten all für dich. (729–34)

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28 Dieter Welz weist in seinem Aufsatz darauf hin, dass Komik, die sich hier beispielsweise in der komischen Anrede "du schalckhaft wicht" äußert, in den Gesprächen als Machtfaktor eingesetzt wird. Dieter Welz, "Witz, Komik und Humor in der *Mörin* des Hermann von Sachsenheim," *Zeitschrift für Deutsches Altertum* 109 (1980): 337–61; hier 344.

29 Ralf Schlechtweg-Jahn, "Der juristische Diskurs in Hermanns von Sachsenheim *Die Mörin*" (siehe Anm. 27), 351, betont, dass in der *Mörin* durch Körperlichkeit Machteffekte erzeugt werden.

30 Die Worte der Mörin und der Königin Venus werden auf metasprachlicher Ebene von verschiedenen Figuren auf diese Weise charakterisiert (669 und 2273). Die Rede- und Artikulationsweise der Mörin wird an anderer Stelle als "klaffen" bezeichnet (949), was in der zeitgenössischen Liedproduktion gemeinhin als ‚Geschwätz' oder ‚gehässige Nachrede' identifiziert wird. Vgl. dazu Albrecht Classen und Lukas Richter, *Lied und Liederbuch in der Frühen Neuzeit*. Volksliedstudien, 10 (Münster, New York, et al.: Waxmann, 2010).

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Der Angeklagte äußert sich sehr erfreut über diese freundschaftliche Ermutigung: "gnăd, frow, des fröw ich mich / In minem herczen tusent valt [. . .]." (734–35) Diese Worte rufen im Gegensatz zu den Schelt- und Provokationsreden der Mörin eine positive emotionale Reaktion hervor. Der Entführte bleibt nicht "trurig" als kommunikativ Unterlegener sitzen und bangt um sein Leben (421), sondern freut sich in seinem Inneren.

Auch was die Dialoge zwischen dem Ich-Erzähler und seinen männlichen Gesprächspartnern angeht,[31] ist ein ambivalentes Kommunikationsverhalten zu konstatieren. Daher vertrete ich die Ansicht, dass hier eine Affinität zwischen weiblicher Kommunikationsweise und Gewaltbereitschaft betont wird, was nicht zuletzt daran liegt, dass die Mörin und Königin Venus als Hauptanklägerinnen während des Prozesses agieren, man aber nicht von einem spezifisch weiblichen Verhalten sprechen kann.[32]

Kurz nach seiner Ankunft im Orient wird der Entführte von einem jungen Ritter verbal attackiert, der ihn als treulos und von "Frow Schant" erzogen beschimpft. Erneut steht die Erziehung des schwäbischen Ritters bzw. deren Resultat im Zentrum der Kritik. Dieser wirft ihm ferner räumliche Grenzverletzung vor:

> Wă her, du ungetrüwe hut? / Wie haustu übertrapt die mut, / das zu bist kommen her zů lant? / Ich main, din muoter hieß frow Schant, / Die dich erzoch zů ainem man. (239–243)

Der Ritter aus dem Okzident stellt sich dieser Beleidigung und beschimpft sein Gegenüber nicht weniger gewaltbereit als Brünhild in dem Beispiel zuvor:

> du bist ain lügen vaß. / Du macht wol an dir selber sin. / Hett ich gewalt der hende min, / Ich geb dir ainen mulstraich. (245–49)

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31 Die zahlreichen Anspielungen, die sich auf Mechthilds Hof beziehen können, und die Evokation zeitgenössischer Ereignisse durch den Erzähler sowie die Inszenierung des Erzählers als altersgrauen schwäbischen Ritter sollten nicht als Argument vorgebracht werden, den Ich-Erzähler mit dem Autor gleichzusetzen und die Erzählung als biografischen Erlebnisbericht zu deuten. Vielmehr verleiht Hermann seinem Ich-Erzähler "individualisierende Züge." die lockere Bezüge zur eigenen Person möglich machten. Ursula Peters, *Das Ich im Bild: Die Figur des Autors in volkssprachigen Bilderhandschriften des 13. bis 16. Jahrhunderts* (Köln, Weimar et al.: Böhlau 2008), 235. Auch Ralf Schlechtweg-Jahn warnt vor einer Gleichsetzung des Erzählers mit dem Autor. Eine Engführung zwischen Minnereden-Ich und dem Ritter Hermann sei nicht von der Hand zu weisen, dennoch handle es sich um eine erzählerische Konstruktion. Ralf Schlechtweg-Jahn, "Erzählen im Umbruch: Dialogisierung und Autorfunktion in der *Mörin* Hermanns von Sachsenheim," *Fifteenth Century Studies* 26 (2001): 142–57; hier 151.

32 Sarah Westphal-Schmidt betont in ihrem Aufsatz, dass die Figuren in der *Mörin* der gleichen sozialen Schicht angehören, sich aber in Religion, Rasse und Geschlecht unterscheiden. Sie betont dabei den Zusammenhang zwischen weiblichem Geschlecht und aggressivem Verhalten. Vgl. Sarah Westphal-Schmidt, "Magic in *Die Mörin* by Hermann von Sachsenheim," *Zeitschrift für Literaturwissenschaft und Linguistik: Zauber und Magie* 130 (2003): 72–87; hier 75.

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Auch dieses Gespräch zwischen den Mitgliedern zweier verschiedener Kulturen führt zu keinem Konsens, Annäherung und Verständigung bleiben aus. Persönliche Angriffe stehen dabei im Zentrum. Auf der anderen Seite kann gerade, und dies ist auch im öffentlichen Bereich des Gerichts möglich, nach Verständigung und einer gemeinsamen Wissens- und Verstehensbasis gestrebt werden.[33]

Betrachten wir die Passage, in der der Angeklagte von seinem Entschluss berichtet, bei der nächst höheren Instanz, nämlich bei "Frow Ăbentür," Berufung einzulegen[34]:

> Darummb berüff ich mich hin dann / Von üch zů ainer kayserin, / Dü höher ist dann Venus Minn, / Als mengem ritter ist bekant. / Frow Ăbentür ist sie genant / Und treit allain die höchste kür. (3736–41)

Und:

> Du sayst von ainr, dü haist Ăbentür, / Die sy ain hohe kayserin. / Mich dunckt, es syen fremde sin. / Min frow ist höher wann ir dry. / Sag an, was Aubentür sy, / das wil ich von dir hören gern! (3850–55)

Der Richter Tannhäuser reagiert skeptisch, aber dennoch bemüht zu verstehen, um wen bzw. was es sich bei "Frow Ăbenthür" handelt.[35] Er möchte folglich einem Verständigungsdefizit vorbeugen und treibt den Dialog durch sein fragendes Intervenieren und durch seine Bereitschaft zuzuhören, voran.

Eine weitere Gesprächssituation, in der gegenseitiges Sich-Verstehen-Wollen und Aufeinander-Eingehen noch signifikanter in Erscheinung treten, stellt die Szene dar, in der der Hofmeister den Angeklagten nach "fremden mer von

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33 Es besteht zwar die Tendenz, dass in den Gesprächen, die vor Gericht stattfinden und somit das vermeintliche Minnevergehen des Angeklagten thematisieren, asymmetrische Konfliktsituationen dominieren. Dennoch erscheint eine Differenzierung zwischen öffentlichen und nichtöffentlichen Gesprächssituationen und damit einhergehende Folgerungen über deren Verständigungspotential, wie Peter Strohschneider sie vornimmt, zu schematisch. Peter Strohschneider, *Ritterromantische Versepik* (siehe Anm. 10), 202.

34 Nach der Einberufung des Appellationsverfahrens nimmt die kommunikative Handlungsfähigkeit des Angeklagten zu. So fordert der Ritter die Mörin an einer Stelle auf, zu schweigen und ihn zu Wort kommen zu lassen (5812–13).

35 Hermann scheint auf den Lieder-Dichter Tannhäuser anzuspielen, der ebenfalls wie Hermanns fiktive Figur aus Franken stammt und in der Sagentradition im Venusberg beheimatet war (837). Jürgen Glocker, "*Ritter, minne trüwe*: Untersuchungen zur "Mörin" Hermanns von Sachsenheim," D. phil. Diss. Tübingen 1987, 24–51, kommt zu dem Befund, dass es sich bei der *Mörin* um eines der frühesten, tatsächlich überlieferten Zeugnisse über den Venusberg handle. Dietrich Huschenbett liefert eine Zusammenschau aller Passagen, die den Venusberg in *der Mörin* thematisieren, und nennt andere spätmittelalterliche Quellen für die Venusberg-Sage. Dietrich Huschenbett, *Hermann von Sachsenheim: Namen und Begriffe* (siehe Anm. 10), 289–92.

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tütschen landen" (4141–76) bittet.[36] Dabei interessiert er sich vor allem für den Stand der Fürsten. Als der angeklagte Ritter Kritik an den Machtbestrebungen deutscher Beamter in verrätselter und anspielungsreicher, aber für den Hofmeister erstaunlicherweise verständlicher Form übt, erkundigt sich dieser nach weiteren Informationen.

Auf die Antwort seines Gesprächspartners hin überträgt der Hofmeister als Zeichen des Verstehens die Kritik an den Beamten auf die den deutschen Adel bedrohenden Städte. Er tut dies in nicht weniger verschlüsselten Weise, so dass der schwäbische Ritter um eine Erklärung bitten muss: "Wie maint ir das?" (4177). Dieses Beispiel verdeutlicht, dass über den verbalen Schlagabtausch hinaus eine kommunikative Annäherung möglich ist und dass Kommunikationsschwierigkeiten und Verständnisprobleme mit Hilfe gegenseitiger Aufgeschlossenheit gegenüber dem Anderen überwunden werden können.

Ferner wäre der Dialog zwischen Hofmeister und Angeklagtem ohne Interesse für das kulturell Andere nicht zu Stande gekommen.[37] Dass Neugier eine wichtige Voraussetzung für gelingende interkulturelle Kommunikation darstellt, gilt auch für religiöse Kontexte. So zum Beispiel möchte ein Vertreter des muslimischen Glaubens mehr über die Jungfrauengeburt Marias erfahren:

> Das wundert mich und west doch gern, / Wie möht ain magt ain kint gebern / Ŏn alle man, das tů mir kunt! (4302–04)

Dieser wird vom Angeklagten, der die Jungfrauengeburt selbst nicht zu erklären vermag, auf die Rolle der Trinität und die göttliche sowie menschliche Seinsweise Gottes aufmerksam gemacht.

> gnăd herr, das hăt ein grunt, / Daruß kein lay nit reden sol. Die wisen mayster wissens wol / Zů Paris und zů Mumpilier – / Ich schrib mich selber für ain tier / der unvernunft, als billich ist –: / Gott vatter sun, almechtig Crist, Hailiger gaist in zẘ natur, / Wăr göttlich art, menschlich figur, / in dry person und doch ain gott. (4305–17)

Der Muslim zweifelt diese Aussage entschieden an: "das ist ain spott. / Wer das gelŏbt, der ist nit wiß." (4316–17)

Er setzt damit eine argumentative Auseinandersetzung in Gang, bei der unterschiedliche Standpunkte ohne verbale Aggression zugelassen werden und ein Muslim sich kritisch gegenüber christlichen Glaubensinhalten äußern kann—und dies im christlichen Kontext![38] In diesem Gespräch, das in der

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36 In einer anderen Textpassage berichtet der Ich-Erzähler davon, dass er gebeten wurde, "vil fremde mer von disen landen hin und her" zu erzählen (2725–29).

37 Interkulturelles Interesse zeigt sich auch in der Textstelle, in der Venus von der Lektüre einer nicht genauer benannten Chronik, die sich mit abendländischer Geschichte befasst, berichtet (1856–73).

38 Burghart Wachinger stellt fest, dass in den Unterhaltungen ohne feste Thematik eine Atmosphäre

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Tradition interreligiöser Disputationen steht, manifestiert sich überdies eine große Wissbegier gegenüber dem religiös bzw. kulturell Anderen.[39] Das vielen spätmittelalterlichen und frühneuzeitlichen Werken inhärente Moment der *curiositas*[40] spielt auch in der *Mörin* eine bedeutende Rolle, allerdings nicht in Form des Begehrens, die Welt mit den eigenen Augen zu erfahren, sondern sich mit kultureller Andersheit im interkulturellen Gespräch auseinanderzusetzen.[41] Man kann hier von kommunikativem Kulturtransfer sprechen, wenngleich immer noch aus christlich-europäischer Sicht im literarischen Kontext!

Die bisherige Analyse der Gesprächssituationen hat zwei kommunikative Umgangsweisen hervortreten lassen. Die eine ist durch ein Konfliktpotential gekennzeichnet und führt zu keinem Ergebnis. Hier werden sittliche und räumliche Grenzverletzungen, meist in Form von Streitdialogen, thematisiert. Es bleibt bei Vorwürfen und Drohungen, pragmatische Lösungsansätze bleiben aus. Der andere Kommunikationshabitus ist durch friedliche Annäherung und Akzeptanz kultureller Differenz geprägt.[42] Bei diesem kommt es zu Konsens

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der Gemeinsamkeit auch über die Differenzen der Religion und Loyalitätsbindungen hinweg entsteht. Burghart Wachinger, "Gespräche in der *Mörin*," *Literatur und Wandmalerei II: Konventionalität und Konversation. Burgdorfer Colloquium 2011*, hg. von Eckart Conrad Lutz (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 2005) 139–54; hier 142.

An dieser Stelle möchte ich auf ein im spätmittelalterlichen Frankreich enstandenes, in Deutschland weniger bekanntes Werk hinweisen, in dem ein fiktiver Dialog zwischen Jean de Meun (dem Fortsetzer des *Roman de la Rose*), einem Prior, einem Physiker, einem Juden und einem Muslim entworfen wird. In diesem Text bekommt ebenfalls die Stimme des Muslims bei der Kritisierung moralischer Verfallserscheinungen des europäischen Rittertums und des Klerus besondere Geltung und Glaubwürdigkeit. Vgl. Michael Hanly, *Medieval Muslims, Christians and Jews in Dialogue: The Apparicion Maistre Jehan de Meun of Honorat Bovet. A Critical Edition with English Translation*. Medieval and Renaissance Text and Studies, 283 (Tempe: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2005).

39 Ein frühneuzeitliches Werk, bei dem sich das Moment der Neugier im Welterkundungsdrang des Protagonisten äußert, stellt der frühneuzeitliche Prosaroman *Fortunatus* dar. Siehe dazu den Beitrag von Albrecht Classen in diesem Band.

40 Jan-Dirk Müller untersucht das Motiv der 'Curiositas' im frühneuhochdeutschen Prosaroman. Jan-Dirk Müller, "Curiositas und Erfahrung der Welt im frühen Prosaroman," *Literatur und Laienbildung im Spätmittelalter und in der Reformationszeit: Fünftes Symposium Wolfenbüttel*, hg. von Ludger Grenzmann und Karl Stackmann. Germanistische Symposien Berichtsbände, 5 (Stuttgart: Metzler, 1984), 252–71. Zu einer Annäherung an den Begriff der *Curiositas* siehe auch Klaus Krüger, "Einleitung," *Curiositas und ästhetische Neugierde im Mittelalter und früher Neuzeit*. Göttinger Gespräche zur Geschichtswissenschaft, 15 (Göttingen: Wallstein Verlag, 2002), 7–18.

41 Dass dieses sozio-kulturelle und ethnologische Interesse nicht nur von orientalischer Seite ausgeht, zeigt der an Eckhart gerichtete Wunsch des Angeklagten, Auskunft über ein ihm unbekanntes orientalisches Volk zu erhalten (5334–35).

42 Die beiden kontrastiven Verhaltensmodelle äußern sich auf verbaler und nonverbaler Ebene. Was die nonverbale Kommunikation betrifft, sei noch darauf hingewiesen, dass der Angeklagte in den intimeren, auf Konsens bzw. Kompromiss ausgelegten Gesprächen, als fröhlich und lachend

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bestrebungen,[43] was aber nicht impliziert, dass kulturelle Andersheit eingeebnet wird. Die Darstellungen haben gezeigt, dass Perspektivenwechsel vollzogen werden.[44] Diese können Fremdheit aus ihrem starren Objektcharakter lösen und sie zu einer vorläufigen subjektiven Zuschreibung werden lassen.[45]

An dieser Stelle möchte ich betonen, dass Hermann sich über die kunstreiche Gestaltung und Verknüpfung der Gesprächsszenen sowie über den Einbezug seines umfangreichen Wissens über die Zeitgeschichte hinaus auch als Kenner der hochmittelalterlichen Literatur und hier insbesondere der höfischen Dichtungen Hartmanns von Aue und Wolframs von Eschenbach erweist.[46] Wolframs *Parzival* und *Willehalm* sowie den *Jüngeren Titurel*, der in der mittelalterlichen Vorstellung allgemein Wolfram zugeschrieben wird (auch wenn dies, wie wir heute wissen, falsch ist), zitiert er besonders häufig.[47]

Hermann verfügt aber nicht nur über eine hohe literarische Bildung, sondern versteht es auch, mit literarischen Traditionen zu spielen. Zum Einen rühmt er diese im Sinne einer verloren gegangenen Idealität vergangener Zeiten und stellt ihnen zeitgenössische defizitäre Tendenzen der Gesellschaft gegenüber. Zum Anderen macht er auch vor ihrer Parodierung keinen Halt.[48] Über die historischen

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charakterisiert wird (2370). Ingeborg Glier vertritt die Ansicht, dass die verbale und nonverbale Inszenierung der Gespräche eine Affinität zu mittelalterlichen Schauspielen aufweist. Ingeborg Glier, *Artes Amandi* (siehe Anm. 24), 324. Auch Peter Strohschneider, der sich ebenfalls auf Gliers Beobachtugen beruft, weist auf den hohen Stellenwert visueller und szenischer Effekte hin. Peter Strohschneider, *Ritterromantische* Versepik (siehe Anm. 10), 188.

43 Parallel zu diesen Gesprächssituationen kommt es auf beiden Seiten zu Gesten der Hilfsbereitschaft und Freundschaft. So lassen der Marschall und der Pelis den Angeklagten mit Essen versorgen (2809–29). Der angeklagte Ritter empfiehlt dem als Verletzter aus dem Turnier hervorgegangenen Marschall ein Rezept für eine heilende Salbe (5498–5515).

44 Außergewöhnlich häufig wird innerhalb der von dem Ich-Erzähler dominierten Erzählung die Perspektive der muslimischen Seite geschildert. Dies hängt nicht zuletzt mit der Tatsache zusammen, dass sich der christliche Ritter vor einem orientalischen Gericht und dessen juristischen Richtlinien zu verantworten hat. Darauf wird im Text explizit verwiesen (2090–95).

45 Alois Hahn macht aus soziologischer Sicht darauf aufmerksam, dass Fremdheit oft als "naturwüchsige Differenz" und nicht als subjektive und temporäre Zuschreibung betrachtet werde. Alois Hahn, "Die soziale Konstruktion des Fremden," *Die Objektivität der Ordnungen und ihre kommunikative Konstruktion: für Thomas Luckmann*, hg. von Walter Michael Sprondel (Frankfurt a. M.: Suhrkamp, 1994), 140–63; hier 140.

46 Peter Strohschneider, *Ritterromantische Versepik* (siehe Anm. 10), 256–278.

47 In den beiden anderen Hermann zugeschriebenen Erzählungen, *Das Schleiertüchlein* und *Der Spiegel*, nennt er Wolfram mehrmals namentlich. Dietrich Huschenbett, *Hermann von Sachsenheim: Namen und Begriffe* (siehe Anm. 10), 306, liefert eine Gesamtübersicht über die Wolframschen Figuren, die bei Hermann vorkommen.

48 So wird zum Beispiel das Turnier, als der Bestandteil ritterlicher Identität schlechthin parodistisch in ein Turnier unter Kampfunwilligen verkehrt (4940–41). Siehe hierzu Heinz Nicolai, "Romantisierende und parodistische Tendenz in der ritterlichen Dichtung des ausgehenden Mittelalters: Ein geschmacksgeschichtliches Problem. Zur *Mörin* des Hermann von Sachsenheim," Festgabe für Ulrich Pretzel zum 65. Geburtstag, hg. von Werner Simon, Wolfgang Bachofer und

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Anspielungen und direkten sowie weniger offensichtlichen intertextuellen Verweise hinaus scheint es, dass Hermann zentrale Gedanken aus Wolframs *Willehalm* in die *Mörin* hineingewoben hat. Diese These soll im letzten Teil des Beitrags, in dem die beiden herausgearbeiteten Kommunikationsvarianten mit der werkinternen *Willehalm* – Rezeption in Verbindung gebracht werden, auf ihre Standfestigkeit geprüft werden.

III. Die Beziehung zwischen Hermanns *Die Mörin* und Wolframs *Willehalm*

Nachdem die Mörin den landfremden Greis mit der ihm am Folgetag drohenden Verurteilung konfrontiert hat, erinnert dieser an die wohltätige, den Armen und Kranken zugetane Elisabeth von Ungarn (398–99). Als die Mörin daraufhin die "suß Arabel" aus dem *Willehalm* erwähnt, lässt diese literarische Kenntnis den Angeklagten einen Moment lang auf eine gemeinsame Wertebasis hoffen. Es ist nicht ausgeschlossen, dass der Ritter auch über eine amouröse Annäherung nachdenkt. Er reagiert folgendermaßen:

> zart frow, das hör ich gern, / Daß ir ŏuch wissent die geschicht / Ich hoff es süll mir schaden nicht. / Ir kommet mir dest e zů stür. (406–09)

Da sie sich aber vehement von ihr distanziert,

> Ich bins nit die suß Arabel, / Die dort dem markis wol geviel, / Da er sie fůort in ainen kiell / Her über merr von Todiern (402–05),

muss er resigniert feststellen, dass anders als im *Willehalm* (ca. 1210–1220) eine Liebesverbindung und eine dementsprechend wohlwollende Behandlung unwahrscheinlich sind.[49] Interessant an dieser Szene ist, dass die Mörin, als der

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Wolfgang Dittmann. (Berlin: Erich Schmidt Verlag, 1963), 260–66. Dietrich Huschenbett verweist in diesem Kontext auf die intertextuelle Beziehung zwischen Hermanns *Mörin* und Wittenwîlers *Ring*. Einige Textstellen aus der *Mörin* blieben ohne die Kenntnis des *Ring* unverständlich. Dietrich Huschenbett, "Hermann von Sachsenheim und Heinrich Wittenwîler," *Zeitschrift für Deutsches Altertum* 134 (2005): 477–489; hier insbesondere 488. Karin Cieslik sieht in den situationskomischen Szenen des Turniers Parallelen zum Fastnachtsspiel. Karin Cieslik, "Studien zu Elementen der Komik in der *Mörin* Hermanns von Sachsenheim," *Parodie und Satire in der Literatur des Mittelalters*, hg. von Peter Richter. Wissenschaftliche Beiträge der Ernst-Moritz-Arndt-Universität Greifswald, 5 (Greifswald: Universität Greifswald / Sektion Germanistik, Kunst- und Musikwissenschaft, 1989), 79–90; hier 86.

49 Horst Dieter Schlosser betrachtet den Verweis auf die Figur der Arabel als Betonung ihrer großen treuen Verbundenheit gegenüber Willehalm als eine Eigenschaft, die der Mörin fremd stehe. Hermann von Sachsenheim, *Die Mörin* (siehe Anm. 21), 54. Burghart Wachinger hingegen betont, dass die Mörin mit diesem Ausspruch deutlich mache, dass sie nicht zu einer Liaison mit einem

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Gefangene sie auf die Lehre der christlichen Vorbildfigur hinweist, sich sogleich auf Arabel bezieht, um sich von dieser im selben Atemzug abzugrenzen. Das setzt voraus, dass Brünhild mit der christlichen Heiligenfigur vertraut ist, und diese mit der literarischen Figur der Arabel in Verbindung bringen kann. Wolframs Arabel fungiert hier als west-östliche Identifikationsfigur und wird durch den indirekten Vergleich der Heiligen Elisabeth als ebenbürtig dargestellt.

Doch was verleiht ihr diesen Status? Arabel bzw. Gyburg kann als Wortführerin in Wolframs Heldenepos gelten. Sie ist sowohl mit der christlichen als auch mit der muslimischen Welt verbunden. In ihren Dialogpartien werden zentrale Werte des Werkes proklamiert: Schonung von Andersgläubigen, Erbarmen gegenüber deren Schicksal, Erlösungsfähigkeit aller Menschen unabhängig von der Religionszugehörigkeit, Verwandtschaft aller Menschen (WL 306,1–310,30).[50] Gyburg betont die Gemeinsamkeiten von Muslimen und Christen, nicht die Divergenzen. Sie setzt sich für ein integratives Modell ein, wenngleich das Christentum weiterhin natürlich als die einzig wahre Religion angesehen wird. Dieses Streben nach Integration lässt sich auch in der *Mörin* finden, allerdings nicht in dem oben zitierten Beispiel.

Dem Angeklagten wird durch den intertextuellen Verweis klar gemacht, dass anders als im *Willehalm* nicht an die Schonung Andersgläubiger (hier: eines Christen) appelliert wird. Dass Andersgläubigkeit bei den meisten kommunikativen Auseinandersetzungen vor Gericht als eine unüberwindbare Hürde angesehen wird, führen folgende Aussagen der Venus vor Augen. Sie macht darin die christliche Religion des Gefangenen selbst zum Gegenstand der Kommunikation:

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christlichen Gefangenen bewegen lasse. Vgl. Burghart Wachinger, "Gespräche in der *Mörin*" (siehe Anm. 38), 148. Ich teile Wachingers Ansicht, bin aber auch der Meinung, dass es darum geht, stellvertretend für die anderen Mitglieder der Anklägerpartei fehlende Bereitschaft, sich gegenüber dem Schicksal des christlichen Angeklagten zu erbarmen, zu signalisieren. Das Attribut "suß", das die Mörin Wolframs Arabel zuspricht, charakterisiert die ehemalige Muslimin aus dem *Willehalm* nicht nur im Hinblick auf ihre Liebesverbindung mit Willehalm, sondern hat neben der weltlichen auch eine religiös-moralische Bedeutung Barbara Sabel, *Toleranzdenken in mittelhochdeutscher Literatur*. Interdisziplinäre Beiträge zur Mittelalterforschung, 14 (Wiesbaden: Reichert, 2003), 101–06.

50 An dieser Stelle sei darauf aufmerksam gemacht, dass im *Willehalm* über Gyburgs Rede hinaus weitere Wertorientierungen vertreten werden. Wachinger warnt korrekterweise vor einer einseitigen Reduzierung des Werkes auf den Toleranz- bzw. Schonungsgedanken. Burghart Wachinger, "Schichten der Ethik in Wolframs *Willehalm*," *Alte Welten – neue Welten*, hg. von Michael S. Batts. Akten des IX. Kongresses der Internationalen Vereinigung für germanische Sprach- und Literaturwissenschaft, 1 (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1996), 49–59.

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> Dort stett der ungetrüwe man, / Schalkhafter denn ain aglaster, / Den bring ich üch gefangen her / Als einen, der verlöcket ist: / Er spricht, er gloub an Jhesus Crist. (890–94)[51]

Die Mörin betont zwar, dass der Grund für die Vorladung vor Gericht nicht der christliche Glaube sei (1044–47), dennoch zeigt sich, dass religiöse Differenz hier negativ besetzt ist. Anders verhält es sich in den meisten der Dialoge außerhalb des Prozesses. Bei der Mehrzahl der Sprecher treten die bereits genannten, auch im *Willehalm* vertretenen Werte hervor.[52] Die Kommunikationspartner des Verurteilten zeigen Mitgefühl ihm gegenüber, wirken tröstend auf ihn ein (5106–10) und wenden als seine Verteidiger einen tödlichen Ausgang der Verhandlung ab (3382–85 und 5738–39). Insbesondere der Marschall tritt als eine dem schwäbischen Ritter zugetane Helferfigur auf.

Eine sehr bemerkenswerte Szene ist diejenige, in der der Marschall alle Gesprächsteilnehmer nach einem Disput über die durch den Hofbeamten (genannt: Pelis) in Frage gestellte Allmacht Gottes zur Eintracht auffordert[53]:

> Was sol uns hie das disputiern? / Ich will uns răten allen viern, / Daß wir fürnemen ainen got / Und uns bevelhen in sin gebot. / Was er dann mit uns allen tů, da hört uns lützel fragen zů. (3225–3230)

Hier geht es darum, sein Schicksal einer identischen göttlichen Autorität gemeinsam anzuvertrauen. Mit diesen Worten eröffnet der Marschall die Vorstellung eines Gottes, der sich aller Menschen annimmt, und dies im Sinne der Aufforderung Gyburgs, Erbarmen mit allen Geschöpfen Gottes – gleichgültig, ob es sich um Christen, Juden oder Muslime handelt – zu haben.[54] Der Wir-Gedanke

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51 In den Versen 1038–42 äußert sich Venus erneut kritisch zum christlichen Glauben des Angeklagten und betont, dass dieser ihre Götter verhöhne.

52 Als Ausnahme seien die Diener genannt, die dem Angeklagten aufgrund seines christlichen Glaubens sehr ablehnend gegenüber stehen (2926–28). Erneut erweist sich eine strikte Trennung der Gespräche in öffentliche und nichtöffentliche als problematisch.

53 Auch im *Willehalm* zweifelt Terramer im Religionsgespräch mit seiner Tochter Gyburg die Allmacht Gottes an (219,1–8).

54 Im Rahmen dieses Beitrags ist es nicht möglich, auf die einzelnen Forschungsmeinungen zu Gyburgs viel diskutierter 'Schonungs'- bzw. 'Toleranz'-Rede einzugehen. Daher wird auf den Aufsatz von Tobias Bulang und Beate Kellner hingewiesen, in dem ein umfassender Überblick über den Stand der *Willehalm*-Forschung geliefert wird. Tobias Bulang und Beate Kellner, "Wolframs *Willehalm*: Poetische Verfahren als Reflexion des Heidenkriegs," *Literarische und religiöse Kommunikation in Mittelalter und Früher Neuzeit. DFG-Symposium 2006*, hg. von Peter Strohschneider (Berlin und New York: De Gruyter, 2009), 124–160; hier 125 [Anm. 2] und 127 [Anm. 6]. Eine genaue Erfassung sämtlicher Forschungspositionen zu diesem Thema findet sich auch bei Joachim Bumke, *Wolfram von Eschenbach*, Sammlung Metzler, 36 (Weimar: J.B. Metzler, 2004), insbesondere 304, 305 und 338. Vgl. dazu die "Introduction" von Albrecht Classen zu diesem Band. Vgl. dazu Heiko Hartmanns Beitrag zum vorliegenden Band.

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des Marschalls, der Christen und Muslime einschließt, verdient eine besondere Würdigung. Bei einer weiteren interkulturellen Begegnung greift der Marschall diesen Gedanken erneut auf. Er verdeutlicht seinem christlichen Kommunikationspartner in einer Art Lehrgespräch, dass er hoffe, dass sowohl der Angeklagte als auch er selbst trotz unterschiedlicher religiöser Zugehörigkeit von einem einzigen Gott vor Leid bewahrt würden. Neben der Vorstellung eines Helfergottes entwirft er das Bild eines gemeinsamen Schöpfergottes, ohne die Gottheit einer der beiden religiösen Gruppen zuzuordnen:

> Hab dir din got und laus mir den minn! / Got well uns beid bewarn vor pin / Uff erden hie und ewig dort. / Ich main den got, der mit aim wortt / Die welt geschůff und alle ding. / Fiat, das wort hăt urspring / an dem beginn, das wais ich wol. (5407–5413)

Dieser Kommentar des Marschalls, bei dem es nicht darum geht, Grenzen zum Anderen hin zu ziehen, sondern diese aufzuheben und in einen Zustand der Liminalität überzuführen, erscheint vor dem Hintergrund der zeitgenössischen Umstände, vor allem der Eroberung Konstantinopels am 29. Mai 1453, als sehr bemerkenswert. Ein monumental politisches Ereignis, auf das der Text allerdings nicht reagiert! Dieses Ereignis scheint bewusst übergangen worden zu sein.[55] Es wird, wie anhand der oben genannten Szene exemplifiziert, ein anderes Konzept interkultureller Begegnungen vorgeführt. Ein Konzept, bei dem Zweifel und Kritik offen ausgesprochen, unterschiedliche Sichtweisen diskutiert werden können und Disambiguierung nicht zwangsläufig das Ziel ist. Somit rückt nicht der islamische Glaube Venus und ihren Hofstaat in ein negatives Licht, wie Jürgen Glocker meint,[56] sondern vielmehr deren respektloser Umgang mit Andersgläubigen in den interkulturellen Gesprächen. Auch Horst Dieter Schlosser argumentiert zu pauschal, wenn er Recht und Christentum bzw. Unrecht und Islam als unverrückbare und bipolar angelegte Einheiten ansieht.[57]

Wie Wolfram, der seine Figuren die Einschätzung des kulturell Anderen häufig in direkter Rede aushandeln lässt, lokalisiert Hermann die gegenseitige Beurteilung in den einzelnen Gesprächssituationen. Hermann agiert dabei aber konsequenter und geht noch weiter. Es verleiht den Muslimen eine eigene, gleichberechtigte Stimme und gesteht ihnen Kritik an der abendländischen Welt zu. Hermann lässt sie rational argumentieren und stattet sie mit breitem Wissen über die Kultur des Angeklagten aus. Zwar treten sie vor allem in den Gesprächspartien rund um Venus und Brünhild als Repräsentanten einer

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55 Dietrich Huschenbett datiert *Die Mörin* aufgrund der ausbleibenden Thematisierung des Falls von Konstantinopel vor dem 29.05.1453. Da der Dichter angibt, das Werk im Sommer des Jahres 1453 fertig gestellt zu haben, ist diese Einschätzung fragwürdig. Dietrich Huschenbett, *Hermann von Sachsenheim: Namen und Begriffe* (siehe Anm. 10), 8.

56 Jürgen Glocker, "Ritter – minne – trüwe" (siehe Anm. 35), 98.

57 Vgl. Horst Dieter Schlosser, *Das politische Ende der Minnerede* (siehe Anm. 24), 298.

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Vielgötter-Religion auf, dennoch stellen sie an anderem Ort den christlichen Glauben an die Trinität in Frage und geben ihrer monotheistsch geprägten Religion den Vorzug. Hermann zeichnet hier ein der Realität näheres Bild vom Islam als Wolfram, der die Muslime in seinen Werken und insbesondere im *Willehalm* als Anhänger eines polytheistischen Abgötter-Glaubens darstellt.[58]

Als weiterer Berührungspunkt der *Mörin* mit dem *Willehalm* kann hervorgehoben werden, dass Hermann wie Wolfram auf markante Weise mit Widersprüchen arbeitet.[59] Auf der Makroebene äußert sich diese zum Erzählprogramm gehörende Vorgehensweise durch die beiden kontrastiven Kommunikationshabitus, die die obigen Ausführungen deutlich werden ließen. Auf der Mikroebene führen das mehrmalige Zitieren der west-östlichen Konfrontation aus Wolframs *Willehalm* (z.B. Schlacht von Alischanz: 633–49) sowie die zeitgenössisch-reale Bedrohung durch das türkische Heer (5780–85), die im Text mit der Forderung nach der Durchführung eines siegreichen Kreuzzuges einhergeht, eine feindselige und aggressiv aufgeladene Atmosphäre. Gleichzeitig stellt aber Hermann diesen Elementen eines polemischen Feindbildes positive Formen der Fremdwahrnehmung entgegen.[60]

So kommt es, dass die Vertreter der anderen Glaubensrichtung an mancher Stelle verteufelt, an anderer Stelle jedoch als ebenbürtig dargestellt und sogar wertgeschätzt werden. Überdies bleiben die angedeutete Türkengefahr, die Erwähnung des Kriegsschauplatzes und der -parteien aus dem *Willehalm* sowie die Forderung nach einem siegreichen Kreuzzug unwesentlich (5304–11). Diese Elemente sind nicht gesprächs- bzw. handlungsbestimmend. Konkreter wirken hingegen die historischen Bezugnahmen, bei denen vielmehr die religiöse Unmoral christlicher Geistlicher und moralische Verfallserscheinungen innerhalb der ständischen Gesellschaft Deutschlands angesprochen werden, als Konfrontationen zwischen Christen und Muslimen. Die interkulturellen Begegnungen werden in der *Mörin* im fiktiven Hier und Jetzt ausgehandelt,

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58 Siehe hierzu den Artikel von Heiko Hartmann, der sich mit Wolframs Islambild beschäftigt.

59 Burghart Wachinger stellt fest, dass dem Leser im *Willehalm* keine allgemeingültigen Antworten geliefert werden. Fragen würden gestellt und offen gelassen. Laut Wachinger zeichnet dies die Erzähltechnik im *Willehalm* aus. Burghart Wachinger, *Schichten der Ethik* (siehe Anm. 50), 53–58. Barbara Sabel betont die gezielte Erzeugung von Widersprüchen und Inkongruenzen im *Willehalm*, die an Verfahren der Wahrheitsfindung erinnere. Barbara Sabel, *Toleranzdenken in mittelhochdeutscher Literatur* (siehe Anm. 49), 161. Vgl. nun dazu den Beitrag in diesem Band von Heiko Hartmann und die Kommentare von Albrecht Classen in seiner Introduction.

60 Einen umfassenden Überblick über die wichtigsten Ansätze der Fremdheitsforschung liefert die jüngst erschienene Monographie von Stefan Schröder, *Zwischen Christentum und Islam: Kulturelle Grenzen in den spätmittelalterlichen Pilgerberichten des Felix Fabri*. Vorstellungswelten des Mittelalters, 11 (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2009), 16–32.

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angereichert und überlagert von Beispielen aus der literarischen Tradition und der zeitgenössischen Wirklichkeit.[61]

Ob dieses kommunikative Miteinander als eine Utopie angelegt ist, die in gewisser Weise auch den Verhältnissen in Deutschland den Spiegel vorhält, ist nicht von der Hand zu weisen. Dafür würde sicherlich auch die teilweise exotisch anmutende Landschafts- und Personenbeschreibung sprechen.[62] Feststeht, dass es sich bei der interkulturellen kommunikativen Begegnung zwischen christlich und muslimisch geprägter Welt um ein Phänomen der *conditio humana* geht, in der in einigen Gesprächsszenen ein friedliches Zusammenleben im Zuge der *conversatio hominum*[63] ausgehandelt wird.

IV. Fazit

Es bleibt also dem "wîsen" (intelligenten) Rezipienten (1–3), an den die *Mörin* adressiert ist, überlassen, sich aus den Widersprüchen ein Urteil zu bilden und gegebenenfalls den eigenen Standpunkt kritisch zu überdenken.[64] Hermann bietet keine Musterlösung für interkulturelles Miteinander an, sondern trägt mit seinem Werk möglicherweise dazu bei, in seinen Rezipienten einen Bewusstwerdungsprozess auszulösen. Interkulturelle Kommunikation im Hermannschen Sinne kann gelingen, wenn sie auf Augenhöhe geschieht.[65] Es lässt sich folglich herausarbeiten, dass Hermann seinen Zeitgenossen nicht nur einige der internen gesellschaftlichen Missstände aufzeigte, sondern ihnen auch Orientierungspotential für kommunikative Begegnungen mit Vertretern anderer Kulturen lieferte und vor einseitiger Urteilsbildung warnte.[66]

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61 Für eine Reihe anderer, sogar erheblich früherer Beispiele dieser neuartigen Offenheit dem fremden Glauben gegenüber, und sei es auch nur Neugier gewesen, siehe Albrecht Classen, "Tolerance in the Middle Ages? The Good Heathens as Fellow Beings in the World of *Reinfried von Braunschweig*, Konrad von Würzburg's *Partonopier und Meliur*, and *Die Heideninne*," *Amsterdamer Beiträge zur älteren Germanistik* 61 (2006): 183–223.

62 Monika Fludernik spricht in Bezug auf die Figur des "Edlen Wilden" von der Inszenierung einer selbstkritischen Alterität. Monika Fludernik, "Vorwort," *Der Alteritätsdiskurs des edlen Wilden: Exotismus, Anthropologie und Zivilisationskritik am Beispiel eines europäischen Topos*, hg. von eadem. Identitäten und Alteritäten, 10 (Würzburg: Ergon-Verlag, 2002), 9–13; hier 11.

63 Vgl. Burghart Wachinger, *Gespräche in der Mörin* (siehe Anm. 38), 152.

64 Laut Burghart Wachinger wird durch diese Art der Redeweise die Gültigkeit mancher Maßstäbe relativiert (siehe Anm. 38), 152.

65 Dieses Merkmal zeichnet die gelingenden interkulturellen Gespräche in besonderer Weise aus, da selbst in den Gesprächen zwischen Venus und ihren Beratern hierarchische Unterschiede hervorgehoben werden. So weist Venus ihre Fürsprecherin nach dem blamablen Auftritt ihres Mannes beim Turnier verbal in ihre Schranken (5004–07).

66 Jörg Kilian weist in seiner Einführung zur Historischen Dialogforschung darauf hin, dass die Analyse fiktiver interkultureller Dialogszenen Aufschluss über die Grundlagen zeitgenössischer

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Ist es nicht denkbar, dass sich der humanistisch gebildete Arzt Johann Adelphus Muling gerade wegen der humanistisch und didaktisch fruchtbaren Ansätze für die erste Druck-Ausgabe der *Mörin* einsetzte?

Die Begegnung zwischen Christen und Muslimen muss nicht nur durch kriegerische Auseinandersetzungen und kommunikative Konflikte belastet sein, sondern kann auch im Sinne eines transkulturellen Verständnisses[67] auf Interesse, gegenseitigem Informationsaustausch und Verständigung wurzeln[68]: Es muss an dieser Stelle betont werden, dass in der *Mörin* in erster Linie von der Transkulturalität der islamischen Venusinsel gesprochen werden kann. Ohnehin scheint im Reich der Venus ein kulturenübergreifendes Zusammenleben, was insbesondere die Figur des Eckhart verdeutlicht, bei Beachtung der lokalen Rechtsvorschriften möglich zu sein. Hermann thematisiert somit auch die historische Koexistenz muslimischer und nichtmuslimischer Bevölkerungsgruppen innerhalb einer Gemeinschaft, wie sie jedenfalls bis 1492 in Spanien anzutreffen war. Die orientalische Gesellschaft in der *Mörin* umfasst das Reich der Königin Venus, andere Orientalen wie den Marschall, die nicht zu ihrem Gefolge gehören, und zählt auch Vertreter des christlichen Glaubens dazu. Eine Gesellschaft, die, modern gesprochen, aufgeschlossen gegenüber Mitgliedern mit Migrationshintergrund ist!

Der postkolonialen Theorie zu Folge stellen Kulturen keine essentialistischen Einheitskulturen dar, sondern werden durch Grenzverwischungen, Vermischungen kultureller Ressourcen und durch kulturelle Transferphänomene geprägt.[69]

Dialoge geben könne. Jörg Kilian, *Historische Dialogforschung: Eine Einführung*. Germanistische Arbeitshefte, 41 (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer, 2005), 120.

67 Juliane Schiel, Bernd Schneidmüller und Annette Seitz, "Hybride Kulturen im mittelalterlichen Europa: eine Einführung," *Hybride Kulturen im mittelalterlichen Europa: Vorträge und Workshops einer internationalen Frühlingsschule,* hg. von Michael Borgolte und Bernd Schneidmüller. Europa im Mittelalter, 16 (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 2010), 9–24; hier 11, postulieren die Transkulturalität des mittelalterlichen Europas und betonen den permanenten Austausch zwischen Großkulturen. Siehe weiterführend hierzu Hemma Stagl, "Das Leben der nichtmuslimischen Bevölkerung im Osmanischen Reich im Spiegel von Reisebeschreibungen," *Das Osmanische Reich und die Habsburger Monarchie: Akten des internationalen Kongresses zum 150–jährigen Bestehen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung*, hg. von Marlene Kurz. Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung, 48 (Wien: Oldenburg, 2005), 359–92.

68 Es ist durchaus denkbar, dass Hermann dank Mechthilds Kontakten zum Habsburger Hof nähere Einblicke in die diplomatischen Begegnungen zwischen Habsburger Reich und Osmanischem Reich gewonnen haben könnte.

69 Homi Bhabha und Edward Said, zwei wichtige Vertreter der postkolonialistischen Theorie betonen, dass Kulturen immer mit anderen verwoben sind und sich aufgrund gegenseitiger Beeinflussung durch Hybridität auszeichnen. Vgl. Homi Bhabha, *Die Verortung der Kultur,* mit einem Vorwort von Elisabeth Bronfen, übers. von Michael Schiffmann und Jürgen Freudl (1999; Tübingen: Stauffenburg-Verlag, 2003), 5; Edward Said, *Kultur und Imperialismus: Einbildungskraft und Politik im Zeitalter der Macht*, übers. von Hans-Horst Henschen (Frankfurt a. M.: Fischer, 1994), 30.

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Formuliert man es wie Jeffrey Cohen, dann kann die orientalische Welt in der *Mörin* als ein "hybrid place[] where heterogeneous cultures mingle, compete, coexist" gelten.[70] Um abschließend noch einmal auf das Verhältnis zwischen der *Mörin* und Wolframs *Willehalm* zurückzukommen, kann subsumiert werden, dass die Nähe der *Mörin* zum *Willehalm* nicht von der Hand zu weisen ist. Hermann hat das Heldenepos seines Vorbilddichters höchstwahrscheinlich als Prätext verwendet. Außerdem hat er mit großer Sicherheit auch den kompletten *Willehalm*-Zyklus gekannt.

Es scheint, dass die *Mörin* von der gesamten *Willehalm*-Thematik beeinflusst worden ist, dass aber zentrale Gedanken, die speziell in Wolframs fragmentarisch gebliebenem Epos entfaltet werden, Hermann circa 250 Jahre später in besonderer Weise angeregt haben. Somit stellt die *Mörin* ein Zeugnis für die Fortwirkung und langlebige Rezeption des hochmittelalterlichen Werkes dar. Dabei bleibt die *Mörin* keine im Schatten des *Willehalm* stehende Erzählung. In ihr werden allgemein menschliche Kommunikation und individuelle Sichtweisen auf das Andere in interkulturellen Kommunikationssituationen aufgezeigt und Kulturtransferprozesse ausgehandelt.

Kurzum, Hermann entwirt ein kulturenübergreifendes Koexistenzmodell. Die an mancher Stelle fehlende Stringenz der Gespräche – gerade im nicht-öffentlichen Bereich – korrespondiert demnach mit der Tatsache, dass auch kulturelle Austausch- und Vermittlungsprozesse in der Regel nicht geradlinig und statisch, sondern chaotisch und dynamisch ablaufen. Hier darf nicht vergessen werden, dass die Gestalter der interkulturellen Kommunikation nicht die Kulturen an sich, sondern ihre Träger sind, die genauso durch Hybridität gekennzeichnet sind,[71] wie die sie umgebende Kultur und wie Hermanns Erzählung letztendlich auch. Hybrid, was die Vermischung unterschiedlicher Gattungstraditionen, die Verschmelzung von Fiktion und Realität, die Überlagerung von Ich-Erzähler und Autor, das Konglomerat aus christlich geprägtem Autor, abendländischem Protagonisten und dem Entwurf einer orientalischen Sichtweise und selbstverständlich auch die beiden interkulturellen Kommunikationsweisen angeht. Man kann durchaus behaupten, dass in Hermanns *Mörin* Hybridität zum Programm wird! Differenzen werden vereint, ohne sie vollständig zu assimilieren, disparate Elemente bleiben bestehen.

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70 Jeffrey Jerome Cohen, *The Postcolonial Middle Ages*. The New Middle Ages (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2000), 1.

71 Michael Waltenberger beschäftigt sich in seinem Aufsatz mit dem Konzept der Hybridität aus mediävistischer und aus der Sicht der postkolonialen Literaturtheorie. Michael Waltenberger, "Diversität und Konversion: Kulturkonstruktionen im französischen und im deutschen Florisroman," *Unordnung und Ordnung in der Literatur des Mittelalters*, hg. von Wolfgang Harms (Stuttgart: S. Hirzel, 2003), 25–43.

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Die Kulturtransferforschung mit ihren Anleihen aus der postkolonialen Theorie kann auch in der Altgermanistik fruchtbar gemacht werden, indem wie beispielsweise in den vorliegenden Ausführungen fiktive kulturelle Transferphänomene zwischen zwei 'Kulturen', die in der *Mörin* in kommunikative Akte eingebettet sind, beleuchtet werden.

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Chapter 18

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La représentation de l'Orient dans les *Essais* de Montaigne

Abstract

The East means a great deal in Montaigne's imagination. In the first place it means for him the huge space where Alexander achieved his conquests, as Quintus Curtius, Arrian, and above all Plutarch had reported about, and as the mysterious Tamerlane (mentioned six times in the *Essais*) did as well a thousand years later. Drawing from his extensive familiarity with so many nations and peoples throughout time, Montaigne especially keeps in mind the lessons of wisdom given by the Gymnosophists (II, 29, and III, 1). He also considers the East as the place of choice of major empires; e.g., in the past the Persia of Cambyses, Cyrus, and Darius; in the sixteenth century the Turkey of Selim and of Suleiman the Magnificent. Even though their efforts in expansion were stopped in the naval battle of Lepanto (1571), the Ottomans remained a threat for Europe. Nevertheless they provided a fascinating model of military and political organization to which Montaigne often refers.

This paper aims at showing that, in early modern Europe, the East does not only act as a foil to the West but also exerts a disturbing influence of attraction. Montaigne's *Essais* precisely offer a meaningful account of both aspects.

Michel de Montaigne (1533–1592) ne s'est pas contenté de célébrer par la plume les vertus du voyage mais il s'est aussi aventuré hors de nos frontières, comme l'atteste son *Journal de voyage*, retrouvé près de deux siècles plus tard, dans un coffre de son château, par l'abbé Prunis. Si ses pas – ou plus exactement les sabots

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de son cheval – l'ont conduit jusqu'en Suisse, en Allemagne, en Autriche et surtout en Italie, pour y découvrir Venise (chère à La Boétie)[1] et Rome (dont il se targuera, dans un chapitre précisément intitulé "De la vanité," d'avoir été fait citoyen),[2] il aurait volontiers poussé plus loin, à en juger par une confidence de son secrétaire: "Je croy à la vérité que, s'il eust été seul avec les siens, il fust allé plutost à Cracovie ou vers la Grece par terre, que de prendre le tour vers l'Italie."[3] Nous voici déjà, compte tenu des limites indécises alors attribuées à l'Europe[4] et du déferlement difficilement contenu de la vague turque,[5] aux portes de l'Orient. Nous commencerons notre propre parcours par un repérage géographique des lieux mentionnés par Montaigne, en convoquant la toponymie même des *Essais* (1580–1595), puis nous porterons notre attention sur les rencontres contemporaines de l'Orient avec l'Occident, plus particulièrement sur la place accordée, dans les années qui suivent la bataille de Lépante (1571), à l'empire ottoman et à ses sultans.[6]

Partons des vues larges de la cosmographie, telles que les expose, à propos du mythe platonicien de l'Atlantide, le début du chapitre "Des Cannibales":

> jadis et avant le deluge, il y avoit une grande Isle nommée Atlantide, droict à la bouche du destroit de Gibaltar [sic], qui tenoit plus de païs que l'Afrique et l'Asie toutes deux ensemble: et que les Roys de cette contrée là, qui ne possedoient pas seulement cette Isle, mais s'estoyent estendus dans la terre ferme si avant, qu'ils tenoyent de la largeur

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1 "[. . .] s'il eust eu à choisir, il eust mieux aymé estre nay à Venise qu'à Sarlac; et avec raison" (*Les Essais*, livre I, chap. xxvii, éd. Jean Balsamo, Michel Magnien et Catherine Magnien-Simonin [du texte de 1595]. Bibliothèque de la Pléiade [Paris: Gallimard, 2007], 201—notre édition de référence).

2 Le texte latin de cette "bulle authentique de bourgeoisie Romaine" y est en effet diligemment retranscrit (III, ix, 1045–46 [voir note 1]).

3 *Journal de voyage*, éd. François Rigolot (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1992), 61. Le périple n'a-t-il pas débuté par une visite rendue à Meaux à Juste Terrelle, lequel avait "voyagé en Ægypte et Jerusalem et demeuré sept ans en Constantinople, qui luy monstra sa librairie et singularités de son jardin?" (ibid., 4) Mais Montaigne lui-même, tout Bordelais qu'il fut, "ne prit jamais la mer," comme le fait observer Fr. Lestringant (*Le Brésil de Montaigne. Le Nouveau Monde des* Essais *(1580–1592)*. Collection Magellane [Paris: Chandeigne, 2005], 11).

4 Sur la lente émergence de la notion même d'Europe, voir en particulier Jean Céard, "L'image de l'Europe dans la littérature cosmographique de la Renaissance," *La conscience européenne au XVe et au XVIe siècle. Actes du colloque international de l'École Normale Supérieure de Jeunes Filles (30 septembre–3 octobre 1980)*. Collection de l'ENSJF, 22 (Paris: ENSJF, 1982), 49–63.

5 "Au XVIe siècle," rappelle Jean Delumeau, "le monde ottoman commence aux rives de l'Adriatique et s'épanouit sur trois continents: de Buda à Bagdad, du Nil à la Crimée, étendant même son protectorat sur une grande partie de l'Afrique du Nord" (*La peur en Occident* [1978; Paris, Hachette/Pluriel, 1993], 342).

6 Cette étude—grâce en soit rendue au Professeur Albrecht Classen—nous offre l'opportunité de compléter et d'enrichir notre entrée "Orient" du *Dictionnaire Michel de Montaigne* (dir. Philippe Desan [Paris: Champion, 2004], 741–42).

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> d'Afrique, jusques en Ægypte, et de la longueur de l'Europe, jusques en la Toscane, entreprindrent d'enjamber jusques sur l'Asie, et subjuguer toutes les nations qui bordent la mer Mediterranée, jusques au golfe de la mer Majour [le Pont-Euxin, notre mer Noire]: et pour cet effect, traverserent les Espaignes, la Gaule, l'Italie jusques en la Grece.[7]

Dans cette litanie de toponymes, on relève une occurrence d'*Europe* (la seule de tous les *Essais*),[8] contre deux pour *Afrique* et deux pour *Asie*, laquelle se rencontrera encore à neuf reprises dans l'œuvre.[9] Mais ce dernier terme ne recouvre pas exactement la même réalité géographique qu'aujourd'hui. Quand Montaigne écrit que "[t]oute l'Asie se perdit et se consomma en guerres pour le macquerellage de Paris,"[10] il recourt non seulement à une métonymie (du pays pour ses habitants) mais encore à une hyperbole, assimilant, comme on le faisait souvent de son temps, la Troade et l'Asie mineure au continent tout entier.[11]

L'opposition structurante, qu' on relève six fois sous sa plume,[12] est celle de l'Orient (ou du Levant) avec l'Occident (ou le Ponant). Peu de place est concédée à l'Extrême-Orient: aucune mention du Japon (pourtant découvert par des navigateurs portugais en 1542–1543 et évangélisé par S. François Xavier de 1549 à 1551),[13] deux seulement de la Chine, tout aussi mal connue des Français et encore plus ou moins confondue avec le Cathay légendaire de Marco Polo. Absentes de l'édition originale des *Essais*, ces deux occurrences du toponyme n'apparaissent, l'une que dans le troisième livre de 1588, l'autre dans une addition portée en marge de l'Exemplaire de Bordeaux.

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7 I, xxx, 208–09 (voir note 1).

8 Il faut corriger ici Claude Blum, suivant qui Montaigne emploierait (à trois reprises) le terme de *Chrétienté*, "à l'exclusion d'Europe et d'Européens" ("Des *Essais* au *Journal de voyage*: espace humain et conscience européenne à la fin du XVIe siècle," *La conscience européenne au XVe et au XVIe siècle* [voir note 4], 23–33, ici 30). Sur "Montaigne et l'Europe," voir l'étude de Claude-Gilbert Dubois dans le *Bulletin de la Société des Amis de Montaigne*, 7e série, nos 27–28 (janvier–juin 1992): 93–110 (reprise dans *Essais sur Montaigne* [Caen: Paradigme, 1992], 117–44).

9 Pour le détail, voir la *Concordance* de Roy Leake. 2 vol. Travaux d'Humanisme et Renaissance, 187 (Genève: Droz, 1981). *Amérique* en revanche ne se rencontre pas dans les *Essais*.

10 II, xii, 498 (voir note 1).

11 Cf. "[l]es poëtes [. . .] ont mis, pour une pomme, la Grece et l'Asie à feu et à sang." (III, 10, 1064) De même l'Afrique (mentionnée quatorze fois) se borne-t-elle pour Montaigne à l'Afrique du Nord, au territoire de l'antique Carthage (voir Gilles Banderier, entrée "Afrique" du *Dictionnaire Montaigne* [cité note 6], 16).

12 En I, xxxi, 222; II, xii, 564, 605 et 607; III, viii, 970; et 11, 1078 (voir note 1).

13 Île "cognuë de peu de gens, ayant esté descouverte de nostre temps, à sçavoir, l'an M.D.L.," note Ortelius, dans son *Theatre de l'univers* (Anvers: Christophe Plantin, 1585), f. 84r°—même si Lucinge, traduisant Botero, prétend que les Anciens la connaissaient déjà (*Le Premier Loysir*, livre II, chap. 7, éd. Michael J. Heath. Textes littéraires français, 519 [Genève: Droz, 1999], 91). Voir Mitchiko Ishigami-Iagolnitzer, "Le Japon mouvementé du XVIe siècle," *Nouvelle Revue du Seizième Siècle* 16.1 (1998): 61–70 (section II, "Contacts avec le monde occidental," 66–68).

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La curiosité de Montaigne pour l'Empire du Milieu se manifeste en effet assez tardivement et par le truchement de l'Italie. En visite à Rome, en mars 1581, où on lui fait les honneurs de la bibliothèque Vaticane, il examine à loisir, entre autres pièces "remarquable[s],"

> un livre de Chine, le caractere sauvage, les feuilles de certaine matiere beaucoup plus tendre et pellucide [translucide] que nostre papier; et parce qu'elle ne peut souffrir la teinture de l'encre, il n'est escrit que d'un costé de la feuille, et les feuilles sont toutes doubles et pliées par le bout de dehors où elles se tiennent. Ils tiennent que c'est la membrane de quelque arbre.[14]

Le volume, figurant encore, quatre siècles plus tard, dans les collections pontificales, a pu être identifié: il s'agit du *Zizhi Tongjian*, une histoire de la Chine compilée au XIe siècle par l'érudit Seu-ma Kouang [Sīm Guāng] et résumée au siècle suivant sous le titre de *Sommaire du miroir historique*.[15] Sur l'Empire du Milieu lui-même, Montaigne fit son miel de l'*Historia de las cosas mas notables [. . .] del gran Reyno de la China*, dont le pape Grégoire XIII avait passé commande à l'augustinien espagnol Juan González de Mendoza et qui, parue à Rome en 1585, avait été bientôt traduite en italien. L'ouvrage lui fut probablement signalé par son beau-frère, Geoffroy de la Chassaigne, sieur de Pressac, que Juste-Joseph Scaliger avait invité à le tourner en français – une tâche dont s'acquitta finalement l'avocat parisien Luc de La Porte.[16]

Les quelques références des *Essais* à la Chine sont en effet très précisément empruntées à Mendoza. La première d'entre elles se rencontre dans le chapitre "Des Coches" de 1588, à propos de l'artillerie et de l'imprimerie, toujours topiquement associées l'une à l'autre à la Renaissance et dont l'Occident s'attribue indûment le mérite alors que, signale Montaigne, en réaction à la fois à l'européocentrisme et au manque de relativisme historique de ses contemporains, "d'autres hommes, un autre bout du monde à la Chine, en jouyssoit mille ans auparavant."[17] S'il avait sans doute encore en mémoire ce "livre de Chine" naguère

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14 *Journal de voyage* (voir note 3), 111–12.

15 Le codex conservé à la Vaticane (daté du milieu du XVIe siècle) en reproduit les chapitres 6 à 10, d'après Franca Caldari Bevilacqua, "Montaigne alla Biblioteca Vaticana," *Montaigne e l'Italia*, éd. Enea Balmas. Biblioteca del viaggio in Italia, 38 (Genève: Slatkine, 1991), 363–90, ici 373.

16 *Histoire du grand Royaume de la Chine* (Paris: Jérémie Périer, 1588), où il est aussi fait mention (1re partie, livre III, chap. xiii, 76r°), en regard de la manchette "Livres de la Chine où gardez," de ceux conservés "au jourd'huy à Romme en la Bibliotheque du Palais [du Vatican]." Voir Numa Broc, *La Géographie de la Renaissance 1420–1620* (Paris: Éd. du Comité des Travaux Historiques et Scientifiques, 1986), 155–56; et Jean Balsamo, "Les premières relations des missions de la Chine et leur réception française (1556–1608)," *Nouvelle Revue du Seizième Siècle*, 16, 1 (1998): 155–84, ici 176–77.

17 III, viii, 952 (voir note 1). Un "autre bout du monde" sera évoqué dans un ultime ajout au chapitre "Des prieres," à savoir l'île de Socotra, au large du Mozambique, dont les habitants se disent

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feuilleté à Rome, il avait très certainement lu dans Mendoza les deux chapitres consécutifs (I, iii, 15 et 16) de l'*Histoire*, "Comme l'invention de l'Artillerie a esté en usage en ce Royaume de la Chine, bien long temps devant qu'elle n'a esté en Europe" et "Comme l'art de l'Imprimerie est bien plus antique audit Royaume, qu'il n'est pas en nostre Europe."[18]

L'Exemplaire de Bordeaux et l'édition posthume de 1595 y ajoutent, dans "De l'Experience," une mention approbatrice du contrôle exercé par les représentants du prince sur les juges des diverses provinces, sanctionnés s'ils se sont mal comportés mais libéralement gratifiés de leurs loyaux services s'ils l'ont mérité (ici d'après le chapitre I, iii, 11, de l'*Histoire*, appelé à l'index par la vedette "Chinois avancent les bons, et punissent les mauvais").[19] Le marqueur spatial qui introduit cet exemple dans l'ultime chapitre des *Essais* y est surtout expansé par deux longues propositions relatives, où s'expriment à la fois l'admiration et le sage relativisme que cette lointaine et ancienne civilisation inspire à Montaigne: "En la Chine, duquel Royaume la police et les arts, sans commerce et cognoissance des nostres, surpassent nos exemples, en plusieurs parties d'excellence: et duquel l'histoire m'apprend, combien le monde est plus ample et plus divers, que ny les anciens, ny nous, ne penetrons [. . .]."[20] À l'aune de ce jugement,[21] les rares et brèves notations d'intérêt documentaire insérées tardivement dans les *Essais* apparaissent comme les pierres d'attente de développements anthropologiques restés à l'état d'ébauche.

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chrétiens mais ignorent tout de cette religion (I, lvi, 340 [voir note 1]). Sur ces "bouts du monde" (et autres lieux-frontières dans les *Essais*), voir Philippe Desan, "De la rivière de Dordogne aux rochers du Caucase: les limites du monde chez Montaigne," *Macrocosmo Microcosmo: scrivere e pensare il mondo nel Cinquecento tra Italia e Francia: atti del Convegno internazionale di studio, Verona, 23–25 maggio 2002*, éd. Rosanna Gorris. Gruppo di studio sul Cinquecento francese, 11 (Fasano: Schena, 2004), 165–74, ici 171.

18 Cf. Étienne Pasquier, *Les Recherches de la France*, livre IV, chap. 24, "Invention de l'Artillerie et Imprimerie" (éd. Marie-Madeleine Fragonard et François Roudaut. Textes de la Renaissance, 11 (Paris: Champion, 1996), t. 2, 969): "Au regard de l'imprimerie, si vous parlez à celuy qui a fait l'histoire du Royaume de la Chine, és Indes Orientales, il vous dira que de toute ancienneté l'imprimerie y estoit en usage, et long-temps auparavant qu'elle prist pied en l'Europe." L'invention de l'imprimerie avait déjà été attribuée aux Chinois trente ans plus tôt par Paul Jove, dans *l'Historia sui temporis*, sur une indication du jésuite portugais João de Barros (voir Jean Balsamo, "Les premières relations" [voir note 16]: 177, n. 56).

19 "[C]onseil direct au roi de France," commente G. Nakam (*Les* Essais *de Montaigne miroir et procès de leur temps* [Paris: Nizet, 1984], 412, n. 326).

20 III, xiii, 1118 (voir note 1).

21 Moins favorable sous la plume d'autres auteurs, comme chez le poète Jean-Baptiste Chassignet, lui aussi lecteur de Mendoza, et qui, dans un sonnet de son *Mespris du monde et consolation contre la mort*, paru deux ans après la mort de Montaigne, évoque "l'orgueil des arrogans Chi[d]nois" et "les felons Japponois" (éd. Hans Joachim Lope. Textes littéraires français, 137 [Genève: Droz, 1967], sonnet cxxxvi, 166, v. 6 et 7—cité par Jean Balsamo, "Les premières relations" [voir note 16]: 179).

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Les derniers états du texte incluent d'autres références à l'Extrême-Orient, non seulement une mention élogieuse de l'île de Ternate, dans l'archipel indonésien des Moluques, dont, au chapitre "Si le chef d'une place assiegée, doit sortir pour parlementer," Montaigne salue, d'après Lopes de Castanheda, la manière singulière d'y déclarer et livrer la guerre:

> Au Royaume de Ternate, parmy ces nations que si à pleine bouche nous appelons Barbares, la coustume porte, qu'ils n'entreprennent guerre sans l'avoir denoncée [déclarée]: y adjoustans ample declaration des moiens qu'ils ont à y emploier, quels, combien d'hommes, quelles munitions, quelles armes, offensives et defensives. Mais aussi cela faict, ils se donnent loy de se servir à leur guerre, sans reproche, de tout ce qui aide à vaincre[22];

mais encore deux autres notations relatives au royaume du Pegu, dans l'actuelle Birmanie, empruntées à "[u]n Venitien, qui s'y est tenu long temps, et qui ne fait que d'en venir,"[23] à savoir Gasparo Balbi, qui avait en effet séjourné près de dix ans en Asie et venait de publier un *Viaggio dell'Indie Orientali* (Venise 1590). Au fil de sa lecture, Montaigne note le singulier "usage de se vestir" de ces Orientaux, qui gardent toujours les pieds nus, et il introduit cet exemple dans le chapitre homonyme de ses *Essais*, immédiatement après les têtes constamment découvertes de Jules César (selon Suétone) et d'Hannibal (suivant Silius Italicus), avec lesquelles les pieds dénudés de ces exotiques Birmans viennent former un plaisant contraste. Sans le savoir, les uns et les autres ne font que suivre les préceptes du sage Platon, qui recommandait, dans *Les Lois*, de laisser les extrémités du corps humain en l'état voulu par la nature!

Plus loin dans le même récit de voyage, Montaigne relève l'injonction faite aux femmes du Pegu, d'aller bras et seins nus et de se couvrir la cuisse d'une étoffe si largement fendue qu'en marchant elles ne dissimulent rien de leur anatomie.[24] À l'ordre royal se substitue dans les *Essais* un discours rapporté au style indirect et

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22 I, v, 48 (voir note 1)—d'après Lopez de Castanheda traduit par Simon Goulart, *Histoire de Portugal* (Paris: Antoine Chuppin, 1581), livre XIV, chap. 16, 547 (corriger le numéro de livre dans l'édition de "La Pléiade" [voir note 1], 1338, n. 6, comme dans celle de la Pochothèque [Paris: LGF, 2001, 78, n. 5] et dans Villey-Saulnier [Paris: PUF, 1992, t. 3, 1225, n. sur p. 26, l. 1]). La variante manuscrite, portée dans les marges de l'Exemplaire de Bordeaux, souligne plus nettement l'usage, que s'autorisent dès lors les insulaires, de tout stratagème propre à leur assurer la victoire: "Mais cela faict aussi, si leurs ennemis ne cedent et viennent a accort, ils se donnent loy au pis faire et ne pensent pouvoir estre reprochés de trahison, de finesse et de tout moyen qui fut à vaincre (éd. Jean Balsamo et al. [voir note 1], apparat critique, 1338).

23 I, xxxv, "De l'usage de se vestir," 232 (voir note 1).

24 "[. . .] con una coscia coperta da una falda come un fazzuolo, ma spaccata di maniera, che mentre ella camina, si sventola, e lascia vedere tutta la coscia" (*Viaggio* [Venise: Camillo Borgominieri, 1590], 126v°—cité par Pierre Villey, *Les livres d'histoire moderne utilisés par Montaigne* [Paris: Hachette, 1908], 109).

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imputé aux dames de ce pays, avec, pour seule fin, de lui opposer une toute masculine réfutation:

> Et quoy que dient les femmes de ce grand royaume du Pegu, qui au dessous de la ceinture, n'ont à se couvrir qu'un drap fendu par le devant: et si estroit, que quelque cerimonieuse decence qu'elles y cerchent, à chasque pas on les void toutes; que c'est une invention trouvée aux fins d'attirer les hommes à elles, et les retirer des masles, à quoy cette nation est du tout abandonnée: il se pourroit dire, qu'elles y perdent plus qu'elles n'avancent [n'y gagnent]: et qu'une faim entiere, est plus aspre, que celle qu'on a rassasiée, au moins par les yeux.[25]

Plaisant plaidoyer d'un homme en faveur de ses semblables, en vue de les détourner de l'homosexualité, et surtout plaisante leçon dispensée aux femmes, au moyen d'une métaphore alimentaire, sur le moyen le plus sûr de mettre les mâles en appétit.

Ces dames du Pegu, enclines à laisser voir leurs *pudenda*, sont à rapprocher, dans une même strate tardive du texte, des jeunes filles indiennes réduites, pour trouver un mari, à "fai[re] montre de leurs parties matrimoniales"[26] devant le peuple assemblé tout exprès pour cela. Mais la source ici n'est plus moderne, Montaigne empruntant à Strabon, soit directement, soit par la médiation des *Geniales dies* d'Alexander ab Alexandro. L'immense territoire qui se déploie de l'Asie mineure aux Indes est en effet plus familier au lecteur humaniste, à qui il évoque le vaste théâtre où se déploya autrefois la geste d'Alexandre le Grand, finalement "arrivé à l'Ocean Indique."[27]

C'est là que le conquérant vainquit le roi Porus, atteint par les dards et javelots ennemis mais dont un éléphant les lui retirait de sa trompe, de manière aussi douce et indolore que possible;[28] qu'il soumit les Néorites (ou Orites), qui avaient pour rite funéraire de "jet[er] les corps des morts au plus profond de leurs bois, pour y estre mangez. Seule sepulture estimée entr'eux heureuse"[29]; qu'il rencontra

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25 III, v, "Sur des vers de Virgile," 902–03 (voir n. 1)—nous corrigeons dans le texte la coquille *quelques*.

26 III, iii, "De trois commerces," 866 (voir note 1).

27 II, xii, "Apologie de Raimond de Sebonde," 550 (voir note 1). L'histoire en est si glorieuse que même les Turcs, qui dédaignent toutes les autres, "reçoivent et honnorent la sienne seule par special privilege" (II, xxxvi, 793 —d'après Guillaume Postel, *Des histoires orientales* [Paris: Jérôme de Marnef et Guillaume Cavellat, 1575], 2de partie, 132). Sur Montaigne et Alexandre, on consultera en dernier lieu l'étude de Nicolas Lombart, "Vieillesse de l'écrivain, jeunesse du conquérant," *Figures d'Alexandre à la Renaissance*, éd. Corinne Jouanno [Turnhout: Brepols, 2012], 263–85 (où références).

28 II, xii, 485 (voir note 1)—d'après Plutarque, *Quels animaux sont les plus avisés*, traduction Jacques Amyot [Paris: Michel de Vascosan, 1572], 514G.

29 III, xii, "De la Physionomie," 1095 (voir note 1). Addition de l'Exemplaire de Bordeaux et de l'édition posthume—d'après Diodore de Sicile, XVII, cv, 2.

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les gymnosophistes, tels Dandamis, qui, à entendre raconter la vie de Socrate, Pythagore, Diogène, les estima avoir été trop respectueux des lois,[30] ou encore Calanus, offrant à toute l'armée d'Alexandre le spectacle d'une mort sereinement acceptée quand, après avoir joyeusement banqueté avec ses amis, il monta lui-même sur le bûcher "en telle resolution, que le feu y estant mis, on ne [le] vist mouvoir, ny pieds ny mains."[31]

Mais Montaigne met aussi à contribution des sources contemporaines, en particulier le *De rebus Emmanuelis regis Lusitaniæ* de Jerónimo Osório (salué au passage comme un "non mesprisable historien Latin, de noz siecles"),[32] dont il possédait un exemplaire, à présent conservé à la Bibliothèque Nationale de France,[33] et auquel il fait, après 1588, plusieurs emprunts.[34] On peut ainsi rapprocher de la mort de Calanus celle tout aussi spectaculaire, à dix-huit siècles de distance, du potentat indien Ninachetuen, qui, par crainte d'être déchu par les Portugais, fit préparer un grand échafaud, revêtit un costume passementé d'or et de pierreries et monta sur le bûcher, en prononçant publiquement contre l'ingratitude de ses maîtres de nobles et fortes paroles, restituées au moyen d'un long discours indirect, avant que Montaigne ne conclue le récit d'un laconique "Ce disant il se jetta dans le feu."[35]

Deux royaumes des Indes retiennent plus particulièrement l'attention, celui de Narsingue, sur le golfe du Bengale, et celui de Calicut, sur la côte de Malabar, l'un et l'autre mentionnés deux fois. Dans le premier, Montaigne est fasciné par l'espèce d'émulation dans la mort qui se fait jour parmi les habitants, comme le traduit la gradation imprimée à la séquence descriptive: les femmes des prêtres sont enterrées vives avec leurs défunts maris, les autres veuves brûlées aux funérailles de leurs époux, toutes "non constamment [avec constance] seulement,

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30 III, i, "De l'utile et de l'honeste," 836 (voir note 1)—d'après Plutarque, *Vie d'Alexandre le Grand*, traduction Amyot, ch. cviii, éd. Gérard Walter. Bibliothèque de la Pléiade (Paris: Gallimard, 1951), t. 2, 401.

31 II, xxix, "De la vertu," 744 (voir note 1)—d'après Plutarque, *Vie d'Alexandre le Grand*, trad. Amyot, ch. cxiii, éd. G. Walter (voir note 30), 405.

32 I, xl, "Que le goust des biens et des maux despend en bonne partie de l'opinion que nous en avons," 262 (voir note 1).

33 Cet exemplaire de l'édition publiée à Cologne, chez les héritiers d'Arnold Birckmann, en 1574 (six ans avant la traduction française de Simon Goulart) et revêtu de l'ex-libris de Montaigne fait partie des quatre-vingt-dix-neuf volumes de sa bibliothèque répertoriés par Gilbert de Botton et Francis Pottiée-Sperry ("À la recherche de la 'librairie' de Montaigne," *Bulletin du Bibliophile* 2 (1997): 254–97, ici 290, no. 67).

34 Pour le détail, voir Pierre Villey, *Les livres d'histoire moderne* (voir note 24), 97–105. On corrigera la localisation indienne généralement proposée pour les toponymes *Tamly* [Tanli] *et Xiatine* [Xiatime], dans l'"Apologie de Raimond de Sebonde" (II, xii, 500 [voir note 1]), alors que l'épisode relaté se situe au Maroc.

35 II, iii, "Coustume de l'Isle de Cea," 377 (voir note 1). L'histoire rapportée par Osório se passe en fait à Malac[c]a, en Malaisie.

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mais gaiement;" quand c'est le roi qui vient à disparaître, l'accompagnent dans les flammes du bûcher "ses femmes et concubines, ses mignons et tous ses officiers et serviteurs, qui font un peuple."[36] Au chapitre "Couardise mere de la cruauté," c'est en plein milieu d'un développement sur le duel que ressurgissent ces Orientaux, après que Montaigne vient de démontrer que tuer son adversaire en champ clos, au lieu de lui faire simplement crier grâce, est marque, non de courage, mais de lâcheté. Il enfonce le clou dans une ultime addition, où il apostrophe directement le lecteur: "Ce n'est pas contre luy, c'est pour toy, que tu t'en deffais. Au Royaume de Narsingue cet expedient nous demoureroit inutile." Et Montaigne d'expliquer que là-bas non seulement le duel n'est pas l'apanage des gentilshommes mais qu'encore le roi en personne assiste aux combats et gratifie le vainqueur d'une chaîne d'or, que n'importe qui, dès lors, peut venir lui disputer en le défiant à son tour: "Et pour s'estre desfaict d'un combat, il en a plusieurs sur les bras."[37] Ce périlleux trophée, s'il était introduit en France, dissuaderait peut-être plus efficacement nos gentilshommes de s'entretuer que les ordonnances successives contre le duel promulguées par l'autorité royale.

À cette noblesse française, par trop regardante sur ses quartiers et chatouilleuse sur son honneur, les habitants du second royaume indien offrent un autre contre-exemple à méditer:

> Ceux de Callicut font des nobles, une espece par-dessus l'humaine. [. . .] c'est un crime capital et irremissible, de s'accoupler à personne d'autre condition que la leur. Et se tiennent pollus, s'ils en sont simplement touchez en passant: et, comme leur noblesse en estant merveilleusement injuriée et interessée, tuent ceux qui seulement ont approché un peu trop près d'eux. De manière que les ignobles sont tenus de crier en marchant, comme les Gondoliers de Venise, au contour des rues, pour ne s'entreheurter: et les nobles, leur commandent de se jetter au quartier [du côté] qu'ils veulent. Ceux cy evitent par là, cette ignominie, qu'ils estiment perpetuelle; ceux là une mort certaine.[38]

Montaigne démarque ici de près la traduction d'Osório par Simon Goulart, qui place en regard de ce développement la manchette "Privileges estranges et infames de la noblesse de Calecut."[39] Mais la phrase introductive, à forte charge ironique, est de son cru, comme l'est la comparaison toute personnelle avec les gondoliers vénitiens, souvenir du voyage en Italie,[40] qui prêterait à sourire si

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36 I, xl, "Que le goust des biens et des maux [. . .]," 260–61 (voir note 1). Cf. II, xxix, "De la vertu," 743–44.

37 II, xxvii, 730 (voir note 1).

38 III, v, 893 (voir note 1).

39 *Histoire de Portugal* (Paris: Antoine Chuppin, 1581), livre II, chap. ii, 44 (manchette formant une des entrées de l'"Indice des noms et matieres principales").

40 *Journal de voyage*, éd. François Rigolot (voir note 3), 69.

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l'avertissement lancé à la cantonade n'était ici une question de vie ou de mort. Dans le chapitre "De la vanité," quand Montaigne explique pourquoi il est plus gratifiant de donner que de recevoir, il appelle aussi à témoin cet empereur de Calicut qui refusa avec indignation les présents de Soliman le Magnifique, en arguant que "ny luy ny ses predecesseurs n'avoient accoustumé de prendre: et que c'estoit leur office de donner."[41]

Accepter ces présents (à savoir, "une longue robbe, des chausses et un bonnet de drap d'or")[42] aurait signifié en effet agréer l'alliance turque et, en se faisant son obligé, se placer sous la coupe du Grand Seigneur dont, d'un même mouvement, l'empereur de Calicut fit embastiller les émissaires. C'était opposer à Soliman le même refus que celui, mentionné juste auparavant, qu'opposa son propre prédécesseur Bajazet au conquérant tartare Tamerlan[43] quand ce dernier le gratifia de semblables libéralités pour obtenir son allégeance. Mais Montaigne se contente de résumer ce premier discours en le qualifiant d'"injurieux et querelleux,"[44] sans faire directement entendre les protestations indignées que Chalcondyle, traduit par Blaise de Vigenère, avait mises dans la bouche du sultan.[45] Comme l'avait déjà consigné Érasme dans un adage célèbre (I, iii, 35), *Hostium munera non munera*, les présents des ennemis ne sont pas, à proprement parler, des présents.

De Tamerlan et de Bajazet il est encore question à deux reprises dans les *Essais*, pour relever les prétendues erreurs commises par le second quand son empire fut envahi par le premier: avant la bataille, d'avoir cru, contre l'avis de ses généraux mais non sans une certaine pertinence stratégique, aux yeux de Montaigne, que les hordes tartares, de loin supérieures à ses propres effectifs, seraient gênées par leur masse même et se nuiraient les unes aux autres[46]; après la bataille, d'avoir

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41 III, ix, 1014 (voir note 1).

42 *Histoire de Portugal* (voir note 21), livre XIX (traduit du latin de Damien de Goes), chap. vi, 722–23. Le "trespuissant et invicible Empereur des Turcs" au nom de qui cette offre est faite en 1538, avant la (seconde) bataille de Diu, est bien Soliman le Magnifique, et non "Soliman, roi de Calicut," comme l'enregistre l'index de l'édition de "La Pléiade" (voir note 1), 1964, col. 2.

43 Que Montaigne nomme ici Temir, ailleurs Tamburlan, conformément à l'onomastique du *De origine et rebus gestis Turcorum* de Laonicus Chalcondyle lu dans la traduction de Blaise de Vigenère (Paris: Nicolas Chesneau, 1577). Cf. la mise au point d'André Thevet sur le " [n]om de Tamerlan" (manchette) dans *Les vrais pourtraits et vies des hommes illustres* (Paris : Veuve de Jacques Kerver et Guillaume Chaudière, 1584], t. 2, livre VIII, chap. 138, 633v°.

44 III, ix, 1014 (voir note 1).

45 "[. . .] vous luy direz de ma part [à Tamerlan], que desormais il ne se mette plus ces follies en la teste, de vouloir faire de tels presens à celuy qui est d'autre estoffe et calibre qu'il n'est, et qui le precede de tous poincts en noblesse, et ancienneté de race, et en richesses et puissance avec" (*Histoire de la décadence de l'Empire grec* [voir note 42], livre II, chap. xii, 137 –cité par Pierre Villey, *Les livres d'histoire moderne* [voir note 24], 121).

46 II, xxxiv, "Observation sur les moyens de faire la guerre, de Julius Cæsar," 778 (voir note 1)—d'après Chalcondyle-Vigenère, *Histoire* (voir note 42), III, xi, 201 (cité par Pierre Villey, *Les livres d'histoire moderne* [voir note 24], 120). Ce choix singulier mais pertinent, qui fut d'abord celui

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imprudemment confié son sort à une jument arabe, qu'il laissa boire au passage d'un ruisseau et à qui il aurait ainsi tellement fait perdre de vigueur que ses poursuivants eurent tôt fait de le rejoindre[47] – ce qui ne laisse pas, dans un chapitre consacré précisément aux "destriers," de susciter l'étonnement d'un cavalier aussi expérimenté que Montaigne: "On dit bien qu'on les lasche, les laissant pisser: mais le boire, j'eusse plustost estimé qu'il l'eust renforcée."[48]

Il abandonne ensuite le sultan ottoman à son triste sort, sans s'appesantir ici ou ailleurs, à la différence par exemple d'un Jean Bodin, sur le traitement infamant réservé à Bajazet, que Tamerlan aurait fait enfermer dans une cage.[49] Encore que certaines périphrases puissent aussi référer à lui, par exemple quand il est question de ce Grand Seigneur "qui n'alloit jamais aux champs, à moins de sept mille fauconniers"[50] – plaisamment rapprochés des trois cents concubines du sérail; ou de ce mystérieux "General d'armée, grand justicier,"[51] qui, sans autre forme de procès, fit ouvrir le ventre d'un soldat qu'une pauvre femme accusait d'avoir consommé la bouillie de ses petits enfants.[52] Dénommé l'Amorabaquin ["fils du prince"] par Froissart, qui rapporte un fait dont Jean sans Peur, vaincu à Nicopolis en 1396 et alors prisonnier du Grand Seigneur, aurait été le témoin,[53] ce

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des Gaulois à Alésia devant César, reçoit, dans l'ultime état du texte, la triple caution de Cyrus (dans Xénophon), de Bajazet et de Scanderbeg.

47 I, xlviii, 315 (voir note 1)—d'après Chalcondyle-Vigenère, *Histoire* (voir note 42), III, xii, 207 (cité par Pierre Villey, *Les livres d'histoire moderne* [voir note 24], 115–16). *Cf.* Thevet, *Vrais pourtraits* (voir note 42), 632v°.

48 I, xlviii, ibid. Dans le même chapitre, il s'amuse à relativiser la hiérarchie occidentale des moyens de transport en lui opposant, sur la foi d'Arrien, le chroniqueur d'Alexandre, celle, tout opposée, des Orientaux: "Aux Indes de deçà, c'estoit anciennement le principal et royal honneur de chevaucher un elephant, le second d'aller en coche, trainé à quatre chevaux, le tiers de monter un chameau, le dernier et plus vil degré, d'estre porté ou charrié par un cheval seul." (314)

49 "Et après avoir tué et mis en route trois cent mille Turcs, il fit mourir le tyran enchaîné en une cage" (*La République*, II, v, "S'il est licite d'attenter à la personne du tyran [. . .]," éd. Gérard Mairet [Paris: Le Livre de Poche, 1993], 223), après qu'il lui eut servi de marchepied (René de Lucinge, *De la naissance, duree et cheute des estats*, éd. Michael J. Heath. Textes littéraires français, 325 [Genève: Droz, 1984], livre I, chap. 1, 46; et Thevet, *Vrais pourtraits* [voir note 43], 633ro). Cf. Vincent Fourniau, "Quelques aspects du thème timouride dans la culture française du XVIe au XIXe siècle," *Oriente moderno*, nouvelle série, 15.2 (1996): 283–304, ici 287 [au bas de la même page, fin de la n. 4, on corrigera en 1580 la date de première édition des *Essais*].

50 I, xlii, "De l'inegualité qui est entre nous," 286 (voir note 1)—d'après Chalcondyle-Vigenère, *Histoire* (voir note 43), III, xiii, 209 (cité par P. Villey, *Les livres d'histoire moderne* [voir note 24], 115). Mais l'information se trouve déjà dans Froissart ("Pour ce temps l'Amorabaquin avoit bien sept mille fauconniers pour son corps, et autant de veneurs," *Histoire et cronique*, éd. Denis Sauvage [Lyon: Jean de Tournes, 1559–1561], vol. 4, chap. 87, 281).

51 II, v, "De la conscience," 388 (voir note 1).

52 De même Mahomet II, à en croire Matteo Bandello traduit par François de Belleforest, ordonna-t-il qu'on ouvrît le ventre à des enfants du sérail suspectés d'avoir volé une pomme de cèdre (*Histoires tragiques* [Turin: César Farine, 1569], III, xv, 404v°–405r°).

53 *Histoire et cronique*, éd. citée (voir note 50), vol. 4, chap. 87, 281–82.

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personnage est désigné par Henri Estienne, dans l'*Apologie pour Hérodote*, comme le "roi de Turquie Bajazet."[54] Mais peu importe à Montaigne de quel sultan au juste il s'agit,[55] ni "d'où [il] tien[t] ce conte,"[56] le juge expéditif qu'il met en scène instruit le procès et prononce la condamnation d'un même mouvement, en préambule au développement sur la stricte discipline des armées turques qui sera aussi ajouté au chapitre "De la Physionomie."[57]

Les *Essais* font défiler à peu près tous "[l]es Princes de la race Hottomane,"[58] c'est-à-dire les descendants d'Osman, fondateur de la dynastie, depuis Amurat (ou Mourad), à la fin du XIVe siècle, jusqu'à Amurat III, le sultan contemporain de la rédaction des *Essais*, en passant par Bajazet, Mahomet (ou Mehmet), Amurat II, Mahomet II, Bajazet II, Sélim et Soliman le Magnifique.[59] Si le premier Amurat se vengea cruellement d'une rébellion de son fils en exigeant que ses complices périssent de la main même de leurs pères, ce à quoi se refusèrent quelques-uns d'entre eux, avec la pleine approbation de Montaigne,[60] c'est au contraire par piété

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54 Éd. Bénédicte Boudou. Textes littéraires français, 591 [Genève: Droz, 2007], chap. 17, 452. Mais Froissart lui-même se réfère par endroits au "Roy Basant" (*Histoire et cronique* [voir note 50], chap. 67, 218) ou "Basaac" (chap. 87, 280).

55 Un lecteur du XVIIe siècle, Charles de La Mure, petit-neveu du géographe Antoine Mathé de Laval, notera en marge de l'exemplaire des *Essais* hérité de son grand-oncle: "J'ay leu que c'estoit de Solyman" (d'après Jean Balsamo, éd. citée [voir note 1], 1519, n. 1 sur p. 388); tandis que Charles Sorel, dans l'*Histoire comique de Francion*, alléguera Tamerlan (éd. Fausta Garavini. Collection Folio [Paris: Gallimard, 1996], livre III, 179). Sur cette "macabre parodie" du jugement de Salomon, voir Stéphan Geonget, *La notion de perplexité à la Renaissance*. Travaux d'Humanisme et Renaissance, 412 (Genève: Droz, 2006), 130–32.

56 II, v, 387 (voir note 1).

57 "Car les offenses ou larrecins sur le menu peuple, qui se punissent de bastonades en la paix, sont capitales [punies de mort] en la guerre. Pour un œuf prins sans payer, ce sont de conte prefix, cinquante coups de baston. Pour toute autre chose, tant legere soit elle, non necessaire à la nourriture, on les empale, ou decapite sans deport [délai]" (III, xii, 1088–89 [voir note 1]—d'après Postel, *Des histoires orientales* [voir note 27], 3e partie, 316 (cité par Pierre Villey, *Les livres d'histoire moderne* [voir note 24], 125). Sur cette "bonne discipline des Turcs," voir Geoffroy Atkinson, *Les nouveaux horizons de la Renaissance française* (Paris: Droz, 1935), 367–68.

58 II, xxi, "Contre la faineantise," 715 (voir note 1). Sur l'intérêt porté aux grands sultans ottomans, voir Elaine Limbrick, "Montaigne et l'histoire de Turquie," *Montaigne et l'histoire. Actes du colloque international de Bordeaux (29 septembre–1er octobre 1988)*, éd. Claude-Gilbert Dubois (Paris: Klincksieck, 1991), 161–70, ici 166–69.

59 Aucune occurrence de *sultan* dans les *Essais*, contre quatre en revanche du terme *grand Seigneur*, appartenant toutes à la couche la plus tardive du texte et appelées par des emprunts à Postel (I, xlii, 286, et III, iii, 868), à Lucinge (I, xlviii, 310) et à Chalcondyle-Vigenère (II, xxii, 719 [voir note 1]).

60 III, i, "De l'utile et de l'honeste," 839 (voir note 1)—d'après Chalcondyle-Vigenère, *Histoire* (voir note 43), I, x, 59 (cité par Pierre Villey, *Les livres d'histoire moderne* [voir note 24], 120–21). On corrigera *ad loc.* la n. 4 des éditeurs: on lit bien, dans la traduction de Vigenère, "aux peres [. . .], et en defaut d'eux, aux autres parens les plus proches."

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filiale que son successeur Amurat II, après s'être emparé de l'isthme de Corinthe, fit périr non moins de six cents jeunes Grecs, en croyant laver de leur sang les péchés de son père Mahomet.[61] Dans l'autre anecdote qui le met en scène (toujours à la faveur d'une ultime addition) à la seconde bataille de Kosovo (1448), il sert surtout de faire-valoir à un jeune Turc qui vient de se couvrir de gloire devant l'ennemi et qui lui répond avoir été naguère instruit, à la chasse, par l'exemple d'un lièvre, que ses flèches, pas plus que ses chiens, ne parvenaient à atteindre: "[j'] apprins par là, qu'il avoit esté couvert par sa destinée: et que, ny les traits, ny les glaives ne portent, que par le congé de nostre fatalité, laquelle il n'est en nous de reculer n'y [ni] d'avancer."[62]

On reconnaît là, après le motif de la cruauté, un autre "lieu" du discours renaissant sur les Turcs, leur fatalisme[63] ou, pour parler comme Montaigne, la certitude "de la fatale et imployable prescription de leurs jours,"[64] qui fait d'eux, sur le champ de bataille, des adversaires redoutables et quasi invincibles. Ils sont comparables à un autre peuple levantin mentionné, plus haut dans le même chapitre, dès l'édition originale de 1580, ces Bédouins auxquels eut affaire Saint Louis, au témoignage de son chroniqueur Joinville, si sûrs de leur Dieu et de leur destin déjà scellé, qu'ils marchaient pratiquement nus au combat, armés seulement d'un glaive, au point d'inspirer à Montaigne une réflexion troublée – et troublante – sur sa propre religion: "Voylà bien autre preuve de creance, et de foy, que la nostre."[65]

Le seul chapitre "Contre la faineantise," en son dernier état, réunit trois sultans ottomans, pour opposer à la vaillance guerrière de Sélim la funeste inappétence

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61 I, xxix, "De la Moderation," 207 (voir note 1)—d'après Chalcondyle-Vigenère, *Histoire* (voir note 43), VII, iv, 457 (cité par Pierre Villey, *Les livres d'histoire moderne* [voir note 24], 115).

62 II, xxix, "De la vertu," 746 (voir note 1)—d'après Chalcondyle-Vigenère, *Histoire* (voir note 43), VII, viii, 473–74 (cité par Pierre Villey, *Les livres d'histoire moderne* [voir note 24], 118–19). *Cf.* Jean de Léry, *Histoire d'un voyage faict en la terre du Bresil*, éd. Frank Lestringant. Bibliothèque classique (Paris: Le Livre de Poche, 1994) Appendice I, chap. XVbis, 572.

63 Exprimé par ce proverbe turc que transpose en latin Barthélemy Georgiewitz: "Quicquid die natiuitatis uniuscuiusuis Fortuna Dea capiti inscripsit, id euitare impossibile erit, etiamsi latitauerit in arce expugnabili" (*De Turcarum moribus epitome* [Lyon: Jean de Tournes, 1553], 46 — cité par Michael J. Heath, *Crusading Commonplaces*. Travaux d'Humanisme et Renaissance, 209 [Genève: Droz, 1986], 70).

64 II, xxix, "De la vertu," 746 (voir note 1)—d'après "[l]eurs historiens," c'est-à-dire à nouveau Chalcondyle-Vigenère, *Histoire* (voir note 43), VII, viii, 475, en regard de la manchette "Ruse en la loy Turquesque, pour les rendre plus hardis" (cité par Pierre Villey, *Les livres d'histoire moderne* [voir note 24], 119–20). Sur "[l'] opinion que les Turcs ont, que Dieu a escrit sur le front de tous les hommes, et le temps, et la façon de leur mort," voir aussi le témoignage contemporain de l'ambassadeur Ogier Ghislain de Busbecq, cité par Reginald A. Dalle, "La connaissance des Turcs chez Montaigne," *Bulletin de la Société des Amis de Montaigne*, 5e série, nos 27–28 (juillet–décembre 1978): 89–92, ici 91.

65 II, xxix, 745–46 (voir note 1).

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pour la guerre de ses successeurs Bajazet II et Amurat III. Non seulement Montaigne souscrit à une forte pensée de Sélim, reprise cette fois à René de Lucinge,[66] sur les victoires qui ne méritent pleinement ce nom que quand elles se remportent sous la conduite du prince en personne mais il renchérit encore sur le Turc en lui prêtant sa propre voix ("Et Selym premier disoit avec raison, ce me semble [. . .]. De tant plus volontiers eust-il dit [. . .].)"[67] Les deux autres en revanche, en préférant le silence de l'étude à la clameur des combats, ont précipité leur empire sur la pente du déclin. La référence précise (et la seule de tous les *Essais*) à "celuy qui regne à present, Ammurath troisiesme"[68] pouvait même suggérer au lecteur du temps un rapprochement avec le roi de France Henri III, qui, féru de grammaire, apprenait alors à "décliner," suivant l'ironique jeu de mots complaisamment rapporté par Pierre de l'Estoile.[69]

Deux sultans ottomans retiennent plus particulièrement l'attention de Montaigne: Mahomet II et Soliman le Magnifique. Le premier (mentionné à cinq reprises),[70] "celuy qui subjugua Constantinople, et apporta la finale extermination du nom Grec"[71] en mettant définitivement fin à l'empire byzantin, offre l'exemple intrigant d'un homme également partagé entre le plaisir amoureux et l'ivresse des combats, "pareillement indefatigable ruffien, et soldat,"[72] même si la prédominance de l'instinct guerrier se trouva finalement battue en brèche par l'âge. Mais

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66 *De la naissance, duree et cheute des estats*, éd. Michael J. Heath (voir note 49), 147 (Lucinge reprenant lui-même ce mot au *Rerum Turcicarum commentarius* de Paul Jove).

67 II, xxi, 715 (voir note 1). Le même Sélim n'en fut pas moins "le plus cruel conquerant qui fut onques" (III, xii, "De la Physionomie," 1089).

68 "[P]lus philosophe que soldat, ne se trouvant en ses armees" (François de la Noue, *Discours politiques et militaires*, éd. Frank Edmund Sutcliffe. Textes littéraires français, 132 [Genève: Droz, 1967], Disc. xxii, 469–70); "beaucoup retiré des actions guerrieres et [. . .] adonné à l'aise et au repos" (Lucinge, *De la naissance [. . .]* [voir note 49], 246); "Deses enim atque ignauus inter muliercularum greges iacet; nec quidquam suo consilio agit, sed peruersorum ministrorum consiliis, quibus plurima peruertuntur, summam rerum ac seipsum etiam committit" (Henri Estienne, *Orationes II aduersus librum Uberti Folietæ de magnitudine [. . .] imperii Turcici* [Francfort: Wechel, 1594], 136—cité par Michael J. Heath, *Crusading Commonplaces*, Travaux d'Humanisme et Renaissance, 209 [Genève: Droz, 1986], 72).

69 "Novembre [1575]. Se fait lire la grammaire et apprend à décliner." (*Registre-journal du règne de Henri III*, t. I [1574–1575], éd. Madeleine Lazard et Gilbert Schrenck. Textes littéraires français, 420 [Genève: Droz, 1992], 207, suivi des vers satiriques "Grammaticæ studet Henricus, declinat et ille: / Externa regna habuit, vix sua regna tenet.") Sur cette opposition des armes et des lettres, voir James Supple, *Arms Versus Letters. The Military and Literary Ideals in the* Essais *of Montaigne* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1984), chap. 3, 62–105.

70 On corrigera ici l'index de notre édition de référence (voir note 1), qui répertorie, p. 1951, sept renvois à Mahomet II mais dont il faut retrancher la référence aux pages 409–10, relative (en II, viii, "De l'affection des peres aux enfants") à "Mahomet," père du bey de Tunis Muley-Hassan, c'est-à-dire Muley-Mohamed (objet, par ailleurs, d'une autre entrée).

71 II, xxxiii, "L'histoire de Spurina," 766 (voir note 1).

72 II, xxxiii, ibid.

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c'est le raffinement dans la cruauté qui, une nouvelle fois, caractérise l'exercice oriental du pouvoir: cruauté de celui qui se débarrasse, besogne faite, de l'exécuteur de ses basses œuvres, en l'occurrence du serviteur qui a fait disparaître un demi-frère encombrant et qu'il livre ensuite à la terrible et implacable vengeance de la propre mère de la victime[73]; raffinement sadique du supplice infligé, à en croire encore Chalcondyle, aux condamnés à mort, consistant à

> faire trancher les hommes en deux parts, par le faux [milieu] du corps, à l'endroit du diaphragme, et d'un seul coup de simeterre: d'où il arrivoit, qu'ils mourussent comme de deux morts à la fois: et voyoit-on, dit-il, l'une et l'autre part pleine de vie, se demener long temps après pressée de tourment.[74]

À quoi Montaigne, en alléguant cette fois *l'Histoire de Scanderbeg* de Jacques de Lavardin, oppose une mise à mort plus atroce encore, moins spectaculaire mais plus insupportablement longue, celle que le même sultan fit subir à des gentils hommes épirotes, "qu'il [. . .] feit escorcher par le menu, d'une dispensation si malicieusement [sadiquement] ordonnée, que leur vie dura quinze jours à cette angoisse [ce supplice]."[75] Est-on parvenu au *summum* de l'horreur? Même pas, puisque Montaigne nous gratifie, pour clore le chapitre, de deux autres scènes d'exécution insoutenables: l'une, comparable à la précédente, nous fait remonter au règne de Crésus, tandis que l'autre se situe en Pologne, pendant la guerre des paysans, au cours de laquelle un frère fut contraint de boire le sang de son propre frère, que dévorèrent bientôt vivant ses autres compagnons affamés. Si les Turcs sont un peuple cruel,[76] les chrétiens, dans leurs luttes fratricides, n'ont malheureusement rien à leur envier. À barbare, barbare et demi!

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73 "[. . .] elle, en sa presence, ouvrit à ce meurtrier l'estomach: et tout chaudement de ses mains, fouillant et arrachant son cœur, le jetta manger aux chiens » (III, i, "De l'utile et de l'honeste," 838–39 [voir note 1], d'après Chalcondyle-Vigenère, *Histoire* [voir note 43], VII, xi, 495, et Jacques de Lavardin, *Histoire de Georges Castriot, nommé Scanderbeg* [Paris: Guillaume Chaudière, 1576], livre VII, 253v°—cités par Pierre Villey, *Les livres d'histoire moderne* (voir note 24), 131; cf. Bandello-Belleforest, *Histoires tragiques* [voir note 52], III, xv, 390v°–395v°). Lucinge consacre un chapitre entier de *De la naissance, duree et cheute des estats* au vide fait autour de lui par tout nouveau sultan ("Comme le Grand Turc retranche le pouvoir des seigneurs de son estat," livre II, chap. 6), en alléguant le mot d'excuse de Sélim que "c'estoit le mesme jeu et traictement qu'il eust receu, si autre que luy fut parvenu à la couronne," (éd. Michael J. Heath [voir note 49], 190). Sur cette "loi du fratricide," voir Nicolas Vatin et Gilles Veinstein, *Le sérail ébranlé. Essai sur les morts, dépositions et avènements des sultans ottomans XIVe–XIXe siècle* (Paris: Fayard, 2003), 149–57.

74 II, xxvii, "Couardise mere de la cruauté," 737 (voir note 1)—d'après Chalcondyle-Vigenère, *Histoire* (voir note 43), X, ii, 687 (cité par Pierre Villey, *Les livres d'histoire moderne* [voir note 24], 117–18). Cf. Léry, *Histoire d'un voyage*, éd. Frank Lestringant (voir note 62), Annexes, chap. XVbis, 573–74.

75 II, xxvii, 737–38 (voir note 1). Le texte-source de Lavardin ([voir note 73], livre XI, 446r°–v°) est reproduit par Pierre Villey, *Les livres d'histoire moderne* (voir note 24), 130.

76 Sur la cruauté proverbiale des Turcs, voir l'adage 3885 d'Érasme, *Scytha malus* ("[. . .] quemadmodum hodie crudelem hominem appellamus Turcam et immane facinus Turcicum.")

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En regard, la présence dans les *Essais* de Soliman, réduite à trois mentions, s'affirme plus discrète sinon plus terne, comme si Montaigne prenait ses distances avec l'image relativement positive dont jouit alors, pour son équité et sa clémence, le Magnifique.[77] Elle n'en invite pas moins à une intéressante réflexion d'ordre politique. Outre les présents offerts à l'empereur de Calicut, déjà signalés, Montaigne, lecteur de Lucinge,[78] relève deux comportements singuliers du sultan. D'abord dans le chapitre "De la presumption," où il s'étonne que pendant une campagne menée en Italie, Soliman, pourtant d'une "race peu soigneuse [soucieuse] de l'observance des promesses et paches [pactes],"[79] tienne parole envers Mercurio da Gattinara et les siens, qui, ayant capitulé contre la promesse d'être laissés en liberté, s'étaient finalement retrouvés en prison.

Là où, chez Lucinge, Soliman justifiait cet ordre d'élargissement en arguant que "ce n'estoient les moyens qu'il failloit praticquer pour gaigner le cueur et la volonté des nations estrangeres, que de desloyaument fausser sa parole quand elle a esté une fois promise,"[80] il tient chez Montaigne un discours sensiblement différent: "ayant en main d'autres grandes entreprises en ceste contrée là, ceste deloyauté, quoy qu'elle eust apparence d'utilité presente, luy apporteroit pour l'advenir, un descri [une mauvaise réputation] et une deffiance d'infini prejudice."[81] Au terme d'un développement anti-machiavélien tardivement introduit dans les *Essais*, l'exemple de Soliman ne traduit nul souci de *fides*, de respect de la parole donnée, mais met à nu les froides arrière-pensées d'un cynique calcul politique.[82]

Il en va de même, quelques chapitres plus loin, dans "De la grandeur Romaine" où, après avoir rappelé, en alléguant notamment Tacite, comment celle-ci reposait en partie sur la restitution de leurs domaines aux rois vaincus, pour en faire les dociles créatures du vainqueur, Montaigne ajoute un ultime paragraphe consacré

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77 Voir Frank Lestringant, "La monarchie française au miroir ottoman: le portrait de Soliman le Magnifique, de Charles IX à Henri III," *Soliman le Magnifique et son temps. Actes du colloque de Paris (Galeries nationales du Grand-Palais, 7–10 mars 1990)*, éd. Gilles Veinstein [Paris: La Documentation française, 1992], 51–68; et l'entrée "Soliman II" [par Robin Beuchat] du *Dictionnaire Montaigne* (voir note 6), 1083–84.

78 Voir Michael J. Heath, "Montaigne, Lucinge, and the *Tesoro politico*," *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance* 65.1 (1983): 131–35.

79 II, xvii, 687 (voir note 1). Lucinge, dans le texte-source, compte les prédécesseurs de Soliman, Amurat II, Mahomet II, Bajazet II, et son successeur Sélim II au nombre des "plus cauteleux princes de leur estoc" mais leur oppose le Magnifique, "estimé le plus sage prince d'entre tous les Ottomans" (*De la naissance [. . .]*, livre I, chap. 7, éd. Michael J. Heath [voir note 49], 90 et 92).

80 *De la naissance [. . .]* (voir note 49), 92.

81 II, xvii, 687 (voir note 1).

82 Voir J. Balsamo, "*L'Histoire des Turcs* à l'épreuve des *Essais*," *Histoire et littérature au siècle de Montaigne [Mélanges Claude-Gilbert Dubois]*, éd. Françoise Argod-Dutard. Cahiers d'Humanisme et Renaissance, 60 (Genève: Droz, 2001), 221–36, ici 231.

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à Soliman, pour opposer ce vrai et unique mobile à celui que le sultan avait coutume de mettre en avant, à savoir "qu'il estoit saoul et chargé, de tant de Monarchies et de domination, que sa vertu, ou celle de ses ancestres, luy avoient acquis."[83] Décrypté à l'aide de l'histoire romaine et de la philosophie politique de Machiavel,[84] l'empire ottoman perdait de son insondable mystère et, débarrassé des oripeaux du mythe, devenait enfin intelligible au lecteur occidental.

Concluons brièvement, pour souligner d'abord l'intérêt de Montaigne pour l'Orient, à cette réserve près que cet intérêt s'est manifesté (ou du moins exprimé) relativement tard dans le texte des *Essais*, à la faveur d'additions manuscrites introduites dans les marges de l'Exemplaire de Bordeaux et/ou insérées dans l'édition posthume de 1595; pour souligner ensuite l'usage très personnel qu'il fait de cette abondante documentation fournie par les voyageurs et historiens de son temps. À l'instar de la Chine, dont le long passé lui fait prendre conscience de l'infinie richesse et variété des cultures,[85] les Indes orientales offrent à Montaigne le tableau chatoyant et bigarré de leurs diverses coutumes, qu'il ne se lasse pas d'examiner, de considérer, de méditer, pour relativiser les siennes propres et se faire, tel Socrate, citoyen du monde.[86]

Plus proche géographiquement, jusqu'à menacer les marches de l'Europe, l'Empire ottoman offre un modèle fascinant d'organisation politique et militaire auquel Montaigne, comme ses contemporains, se réfère volontiers, mais pour y discerner, sous l'apparence du despotisme oriental, des traits singuliers de machiavélisme politique – pour reconnaître, dans l'autre, les formes familières du même.

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83 II, xxv, 725 (voir note 1).

84 Voir Frank Lestringant, "La monarchie française au miroir ottoman [. . .]," art. cité [voir note 77], section "Soliman et Machiavel," 59–63.

85 III, xiii, 1118 (voir note 1), cité *supra*.

86 I, xxv, "De l'institution des enfans," 163 (voir note 1).

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Chapter 19

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The Strange Journey of Christian Rosencreutz

I. The Story of Christian Rosencreutz

It could be one of the great travel stories of the late Middle Ages, if only it were true.[1] In or about the year 1400, a young German aristocrat returned to Europe after six years in the Arab world. Orphaned at the age of four, he had been raised in a monastery. After twelve years of study there, he was asked to accompany a senior monk on a pilgrimage to the Holy Land. When the older man died unexpectedly in Cyprus, the youth continued the journey as far as Damascus, but there he changed his plans. Having met Islamic scholars and having impressed them with his knowledge of Western science, he followed their advice and took a six-year course of study in Arabia and Morocco before heading home. The religious historian Gerhard Wehr has remarked that he came home "as one who indeed knew how to unite Eastern and Western wisdom."[2] The young traveler

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1 This essay makes repeated reference to the so-called Rosicrucian manifestos, commonly ascribed to Johann Valentin Andreae. The full titles of the German originals and English translations will be abbreviated in the notes as follows:
Entdeckung = *Fama Fraternitatis, Oder Entdeckung der Bruderschaft deß löblichen Ordens deß Rosen Creutzes* (Frankfurt a. M.: Johann Berner, 1615);
Fame = *The Fame and Confession of the Fraternitie of R: C: Commonly of the Rosie Cross* (London: Giles Calvert, 1652); *Hochzeit* = *Chymische Hochzeit Christiani Rosencreutz, 1459* (Straßburg: Lazarus Zetzner, 1616);
Romance = *The Hermetick Romance: or the Chymical Wedding: Written in high Dutch by Christian Rosencreutz*, trans. E. Foxcroft ([London]: A. Sowle, 1690).

2 Gerhard Wehr, "Johann Valentin Andreae: Autor der rosenkreuzerischen Manifesten," *Profile christlicher Spiritualität* (Schaffhausen: Novalis, 1982), 109–34; here 122. Early Rosicrucian texts gave Christian's surname as Rosencreutz, Rosenkreutz, or Rosenkreuz. Because the full name was abbreviated both as C. R. and as C. R. C., I have preferred the spelling Rosencreutz.

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approached various temporal and spiritual leaders over the next few years, but after being rebuffed at each turn, he eventually withdrew from polite society and founded a secret society of Christian physicians. The Rosicrucian Brotherhood remained strictly secret even after the founder's death at the advanced age of 106, in the year 1484, and each brother chose a single replacement for the next 120 years, until Christian's crypt miraculously opened in 1604, revealing his perfectly preserved body.[3] The Rosicrucians took this as sign that it was time to tell their story.

When the story of Christian Rosencreutz and his travels was first published, in 1614, there were ample signs that it should not be taken literally. The signs accumulated in a second volume, published the following year, and even more in a third volume attributed to Christian himself in the year after that. But what the writings lacked in literal truth, they made up in truth of another kind—truth that might be called symbolic or metaphorical, mythic or imaginative. The story of Christian's travels is the story of the journey to the East, which was for early modern Christians the story of the return *ad fontes*, to the founts of wisdom and religion. Introducing the story in its English translation, Thomas Vaughan remarked:

> Wisdom *and* Light *were first* manifested *in the same* parts, *namely, in the* East, *where the* first Man *planted: and* hence *did the* World *receive not only their* Religion, *but their* Philosophy, *for* Custom *hath* distinguished *these* Two. *From this* Fountain *also, this* living, Oriental One, *did the* Brothers *of* R. C. *draw their* wholsom Waters.[4]

There was also the story of open communication between East and West and the desire for increased communication, a desire masked by the Rosicrucians' secrecy. According to the story, the secrecy was necessitated by the indifferent or hostile response to the Eastern teachings. As it happened, after the story appeared in print, the secrecy was reinforced by the absence of any actual Rosicrucian. If secrecy was the rule, then anyone purporting to be a Rosicrucian himself , and not just a sympathizer with their cause, was by definition a fraud. Not surprisingly, the brothers soon became known as the Invisibles.

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3 *Fame*, 24; *Entdeckung*, 40. The century-old corpse is said to be "whole and unconsumed" ("unversehret / unnd ohne Verwesung"). This detail is a sign that Christian was pure, and includes no suggestion that his body was embalmed. On late-medieval embalming practices see the contribution of Romedio Schmitz-Esser to this volume.

4 *Fame*, c3r.; see, e.g., Jeremiah 17: 13 and Revelation 22: 7. The preface being set in italics, words of special significance are in Roman type.

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Real or imagined, the Rosicrucians captured a great deal attention in the early seventeenth century.[5] Serious people announced interest in their ideas, hoping no doubt to make their acquaintance. Others disliked the ideas for various reasons, and denounced them with equal passion. Many specifically discussed the knowledge that Christian brought from the East, and at least one warned fellow Christians that the new fraternity was rooted in the old heresies of Islam.[6] This paper will review some responses and some parallel tales of travel, but first it must look at the original writings and the Eastern references.

II. The Rumor and the Platform

The story of Christian Rosencreutz and his secret society was recorded in a small tract known as the *Fama Fraternitatis* (The Rumor of the Brotherhood), which circulated in manuscript for as much as a decade before it was published, along with supporting material, in 1614. A second tract describing the group's ideas and called the *Confessio Fraternitatis* (The Confession of the Brotherhood) appeared in 1615, and the two so-called manifestos were combined in several editions issued in the next few years.[7] One of the first has this title page (Fig. 1):

> FAMA FRATERNITATIS | Oder | Entdeckung der | Bruderschaft deß löblichen | Ordens deß Rosen Creutzes | Beneben der | CONFESSION | Oder | Bekanntnuß derselben Fraternitet / an | alle Gelehrte Häupter in Europa geschrieben | Auch etlichen Responsionen und Antwortun- | gen / von Herrn Haselmeyern und andern geler | ten Leuten auff die Famam gestellet, | Sampt einem Discurs von allgemeiner Reformation | der gantzen Welt. | Jtzo von vielen Erraten entleidiget / verbessert / und | allen Trewhertzigen zu gut in offentlichem Druck | mit Gott allein gefertiget. | Gedruckt zu Frankfurt am Mayn / durch Johann | Bringern in Verlegung Johann Berners | M.DC.XV.[8]

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5 For a survey of several hundred responses, see *Cimelia Rhodostaurotica: Dis Rosenkreuzer im Spiegel der zwischen 1610 und 1660 entstandenen Handsciriften und Drucke*, ed. Carlos Gilly (Amsterdam: In de Pelikaan, 1995).

6 For the early and persistent perception that Islam was a Christian heresy, preserving heretical elements of Eastern Christianity, see Philip Jenkins, *The Lost History of Christianity* (New York: HarperCollins, 2008), esp. 184–85.

7 The publication history is quite complex. For a detailed treatment with bibliographic details and illustrations, see *Cimelia* (see note 5), 68–79. Also see Frances A. Yates, *The Rosicrucian Enlightenment* (London: Routledge, 1972), 58–81, and Bernard Gorceix, *La Bible des Rose-Croix: Traduction et commentaire des trois premiers écrits rosicruciens (1614, 1615, 1616)*. Collection "Hier" (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1970), esp. 29, note 2.

8 *Entdeckung*, title page. I have consulted the copy in the Bibliotheca Philosophica Hermetica, Amsterdam, as well as the scanned text on Google Books. For further information on this and other early Rosicrucian publications, see *Cimelia* (see note 5), item 76.

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> [The Rumor of the Fraternity or the Discovery of the Brotherhood of the laudable Order of the Rosy Cross, Accompanied by the Confession or Announcement of the same Fraternity written to all the learned in Europe. Also genuine responses and answers put forth about the *Fama* by Herr Haslmayr and other learned men. Together with a discourse on the general reformation of the whole world. Now with the correction of many errors, improved and readied, with God's help, published for all loyal-hearted people. Printed in Frankfurt am Main by Johann Bringer for Johann Berner, 1515.]

Were it true, this would be a remarkable "discovery," but there is the strong hint that it is only a rumor—a *fama* like the personified Fama of Virgil, which flies through great cities when Queen Dido falls in love.[9] The "Reformation" mentioned on the title page refers to a satirical sketch, translated from Italian and preceding the first manifesto, in which the Seven Wise Men of Greece try to reform the world and find they cannot amend as much as the price of food. They conclude "That men live on earth, though not well, yet as little ill as they may; and that the height of wisdom lay in being so discreet, as to be content to leave the world as they found it."[10]

Even the introduction, while claiming Adamic knowledge for the Brotherhood, concedes that the Rosicrucian *Fama* may seem "but a Philosophical shew, and no true History"[11] ("nur ein blinder Philosophischer Auffzug / und keine warhafftige Historia"[12]). The only support given for Christian's story is the reminder that much else follows it. There is first the brotherhood's "confession," or statement of beliefs, from which one may see what the story is all about: "it shall be easily understood, and observed by every one (if he be not altogether voyd of understanding) what now adays, and at these times, is meant thereby."[13] The point is pressed home as the preface proceeds with the story of Adam Haslmayr, notary public of

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9 Virgil, *Aeneid*, 4.173.

10 Trajano Boccalini, "The LXXVII. Advisement. By Order from *Apollo*, a general Reformation of the world is published by the seven wise men of *Greece*, and by the other Literatti," *I Ragguagli di Parnasso: or Advertisements from Parnassus; In Two Centuries*, trans. Henry [Carey], Earl of Monmouth (London: Humphrey Mosley, 1656), 146–62 ; here 162. First published Venice: Pietro Farri, 1612.

11 *Fame*, A6r–v. The English translation has a preface by Eugenius Philalethes, the pseudonym of Thomas Vaughan, but he makes it clear that "*The* Translation *of the* Fama *belongs to an* unknown hand" (A3v). Giles Calvert, the London stationer who offered the English text for sale, was known as the publisher of work by radical reformers like Gerrard Winstanley, which I have discussed in "'The free Enjoyment of the Earth': Gerrard Winstanley on Land Reform," *Rural Space in the Middle Ages and Early Modern Age: The Spatial Turn in Premodern Studies*, ed. Albrecht Classen, with the collaboration of Christopher R. Clason. Fundamentals of Medieval and Early Modern Culture, 9 (Berlin and Boston: De Gruyter, 2012), 865–90.

12 *Entdeckung*, A3r.

13 *Fame*, A6v; *Entdeckung*, A4r–v .

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Maximilliam III, who was both the Archduke of Austria and the Grand Master of the Teutonic Knights. Haslmayr saw the *Fama* in manuscript and appreciated the avowedly anti-papist ideas in the closing paragraph. He wrote a flattering answer to the brothers, published in 1612, two years before the *Fama* itself appeared in print.[14] For his efforts, he was seized by the Inquisition and thrown in the galleys, near Venice.

Haslmayr's "Answer" throws light at once on the ideology in the manifestos, for it speaks for the "rejected Theophrastian school" ("Theophrastlichen verworffenen Schule") to which he belongs—that is, for followers of Paracelsus and especially the Paracelsus of lay sermons circulating in manuscript[15] (Theophrastus was one of the given names of Paracelsus, and especially pertinent because it has the etymological meaning of "God speaker"). Haslmayr had good reason to speak next of "your Theophrastia" and to regard the Rosicrucians as Paracelsians, for, by an interesting anachronism, the books sealed in the crypt of Christian Rosencreutz, in 1484, included "the *Vocabular* of *Theoph: Par. Ho.*": a dictionary explaining hard terms in the writings of the man born nine years later.[16] Moreover, after Christian's story has been told, the anonymous author says: "Such a one likewise hath *Theophrasus* been in Vocation and Callings, although he was none of our Fraternity."[17] The Rosicrucians are not only Christian physicians, then, but Paracelsians. Like Paracelsus, they are alchemists, but have no use for "accursed *Gold-making*" ("verfluchtes Goldmachen") and prefer rather to use their chemical remedies on the sick.[18] Indeed, the very existence of the Brotherhood seemed to confirm the prediction by Paracelsus that Elijah would return as an alchemist—Elias Artista—who would usher in the Millennium.[19]

Moreover, the travels of Christian Rosencreutz recalled the legendary travels of Paracelsus—not only his documented visits to Italy, Austria, Bohemia, and Alsace, but also to Spain, England, Scandinavia, Russia, Turkey, and the Middle East.[20] Paracelsus claimed that he had learned the secret of the universal solvent, his

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14 *Entdeckung*, A4v–A5r. See *Cimelia* (see note 5), 30–36. Also see Carlos Gilly, *Adam Haslmayr: Der erste Verkünder der Manifeste der Rosenkreuzer* (Amsterdam: In de Pelikaan, 1994), esp. 19–31.

15 Adam Haslmayr, "Antwort: An die löbwurdige Brüderschaft der Theosophen von Rosen Creutz," *Entdeckung*, 83–101; here 83. For the original publication of 1612, see *Cimelia* (see note 5), item 31.

16 *Fame*, 23; *Entdeckung,* 39. The first published dictionaries include Adam von Bodenstein, *Onomasticon Theophrasti Paracelsi* (1575) and Gerard Dorn *Dictionarium Theophrasti Paracelsi* (1584). On the doctrines of "Theophrastia Sancta," see Gilly, *Adam Haslmayr* (see note 14), 187–201.

17 *Fame*, 10; *Entdeckung*, 23.

18 *Fame*, 29; *Entdeckung*, 47.

19 Haslmayr, "Antwort," 89. For a later, longer statement of this opinion, see *Helias Artista. Das Ist: Wolmeyndtliches Urtheil von der newen Brüderschaft deß Ordens von Rosencreutz genannt* (Frankfurt a. M.: Johann Hoffman, 1619).

20 Walter Pagel, *Paracelsus: An Introduction to Philosophical Medicine in the Era of the Renaissance*, 2nd ed. (1958; Basel: Karger, 1982), 13.

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famous alkahest, from a dervish in Constantinople.[21] He insisted that the physician must be a traveler, that diseases travel and so must anyone who tends to the sick. Defending himself against the charge that he was always on the move, he wrote:

> das wil ich bezeugen mit der natur: der sie durchforchen wil, der muß mit den füßen ire bücher treten. die geschrift wird erforschet / durch ihre buchstaben, die natur aber durch lant zu lant: als oft ein lant als oft ein blat. also ist codex naturae, also muß man ire bletter umbkeren.[22]

> [this I would prove through nature: He who would explore her, must tread her books with his feet. Scripture is explored through its letters, but nature from land to land. Every land is a leaf. Such is the *Codex Naturae*; thus must her leaves be turned.[23]

Here is what the *Fama* has to say about Christian's travels. After leaving Cyprus, where his traveling companion died, the youth planned to continue his journey to the Holy Land. He was sick himself, however, so he spent time convalescing in Damascus, where, the narrative says: "by his skill in Physick [i.e., medicine] he obtained much favour with the *Turks:* In the mean time he became by chance acquainted with the Wise Men of *Damasco* in *Arabia*, and beheld what great wonders they wrought, and how Nature was discovered unto them."[24] Christian is receptive to the Turks and Arabs and they to him. He is "so stirred up, that *Jerusalem* was not so much in his mind now."

Damascus in Syria was the great city of Islamic learning in the Levant, renowned for its writers of learned documents. It was under Arab rule during Christian's visit, then still belonging to the Circassian Mamluks, and did not come under Turkish rule until 1516. Therefore, unless the reference is an anachronism, we must assume that the Turks whom Christian impressed were scholars rather than officials. Nevertheless, the friendly reference to the Turks did not escape early readers, for Ottoman armies threatened Europe throughout the sixteenth century and were still engaged in border conflicts with Austrian armies when Christian's tomb was opened and his story was recorded in the early seventeenth century. Jakob Andreae, professor of theology at Tübingen in the late sixteenth century and grandfather of Johann Valentin Andreae, who is most often credited with writing

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21 The Paracelsian physician Martin Ruland defined "Mercury prepared as a medicine for the liver"; see Martinus Rulandus, *A Lexicon of Alchemy or Alchemical Dictionary*, ed. A. E. Waite (London: privately printed, 1893), 20. The concept of the alkahest was developed by another Paracelsian, J. B. Van Helmont.

22 Paracelsus, *Sieben Defensiones*, in Karl Sudhoff, ed., *Sämtliche Werke*, part 1, vol. 11 (Munich: Oldenbourg, 1928). From "Die vierte defension: von wegen meines landfahrens" (141–46).

23 Paracelsus, *Four Treatises*, trans. C. Lilian Temkin et al., ed. Henry E. Siegrist (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1941), 28–29. From "The Fourth Defense: Concerning My Journeyings" (24–29).

24 *Fame*, 4; *Entdeckung*, 15.

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Christian's story, preached regularly about the Turkish threat to Christendom.[25] The implicit acceptance of Turkish thought is unusual for its time and did not escape comment, as we shall see.

Meanwhile, the reference to "*Damasco* in *Arabia*" caused a good deal of speculation. It eluded identification even after it was corrected, in the sequel *Confessio Fraternitatis*, to "*Damcar* in *Arabia*."[26] One scholar of Rosicrucian lore suggested "Damcar is an invented name for a fabulous city," a "Hidden City of Adeptship."[27] Most likely, though, it was modern-day Dhamar, or Thamar, in Yemen—an ancient city some 100 kilometers south of the present capital in Sanna. Dhamar was the capital of the old Kingdom of Saba, which in turn was linked to the Old Testament land of Sheba, whose queen went to Jerusalem to meet Solomon and "to prove [i.e., test] him with hard questions."[28] The Solomonic association is actually encouraged by the preface to the *Fama*, which begins by paraphrasing Solomon on the greatness of Wisdom.[29] In going to Damcar rather than Jerusalem, Christian reverses the pattern of the alien Other coming to the city of God.

In Damcar, Christian was received warmly:

> not as a stranger, but as one whom they had long expected, they called him by his name, and shewed him other secrets out of his Cloyster, whereat he could not but mightily wonder: He learned there better the *Arabian* tongue; so that the year following he translated the Book *M.* into good *Latin*, which he afterwards brought with him.[30]

The mysterious "Book *M.*" ("das Buch unnd librum M.") is presumably the *liber mundi* or "book of the world" and thus a book of universal knowledge. However, it seems to have contained more specific information than the modern *World Book Encyclopedia* or the physical world seen as the Book of Nature (Paracelsus's *Codex Naturae*). The French historian of science René Alleau has noted that the Latin term was applied to teachings of the Arabic alchemist Jābir al Hayyān (ca. 721–ca. 815), in particular to the teachings about matter known as the "Book of Balances."[31] In

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25 Siegfried Raeder, "Die Türkenpredigten des Jakob Andreä," *Theologen und Theologie an der Universität Tübingen*, ed. Martin Brecht. Conturbernium: Beiträge zur Geschichte der Eberhard-Karls-Universität Tübingen, 15 (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1977), 96–122.

26 *Fame*, 42; *Entdeckung*, 65. The *Fama* goes on to say that people that "have a far different politick order than the other *Arabians*."

27 A. E. Waite, *The Brotherhood of the Rosy Cross* (London: Rider, 1924), 127–28.

28 1 Kings 10: 1.

29 Proverbs 2: 6 and 15: 6.

30 *Fame*, 4–5; *Entdeckung*, 17.

31 René Alleau, *Alchimie*, ed. Michel Bounan (Paris: Éditions Allia, 2008), 46–52; first published in *Encyclopaedia Universalis*, vol. 1 (Paris: Encyclopaedia Universalis France, 1968). On the theory of balances and its relation to Jabirian science, see P[aul] Kraus, *Jābir ibn Hayyān: Contribution à l'histoire des idées scientifiques dans l'Islam*. Collection Sciences et Philosophie Arabe (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1986), esp. 187–99 and 305–16. Kraus notes the theory's importance for Sabeans, and its similarities to aspects of Jewish Kabbalah.

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all, Christian spent three years in Damcar: "This is the place where he did learn his Physick," the *Fama* adds, "and his Mathematics, whereof the World hath just cause to rejoice, if there were more Love, and less Envy."

The *Fama* goes on to note the admirable exchange of ideas between Islamic scholars in Arabia and the Maghrib: how they would contact each other yearly to ask what they had discovered and how the discoveries affected their future studies. As part of this exchange, the wise men of Damcar sent Christian to study in Egypt and especially in Morocco. He spent a two years in Fez, where "he did get acquaintance with those which are commonly called the Elementary Inhabitants, who revealed unto him many of their secrets."[32] These were the elementary spirits that Neoplatonists described and the mythological creatures Paracelsus liked to discuss: salamanders from fire, sylphs from air, naiads and melusines from water, gnomes and pygmies from earth. Christian remained a Christian. Of his teachers in Fez, he found "that their *Magia* was not altogether pure, and also that their *Cabala* was defiled with their Religion."[33] Nevertheless, he said, there was a core of truth in what they taught, and it strengthened his faith. In particular, he was impressed by the teachings of his Islamic masters on the relation of man to the cosmos:

> as in every several kernel is contained a whole good tree or fruit, so likewise is included in the little body of Man the whole great world, whose Religion, policy, health, members, language, words and works, are agreeing, sympathizing, and in equal tune and melody with God, Heaven and Earth.[34]

From Fez Christian returned to Europe, bringing with him "new *Axiomata*, whereby all things might fully be restored"—returned that is to their original, Edenic condition.[35] This was the millennial promise of the Apocalypse: "Behold, I make all things new," and the hope behind Bacon's "Great Instauration."[36] Unfortunately, all this seemed "a laughing matter" to the learned of Europe, who "feared that their great Name should be lessened."

Discouraged, Christian returned to Germany, where he built a house with a laboratory and, five years later, gathered a group of eight disciples, "all batchelors and of vowed virginity" They developed a "Magical Language and writing, with a large Dictionary," but dedicated themselves to healing the sick.[37] They studied the book that Christian had translated into Latin as well as a set of "*Philosophical*

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32 *Fame*, 6; *Entdeckung*, 19.

33 For a fine account of spiritual science in medieval Fez, see Titus Burckhardt, *Fez, City of Islam*, trans. William Stoddart (Cambridge: Islamic Text Society, 1992), 107–21.

34 *Fame*, 7; *Entdeckung*, 19–20.

35 *Fame*, 8; *Entdeckung*, 21.

36 Revelation 21: 5. Francis Bacon, *Instauratio Magna* (London: Johannes Billius, 1620).

37 *Fame*, 12–13; *Entdeckung*, 26–27.

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Canons, prescribed to us by our brother *R. C.*" They admitted new members to replace the old ones, but agreed to keep the name and mission of the brotherhood a secret for at least a century after Christian's death. By the time they wrote their story they knew "there wil now be a general Reformation, both of divine and of humane things."[38]

This much we learn from the first manifesto, published in 1614, and initiating the "rumor" of the Fraternity's existence (Latin *fama*). In the follow-up pamphlet stating the brotherhood's "platform" (Latin *confessio*), the authors made it clear that they were not biased toward the East or West:

> we do condemn the East and the West (meaning the *Pope* and *Mahomet*) blasphemers against our Lord Jesus Christ, and offer and present with a good will to the chief head of the Romish [i.e., Holy Roman] Empire, our prayers, secrets, and great treasures of Gold.[39]

When these words were written, the Holy Roman Emperor was Rudolf II of Bavaria, widely known for his support of esoteric studies and of scientists like Johann Kepler. Meanwhile, the anti-Papal rhetoric was common to Lutheran preaching. Andreae's grandfather had written a famous prayer for deliverance in which he debated whether the Pope or the Turk was the greater enemy of Christianity.[40]

The Rosicrucian "*Philosophy*," they explained, "containeth much of *Theology* and medicine, but little of the wisdom of Lawyers, and doth diligently search both heaven and earth: or, to speak briefly thereof, which doth manifest itself and declare sufficiently Man." That is to say, the chief concern is humanistic. Their secret writings contain the sum of "*Man's wisdom*," whether gained through revelation or experimentation.[41] These writings build on the message of God, as written in "that great Book of *Nature*" and recapture the universal Adamic language as it was spoken before "Babylonical Confusion."[42] Indeed, it seems that mankind is entering a new age: "what before times hath been seen, heard, and smelt, now finally shall be spoken and uttered forth, *viz.* when the World shall awake out of her heavy and drowsie sleep, and with an open heart, bare-head and bare-foot, shall merrily and joyfully meet the now arising Sun."[43]

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38 *Fame*, 27; *Entdeckung*, 44–45.

39 *Fame*, 35; *Entdeckung*, 55–56.

40 Raeder, "Die Türkenpredigten des Jakob Andreä" (see note 25), 112–13.

41 *Fame*, 36–38; *Entdeckung*, 57–59.

42 *Fame*, 47, 48; *Entdeckung*, 75–76. See Genesis 11: 1–9.

43 *Fame*, 47–48; *Entdeckung*, 74. For English readers, the prophecy may recall Milton's famous vision of England as "a noble and puissant Nation rousing herself like a strong man after sleep"; see *Areopagitica: A Speech of Mr. John Milton for the Liberty of Unlicens'd Printing, to the Parlament of England* (London: n. p., 1644), 34. Both texts use the metaphor of the eagle as leader.

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The magical language of Christian Rosencreutz is, then, the language of Adam, written in the Book of Nature and confirmed in the Book of Holy Scripture:

> Wherefore we do admonish every one for to read diligently and continually the holy *Bible*; for he that taketh all his pleasures therein, he shall know that he prepared for himself an excellent way to come in to our *Fraternity*. For as this is the whole sum and content of our Rule, That every Letter or Character which is in the World ought to be learned and regarded well; so those are like unto us, and are very near allyed unto us, who do make the holy *Bible* a Rule of their life, and an aim and end of all their studies; yea to let it be a *Compendium* and Content of the whole World.[44]

True to his name, Christian teaches a Christian theology, albeit one based on a personal and private experience of the divine, such as permitted in the Lutheran church and practiced by German mystics like Johann Arndt. One may detect a certain irony in the militantly anti-Catholic rhetoric, when it comes from a group professing a theology of its own. At this point, however, there is a kind of parody going on. The preface has reported that Haselmayr wrote "a Treatise under the Title of *Jesuiter*, wherein he willeth, that every Christian should be a true Jesuit, that is, to walk, live, be and remain in *Jesus*."[45] The Rosicrucians are thus positioned as a true monastic order, and a return to early Christianity before the deviations of by popes in the West and Mohammed in the East.[46]

The East-West interaction is further explored in the so-called third manifesto, written by the man who increasingly is recognized as the author of all three works.

III. The Wedding Entertainment

In *The Chemical Wedding of Christian Rosencreutz*, first published in 1616 but begun as early as 1605, the young Lutheran pastor Johann Valentin Andreae (1586–1654) wrote a spiritual allegory of great subtlety. Presented as Christian's first-person "Narration" of his experiences during the Holy Week in 1459,[47] when he was in his eighty-second year, it preserves his memories as the principal guest at a royal castle where a new king and queen not only are crowned but are created alchemically from the remains of their ancestors.

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44 *Fame*, 49; *Entdeckung*, 74.

45 *Fame*, A7r; *Entdeckung*, A4v–A5r.

46 For the suggestion that the story of Christian and his society was offered as an irenic alternative to the more pugnacious Paracelsus, see Bruce T. Moran, *The Alchemical World of the German Court: Occult Philosophy and Chemical Medicine in the Court of Moritz of Hessen, 1572–1632*. Sudhoffs Archiv. Beihefte, 29 (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 1991), 94–97, esp. 95.

47 *Romance*, 212; *Hochzeit*, 132.

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The story takes place over a period of seven days, from the invitation to the return home. On Day Four, at the turning point of the story, the wedding guests are brought into the presence of the royal family and join them to watch a "Merry Comedy" in seven acts.[48] The comedy is all about the marriage of a royal orphan, and the main question is whether she will marry a Christian king or settle into the harem of a Moorish king. In the first act, she is presented to "a very ancient King," the nephew of her mother and therefore an older cousin. Her immediate family has been destroyed by "the King of the Moores," who has seized their kingdom. The Western king "Swore to maintain perpetual enmity with the *Moore*, and his Allies," and arranged to have the girl raised by a wise tutor.[49]

In the second act, we meet the Moor, "a very black treacherous Fellow" and a sort of stage Machiavel.[50] Learning that the princess has been saved, he plots with fugitives from her now desolate land to take her into captivity. He succeeds, but before he can put her to death, she is rescued by an army from the West in the third act. The Christian king presents her to ambassadors of twelve countries and announces her betrothal to his own son and heir. She has a wanton eye, however. Seduced by agents of the Moorish king, in the fourth act, she returns to her former place of captivity. The king soon has her publicly stripped, denounced, and sentenced to death. Her former fiancé is advised to forget about her. The young prince feels a bond of marriage, however, even if the rite has not yet been observed. He begs his father to send her a message of his love, but by the time his agents reach her, in the fifth act, she has agreed to become the Moor's concubine.

This is not looking much like a comedy, but there are two acts remaining. In the sixth act, the prince has acceded to the throne and is now the "young King." He challenges the Moor to personal combat and nearly dies before he finally triumphs. Having rescued his "Spouse," the young king places her in the charge of his steward and his chaplain. They treat her as the unfaithful concubine that the audience has seen her to be, but the young king has not lost his faith in her. He dismisses the pair from his court and dresses the "Bride" for their nuptials, in the seventh act. Christian reports:

> the Bride-groom appeared in such pomp as is not well to be believed, and I was amazed how it was brought to pass: The Bride met him in the like Solemnity. Whereupon all the People cried out: *VIVAT SPONSUS, VIVAT SPONSA* ["long live the groom, long live the bride"]. So that by this Comedy they did all congratulate our King

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48 *Romance*, 109; *Hochzeit*, 81.

49 *Romance*, 112; *Hochzeit*, 83.

50 *Romance*, 112; *Hochzeit*, 84. The Machiavel was a stock character of Elizabethan tragedy, whose villainous nature was likened to the political expediency advocated by Machiavelli; a good example appears in *The Jew of Malta* by Christopher Marlowe (ca. 1590).

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> and Queen in the most stately manner: Which (as I well observed) pleased them most extraordinarily well.[51]

After a final song (*cantilena*), the actors leave the stage platform to approach the reigning king and queen of the castle, and the guests join them. The scene is fraught with irony, for the royals are ritually executed within the space of a few hundred words. The king knows what is coming, for Christian notes that he "often sighed" as he talked with the guests on the way to dinner.[52]

The comedy in seven acts is a Christian allegory, where the young king is a Christ figure, interceding with his father on behalf of his faithless bride, who thus represents the Israel of the Old Testament and the Church of the New Testament, the bride of Christ. The Moorish King represents the Devil in his etymological role as the "accuser" and in the extra-biblical role of *princeps tenebrarum*, "the prince of darkness."[53] The parallel is encouraged by two of the interludes, based on the dream of Nebuchadnezzar (Daniel 2) and on Daniel's dream of four beasts, representing four empires (Daniel 7).

There is a clear parallel to the royal family, which is said to have three married couples, the males being the king, his son, and a third king whose relation to the others is not made clear. Interestingly, the third is "a black King" ("ein schwarzer König") of middle age, and his consort an uncrowned "old Matron" ("alt Mütterlin").[54] There may be a reference to the black work of alchemy (*Nigredo*), in which the old matter is putrefied so that a new substance can be created and exalted in the white and red works that follow (*Albedo* and *Rubedo*).[55] The old woman wears a black veil, recalling the figure of Truth in contemporary allegories,[56] and seems to represent a higher order of understanding, just as the black king may represent the most basic form of matter, the alchemists' *prima materia*.[57] On Day Five of Christian's story, the wedding guests travel to a mysterious Tower of Olympus, where on Day Six he helps to create a new royal couple alchemically, a "young King and Queen" made from the remains of the old.[58] The new couple begin as four-inch creations, homunculi who literally grow up overnight. They possess the knowledge of the old royal pair, but they will serve

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51 *Romance*, 217–18; *Hochzeit*, 87–88.

52 *Romance*, 218; *Hochzeit*, 89.

53 For the English phrase, see Shakespeare, *King Lear* 3.4.139.

54 *Romance*, 102; *Hochzeit*, 76.

55 Lyndy Abraham, *A Dictionary of Alchemical Imagery* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 4–5.

56 Compare Edmund Spenser, *The Faerie Queene*, 1.1.4 and the frontispiece of Diderot's *Encyclopédie, ou Dictionaire Raisonné des Sciences, des Arts et des Métiers* (Paris: Briasson et al., 1762).

57 See Abraham, *Dictionary* (see note 55), 153–56.

58 *Romance*, 205; *Hochzeit*, 127.

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a new generation.[59] The chemical wedding turns out to be a union of heaven and earth, as announced in the stars and concluded in the tower.

Although the description of the play is quite detailed, covering half the account of the Fourth Day, no source has been identified. Andreae once remarked that he was influenced by wandering players from England whose plays he had watched in Tübingen.[60] Conceivably, he may have seen a traditional English Mummer's Play, such as was performed in taverns and private houses during the Christmas season. At the climax of these plays was a pitched battle between Saint George, the patron saint of England, and a Turkish knight, sometimes called Slasher and invariably darkened with charcoal. Saint George naturally won; however, the slain Turkish knight was sometimes revived by a wonder-working physician, so that he could stand up again and move on to the next performance.

IV. An Arabian and Moorish Fraternity?

The manifestos of 1614–1616 were met with a flurry of related publications, some praising the Rosicrucians and often seeking membership, others taking strong objection to their message.[61] Among the detracting pamphlets, one is of special interest to our theme of East-West relations, though it has received very little attention.[62] In 1618, a small pamphlet was printed in Berlin, containing sixty-three unnumbered pages of print on four quires of octavo sheets and offering a harsh critique of the fraternity. The critique is summarized in the long German title, which promises:

> A brief description of the new Arabian and Moorish Fraternity, according to its own *Fama* and *Confessio* published in Cassel in 1614 and Marburg in 1615, and thus providing highly important cause and reason why it is held suspect by many people

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59 The interludes suggest the new royals will preside over a new age, something like the fifth kingdom of Daniel 2: 45 or the "Lords Sabbath" at the end of time predicted in the letter prefixed to the second Rosicrucian manifesto (*Fame*, 34; *Entdeckung*, 51).

60 Yates, *Rosicrucian Enlightenment* (see note 7), 92–93.

61 See Thomas Willard, "Rosicrucian Sign Lore and the Origin of Language," *Theorien vom Ursprung der Sprache*, ed. Joachim Gessinger and Wolfert v. Rahden, 2 vols. (Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1989), vol. 1, 131–57.

62 For suggestive passing references, see *Cimelia*, 71 and 143 (image 238), and Nicholas Goodrick-Clarke, *The Western Esoteric Traditions: A Historical Introduction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 118–19.

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> of high and low standing; to which is appended a similarly faithful opinion and warning.[63]

The author is identified as Eusebius Christianus Crucigerus, surely a pseudonym and never again used.[64] The title-page note under this name identifies him as a member of the Wooden Cross of Jesus Christ. The wooden cross suggests the author's adherence to an original simplicity that the "rosy cross" men have abandoned. His brief Latin poem to the reader suggests he is aware of controversy about the literal truth of the Rosicrucian message, for he uses the same word that Andreae applied to the Rosicrucian story, warning the reader to beware of new mockeries (*ludibria*).[65] In the text itself, he refers to the fraternity as a "strict Calvinist brotherhood" ("recht Calvinsche Bruderschafft") from the Palatinate (*palatia regia*) and its capital in Heidelberg.[66] An appeal to the Augsburg Confession (1530) confirms that the author is a good Lutheran, as does a later reference to "the holy Luther" ("der heilige LUTHERUS").[67] He warns that the "true perfect philosophy" ("ganz perfect Philosophia") offered in the manifestos is actually a "magical and cabalistic art" ("Magisch und Cabalistisch kunst").[68] Their knowledge is contained in the "Book M, a magical worldbook" ("ein magisch Weltbuch"), which they obtained from "barbaric Turkish and Mohammedan lands

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63 Eusebius Christianus Crucigerus (pseud.), *Eine kurtze Beschreibung der Newen Arabischen und Morischen Fraternitet, laut Ihrer eygenen / Anno MCXIV. zu Cassel / unnd Anno MCXV. zu Marpurg edirten und publicierten Famae und Confessionis, und dabey etliche unnd Hochwichtige ursachen unnd grunde / Warumb sie von vielen Hoch unnd niedrigen Standes Persohnen / sehr Suspect unnd verdechtig gehalten wird / Sampt angehangter an deroselben trewhertziger Vermaynung und Warnung.* (Liechtenberg [i.e., Berlin]: Fulgentius N[i]ebelsturmer, 1618). I have used the copy in the Staatsbibliotek zu Berlin, available online at: http://digital.staatsbibliothek-berlin.de/dms/werkansicht/?PPN=PPN630089299&PHYSID=PHYS_0001&USE=800 (last accessed on January 1, 2012).

64 There were two Lutheran theologians named Caspar Cruciger or Kreuziger, father and son, but the younger died in 1597. At the time of death, he was pastor at Kassel, where the Rosicrucian manifestos were first printed.

65 Crucigerus, *Beschreibung*, A1v. See Thomas Willard, "Andreae's *ludibrium*; Menippean Satire in the *Chymische Hochzeit*," *Laughter in the Middle Ages and Early Modern Times*, ed. Albrecht Classen. Fundamentals of Medieval and Early Modern Culture, 5 (Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2010), 767–89, and Reinhold F. Glei, "*Aetnaei fratres*: Die Centonen des Menapius (alias Friedrich Grick) gegen die Rosenkreuzer (Teil I)," *Journal of Neo-Latin Language and Literature* 13 (2011): 95–121.

66 Crucigerus, *Beschreibung*, A2r. The Heidelberg association fits the historical thesis advanced in Yates, *The Rosicrucian Enlightenment* (see note 7). There is also a general resemblance between Andreae's utopian ideal and Calvin's *Genfer Gemeindeordnung*, as noted in Wehr, "Johann Valentin Andreae" (see note 2), 128.

67 Crucigerus, *Beschreibung*, A5r, A6v. The primary offense concerns the nature of the call to serve, article 14 in the *Confessio Augustana*.

68 Crucigerus, *Beschreibung*, A2v, A3r.

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in Arabia and Mauritania.[69] In those lands, the master teacher is "the old artist the Devil".[70]

Three other reasons to beware of Rosicrucians follow from this first. The second reason is that they take their political theory from Machiavelli.[71] Their references to reform use the language of astrology more than that of the Bible itself. They are thus "heretics and false prophets."[72] The third is that they take their philosophy, as they take their medicines, from Paracelsus, who prophesied that Elijah would return as an alchemical adept. Chemists such as the Rosicrucians are "artists of the Devil."[73] As proof, the author quotes the *Analysis* of the great Lutheran chemist Andreas Libavius, who denounced both Paracelsus and the Rosicrucians.[74] Evidence of their devilish magic includes the making of homunculi, as seen in Andreae's *Chymical Wedding*.[75] In sum, their teachings are "not from God but rather the Devil."[76] Their books contain forbidden magical practices using mirrors and amulets to draw upon spirits.[77] What they call natural magic (*Magia naturalis*) is actually demonic (*Daemonomagia*) requiring consecrations and conjurations.[78] A fourth reason to suspect the "black Fraternity" is that their Moorish lore has its basis in the Jewish Talmud,[79] and thus in unbelief (*Unglauben*) as well as superstition (*Aberglauben*). They should be considered both sectarians and heretics, and should be eliminated in any true reformation, religious or scientific. Interestingly enough, the author likens the Rosicrucians' learning to that of the legendary Faust, as well as to Paracelsus and Michael Scott.[80] They boast of vast treasures that can be used to advance their ends.[81] However, these boasts serve

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69 Crucigerus, *Beschreibung*, A3v, A4r. Mauritania is an error for Morocco, perhaps following the Latin version of the *Fama.* The Marburg edition cited in the margin of A4v seems to be a ghost. For a discussion of the concept of 'the barbarians' used in previous times, especially during the Crusades, see the contribution to this volume by Andrew Holt.

70 Crucigerus, *Beschreibung*, A7r. The author suggests a Neoplatonic content as well, noting at D4v that it is "nothing other than a book of the World Spirit" ("nicht anders / als ein Liber spiritum mundi").

71 Crucigerus, *Beschreibung*, A8v.

72 Crucigerus, *Beschreibung*, B2v.

73 Crucigerus, *Beschreibung*, B4r. See the reference in note 19; also see "Nova Disquisitio de Helia Artista," *Theatrum Chemicum*, 4 (Straßburg; Zetzner, 1559), 214–46.

74 Crucigerus, *Beschreibung*, B4v; quoting Andreas Libavius, *Analysis Confessionis Fraternitatis de Rosea Cruce* (Frankfurt a. M.: P. Kopff, 1615). See Willard, "Rosicrucian Sign Lore" (see note 61), 141.

75 Crucigerus, *Beschreibung*, B5r.

76 Crucigerus, *Beschreibung*, B6r.

77 Crucigerus, *Beschreibung*, B6v–B7r.

78 Crucigerus, *Beschreibung*, B7v.

79 Crucigerus, *Beschreibung*, C3r; see D3r.

80 Crucigerus, *Beschreibung*, D1v.

81 Crucigerus, *Beschreibung*, D2r.

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only to inspire "melancholic dreams" ("Melancholische träume") in readers and "beautiful phantasms" ("phantasmata pulchra").[82]

The fifth cause for concern is that a repetition of the first: the order's founder was educated in pagan lands and thus in the "Devil's schools" ("Teuffels Schulen").[83] The sixth follows from it and is perhaps the strongest. Far from being a call for harmony, the Rosicrucian teachings are an "uproar of sedition, rebellion, and civil war" ("Turba seditionis, rebelionis und intestini beli").[84] They are completely contradictory to the Augsburg Confession. One is more likely to find good direction in Germany than in the Moorish lands.

As it turned out, Andreae and his circle of friends in Tübingen were not Calvinists but good Lutherans. Like other Lutherans before them, including Johann Arndt and Andreae's own grandfather, they had a streak of perfectionism, inspired by the Sermon on the Mount. But it was perhaps the select nature of the Rosicrucian brothers that led Crucigerus to see them as Calvinists with a sense of their own election. A common objection to Calvinists was that they drove doubters to melancholy and despair, wondering why they were not among the elect. Hence Crucigerus's objection that the Rosicrucians inspire *Melancholische träume*. His pamphlet concludes by quoting Deuteronomy 27: 18: "Cursed *be* he that maketh the blind to wander out of the way."

V. Golden Sayings

In the year that the warnings of Crucigerus were published, a glowing account of the Rosicrucians appeared in Frankfurt a. M. (1618), the work of the itinerant physician and humanist Michael Maier. It offered "Sayings of the Golden Table from Twelve Nations."[85] The spokespeople from these nations include three from the ancient world: Hermes Trismegustus from Egypt, Moses' sister Miriam from Israel, and Democritus from Greece. There are two from the early Middle Ages: Morienus from Rome and Avicenna from Arabia. Finally, there are six from the late medieval and early modern world, including Albertus Magnus from Germany, Arnold of Villanova from France, Thomas Aquinas from Italy, Raymond

82 Crucigerus, *Beschreibung*, D3r–v.
83 Crucigerus, *Beschreibung*, D4r.
84 Crucigerus, *Beschreibung*, D5r.
85 Michael Maier, *Symbola Aureae Mensae Duodecim Nationum* (Frankfurt a. M.: Lucas Jennis, 1618). There is a modern facsimile with an introduction by Karl R. H. Frick (Graz: Akademische Druck- u. Verlagsanstalt, 1972).

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Lull from Spain, Roger Bacon from England, and Melchior Cibinensis from Hungary, this last perhaps the pseudonym of Nicolaus Olahus.[86]

The last spokesman is the anonymous writer known only as Sarmata, and claiming no nationality other than the world itself. (It may be Michael Sendivogius of Poland, known as the Cosmopolite.) What all of these people have in common is that they have written about alchemy, or have been credited with books on the subject. They also represent a chain of transmission—sometimes called the golden chain of Hermes—which reaches from Egypt through Israel to Greece in the ancient world, and from Byzantium to Arabia in the early Middle Ages. The teachings of Arabia reach the west through a dialogue of Morienus, often said to be the first alchemical text translated into Latin. The alchemical ideas are developed by the great schoolmen of the high Middle Ages: Albertus Magnus, Thomas Aquinas, and Roger Bacon. Finally, they are advanced by the most famous alchemists of the late Middle Ages: Arnold of Villanova and Raymond Lull, or by authors writing under their influence. Maier completes the sayings by adding his own allegory of the four continents (Europe or earth, America or water, Asia or air, and Africa or fire) as well as the world-wide search for the Phoenix, a symbol of the Philosophers' Stone (*lapis philosophorum*).

Maier was an early supporter of the Rosicrucian ideal,[87] and he could not leave Germany with due recognition of the order. He refers to "German authors on chemistry and philosophy, unknown and anonymous, hidden under the symbol R. C." ("*Germani authores Chymici & Philosophi, incogniti & anonymi, latentes sub symbolo* R. C.").[88] He says he first came across their work while he was in England a few years earlier. He lists eight doubts (*dubia*) about the fraternity, and proceeds to answer them one by one.[89] He appears to consider the whole story an enigma, for he next offers a series of poetic enigmas or riddles, as spoken by the nine muses and Apollo.[90] These are followed by his brief historical reconstruction of the brotherhood and its members, based largely on information in the first Rosicrucian manifesto.[91]

In their approach to the evidence, Maier and Crucigerus could hardly be more different. Crucigerus takes the story of Christian's youthful travels quite literally, and views all his subsequent career in light of it. Maier, on the other hand, raises questions about the travels and realizes that there is a mythical element to them,

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86 See Farkas Gábor Kiss, Benedek Láng, and Cosmin Popa-Gorjanu, "The Alchemical Mass of Nicolaus Melchior Cibinensis: Text, Identity and Speculations," *Ambix* 53.2 (July 2006): 143–59.

87 See Willard, "Rosicrucian Sign Lore" (see note 61), 139–40.

88 Maier, *Symbola* (see note 85), 289.

89 Maier, *Symbola* (see note 85), 290–96.

90 Maier, *Symbola* (see note 85), 296–302.

91 Maier, *Symbola* (see note 85), 302–07.

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as there are in legends concerning Paracelsus.[92] He focuses rather on the teachings. Whereas Crucigerus fears the "Book M." will eclipse the Bible, Maier sees the Bible as the real guide to the Rosicrucian message.

VI. The Hermit and the Caliph

Of course, Maier is not concerned with theology, as Crucigerus was, but with alchemy and the transmission of its methods and symbols since the Creation of the world. One of his secondary heroes is Khalid ibn Yazid (d. 704), a historical figure credited with writing or inspiring an influential text of alchemy. An Umayyad prince and brother of Muawiya II (d. 684), Khalid may have served briefly as caliph of the Hejaz or Hiyaz Caliphate, which covered a vast territory, reaching east from its capital in Damascus to the holy cities of Mecca and Medina and west through Egypt to Morocco. However, he is said to have withdrawn from public affairs, after the untimely deaths of his father, brother, and son, and to have spent most of his adult life collecting, translating, and composing alchemical texts.[93] He is said to have sought out a Christian hermit named Morienus,[94] who was rumored to know the secrets of alchemical transmutation (Fig. 2).[95] Maier's illustration shows Morienus lecturing to Khalid (Calid), who appears to have one foot in quicksand. Morienus advises Khalid that trying to transmute metals without first having obtained the Philosophers' Stone is like trying to climb a building without stairs. One ends up falling on one's head. Morienus makes no attempt to convert his fellow alchemist, as is sometimes said,[96] and makes no reference to Christ or Christianity. They treat each other as fellow worshipers of God, and study alchemy as a gift received only by the grace of God. Whether factual, fictional, or

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92 According to the *Fama*, Paracelsus "diligently read over the Book *M.*" and was therefore "well grounded" in the Rosicrucian concept of Harmony (10). Maier discusses the similarities between Paracelsus and C. R. in *Symbola* (see note 85), 292–95.

93 See the Wikipedia entries on Calid, Muawiya II, and Hejaz http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Calid; http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Muawiya_II; http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hejaz (last accessed on August 26, 2012). For a romantic sketch of his life as reported in early books of alchemy, see John Ferguson, *Bibliotheca Chemica*, 2 vols. (Glasgow: Maclehose, 1906), vol 1, 449.

94 Morienus Romanus was actually from a Greek-speaking area in the Eastern Mediterranean known as Byzantine or Romaic—not "Roman" as the Latin translator thought. There is an account of Morienus and Khalid in A. E. Waite, *The Secret Tradition in Alchemy* (London: Kegan Paul, 1926), 108–11.

95 Maier, *Symbola* (see note 85), 141. The image of Morienus (right) is nearly identical to the title-page portrait of Morienus Romanus.

96 Maier does not make the claim, but puts theological language in the mouth of Morienus (*Symbola*, 141–42).

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a bit of both, the story of Khalid and Morienus is a model of scientific dialogue between the East and West.

Morienus claims to have studied alchemy with Stephanus Alexandrinus, a philosopher in the court of the emperor Heraclius (d. 641).[97] However, his story, like Christian's, is probably too good to be true. There are bibliographical problems surrounding both the Arabic text and the Latin translation. First of all, there is the question who wrote the original Arabic text. The *Kitab al-Kimya* has been attributed to Jābir ibn Hayyān (ca. 721–ca. 815), the earliest of the Islamic alchemists, whose name was Latinized as Geber.[98] Legend holds that he learned from Khalid and belonged to the same tradition. However, many works attributed to him are thought to have been produced much later, perhaps by the Brethren of Purity (Ikhwan al-Safa) in Basra during the tenth century.[99] The great Orientalist Julius Ruska thought the whole story of Khalid was a fake ("Fälschung").[100] He did not question the existence of the manuscripts, Arabic and Latin, but rather the historicity of their account of Morienus and Khalid and their dialogue in years shortly after the Arab conquest of Alexandria. Nor was he the first to raise doubts. The Boston Medical Library has a copy of the first published edition with handwritten notes on the title page (Fig. 3). The longest one shows that the owner knew it had been called the fraudulent work of impure hands, but valued its treatment of the entire alchemical art.

Moreover, there are at least two other alchemical texts attributed to one Calid, a book of secrets and a book of principles. Maier treats the first as the work of a Hebrew alchemist, because its full title states that it was translated from Hebrew into Arabic and from Arabic into Latin.[101] The tract on the three "words" or principles of alchemy seems to follow as a commentary on the penultimate chapter of this book of secrets.[102] Neither tract mentions Morienus, though the reference to a Hebrew original of the first may show a memory of the hermit's residence in

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97 On Stephanus, see Marcellin Berthelot, *Introduction à l'étude de chemie des anciens et du Moyen Age* (Paris: Georges Steinheil, 1889), 288–301.

98 See the Wikipedia entry on Jābir ibn Hayyān: (http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Jābir_ibn_Hayyān; last accessed on June 6, 2012).

99 William R. Newman, ed., *The* Summa Perfectionis *of the Pseudo-Geber* (Leiden and New York: Brill, 1991).

100 Julius Ruska, *Arabischen Alchemisten:* Vol. I: *Chālid Ibn Jāzid idn Mu'āāwija* (1924; Wiesbaden: Sändig, 1967), 47.

101 Maier, *Symbola* (see note 85), 71–72. The "Liber Secretorum Alchemiæ, compositus per Calid, filium Yazichi, translatus ex Hebræo in Arabicum, & ex Arabico in Latinum" appears in several anthologies, including *Bibliotheca Chemica Curiosa*, ed. J.-J. Mangetus, 2 vols. (Geneva: Samuel de Tournes, 1702), vol. 2, 183–91. Raphael Patai assesses and dismisses the Jewish connection in *The Jewish Alchemists: A History and Source Book* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994), 125–35.

102 "Liber Trium Verborum Kalid Regis Acutissimi," *Theatrum Chemicum*, vol. 5 (1623; Straßburg: Zetzner, 1660), 186–90.

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Judea. The important point in each case is the attribution. Alchemy was said, after all, to be the Royal Art.

The Latin translation of the dialogue between Calid and Morienus was published in 1559 with a title that could be translated ("A book by Morienus Romanus, sometime hermit of Jerusalem, on the transfiguration of metals, and secrets, especially the medicine of the ancient Philosophers, never as yet brought to light."[103] The text itself was given a separate title, possibly taken from the manuscript's incipit: "The book of the order of Alchemy, which is set out by Morienus Romanus for Calid, King of the Egyptians."[104] The publisher also reissued the tract with a third title on the title page.[105] Confusion over variants has resulted in some bibliographical ghosts.

All the printed texts include a brief preface by one Robert of Chester (Robertus Castrensis), sometimes dated 1143. Robert is recognized as an important translator of scientific texts, most famous perhaps for having introduced the word *algebra* to Europe, and to high school students in the West, when he translated a text on the solution or "completion" of quadratic equations.[106] However, there is some doubt as to exactly what he did translate, for he is sometimes thought to be one and the same as Robert of Ketton (Robertus Kettensis), Ketton being an English farming village approximately 100 miles east of the market town of Chester. The other Robert was also living in Spain in the middle of the twelfth century, also translating scientific works from Arabic, and has the further distinction of having translated the Quran into Latin at the behest of Peter the Venable. The toponyms are problematic; one person could be said to hail from both places, one larger and better known, the other more obscure. However, the two are distinguished in the

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103 *Morieni Romani, Quondam Eremitae Hierosolymitani, de transfiguratione metallorum, & occulta, summaque antiquorum Philosophorum medicina, Libellus, nusquam Hactenus in lucem editus* (Paris: Gulielmum Guillard, 1559), title page and 1. For an English translation with facing Latin text see *A Testament of Alchemy: Being the Revelations of Morienus, Ancient Adept and Hermit of Jerusalem, to Khalid ibn Yazid ibn Mu'awiyya, King of the Arabs, of the Divine Secrets of the Magisterium and Accomplishment of the Alchemical Art*, ed. and trans. Lee Stavenhagen (Hanover, NH: University Press of New England, 1974).

104 "Liber de Compositione Alchymiae, quem edidit Morienus Romanus, Calid Regi Aegyptiorum," *Morieni Romani* (see note 106), A1r–A2v. Variations of this title are used in most reprints, including *Ars Auriferae*, ed. Gugielmo Grataroli, 2 vols. (Basel: Konrad Waldkirch, 1593), vol. 2, 3–37, and *Bibliotheca Chemica Curiosa* (see note 101), vol. 1, 509–19.

105 *Morieni Romani, Quondam Eremitiae Hieroslymitani, de re Metallica*, etc. (Paris: Gulielmum Guillard, 1564). The book includes texts by two later alchemists.

106 *Liber Algebrae et Almucabula*, trans. Robert of Chester (1144); a translation of *Al-Kitāb al-mukhtaṣar fī ḥīsāb al-ğabr wa'l-muqābala*, by Abū ʿAbdallāh Muḥammad ibn Mūsā al Khwārizmī (ca. 780–850). For an English translation from the Latin, see Louis Charles Karpinski, ed. and trans., *Robert of Chester's Translation of the Algebra of al-Khowarizmi* (New York: Macmillan, 1915); the editor's introduction includes a chapter on the translator and others translating scientific texts from Arabic (23–32).

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respective entries in the *Dictionary of National Biography*.[107] Moreover, Lee Stavenhagen, who has constructed a manuscript tree for the Latin text, reports that the preface is missing from some copies and has been prefixed to at least one other translation.[108] Robert of Chester did not translate other alchemical manuscripts, and seems to have been mainly interested in astronomy and astrology. Nevertheless, his preface linking Hermes Trismegistus, the Egyptian "prince and prophet" of antiquity, to Khalid, the "ruler of the Egyptians" during the first years of Islamic dominance, helped to consolidate the claims of alchemy as a royal art.

The story was known to Maier and almost certainly to serious students of alchemy like Andreae and members of his circle. Indeed, it may be no coincidence that Khalid's native kingdom of Hejaz was part of Yemen in 1400, when Christian is said to have visited Dhamar.[109] It may be no coincidence either that Khalid sends his messenger to Jerusalem, just as the Queen of Sheba went there to seek learning, and perhaps no coincidence either that Christian goes to Dhamar instead of Jerusalem. The change of direction may suggest that Christians have lost some of the wisdom of Solomon, and that Christian Rosencreutz has learned it from Islamic scholars in what was then called Arabia Felix.[110] Hence the claim in the first Rosicrucian manifesto: "Our *Philosophy* also is not a new Invention, but as *Adam* after his *fall* had received it; and as *Moses* and *Solomon* used it." It is also said to be true "according to *Theologie*" and in accordance with the classical Greek philosophers as well as with Moses and Solomon.[111]

VII. Further Literary Journeys

In 1652, an English translation of the first two manifestos was issued with an introduction by the alchemist and polemicist Thomas Vaughan, who made it clear that he was not the translator but only the "publisher" in the word's original sense of the one who made it public.[112] He also said he was not a member of the brotherhood, and did not "*much* desire *their* Aquaintance." He simply admired their books, where, he said, "*I found them* true Philosophers, *and therefore not*

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107 Charles Burnet, "Chester, Robert of (fl. 1144–1150)" and "Ketton, Robert of (fl. 1141–1157)," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography,* http://www.oxforddnb.com (last accessed on June 6, 2012).

108 Lee Stavenhagen, "The Original Text of the Latin Morienus," *Ambix* 18 (1970); 1–12.

109 *The New Atlas of World History: Global Events at a Glance*, ed. John Haywood (London: Thames & Hudson, 2011), 104–05.

110 On the Sabaeans see Andrey Korotayev, *Ancient Yemen: Some General Trends of Evolution of the Sabaic Language and Sabaean Culture* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995).

111 *Fame*, 29; *Entdeckung*, 46.

112 *Fame*, a3r–v; see Thomas Willard, The Rosicrucian Manifestos in Britain," *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America* 77.4 (1983): 489–95.

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Chimaera's (*as most think*) *but* Men."[113] He also found their teachings "consonant *to our very* Religion," meaning Protestant Christianity, even though they received their knowledge "*from the* Arabians, *amongst whom it remained as the* Monument *and* Legacy *of the* Children *of the* East."[114] He noted that "*the* Eastern Countries *have been always famous for* Magical *and* Secret Societies."[115] Their secret knowledge has most often defied the understanding of Western visitors, he added, especially when they try to understand it according to the teachings of Aristotle and other academicians.

As if to demonstrate this last point, Vaughan spends nearly half of his preface debunking the famous story of a Western Sophist's encounter with wise men of the East. His source is the life of Apollonius of Tyana (ca. 15–ca. 100) written by Lucius Flavius Philostratus (ca. 170–ca. 250).[116] A rhetorician and man of letters in the court of Julia Domna, wife of the Roman emperor Septimus Severus and mother of the emperor Caracalla, Philostratus was commissioned by her to compile a life of the semi-legendary sage, who was known for his visits to "Babylonian magicians, Indian Brahmins, and the Naked Ones [Greek *gymnois*] of Egypt" (1.2). Philostratus claimed to work from a travelogue written by one Damis, who recorded conversations that the sage had with Brahmins in India, and Vaughan commented on stretches of conversation to suggest that the Westerners did not understand what their hosts were saying—not Philostratus, not Damis if he indeed existed and was not a convenient authorial device, and certainly not Apollonius.

In the ancient city of Taxila, in what is now the Rawalpindi District of the Punjab, a king named Pharotes invites the travelers to be his guests (2.26). Pharotes speaks fluent Greek, but has little regard for Greek philosophy. Indeed, he complains about Greek "Pirates and Plunderers of Philosophy" who teach with impunity: "should any adulterate your Coyn, these were Offences Capital and punished with Death: But for such as counterfeit and corrupt Philosophy, your Law corrects them not, neither have you any Magistrate ordained to that purpose."[117] Apollonius responds with what seems "Insolence" and "bad

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113 *Fame*, a4v. Edited versions of the preface may be found in *The Works of Thomas Vaughan*, ed. A. E. Waite (London: Theosophical Society, 1919), 341–82, and *The Works of Thomas Vaughan*, ed. Alan Rudrum (Oxford: Clarendon, 1984), 479–510. Both editions are carefully annotated, the first with attention to Rosicrucian and alchemical lore, the second with the focus on seventeenth-century English. For a facsimile with extensive references to the German texts, see *The Fame and Confession of the Rosie Crosse*, ed. F. N. Pryce (Margate: W. J. Parrett, 1923).

114 *Fame*, a5r.

115 *Fame*, a5v.

116 Philostratus, *The Life of Apollonius of Tyana*, ed. and trans. Christopher P. Jones. Loeb Classical Library, 16 (Cambridge, MA, and London: Harvard University Press, 2005). Parenthetical references in the paragraphs following refer to book and chapter in this edition.

117 *Fame*, a6v; translating 2.29.

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Manners" to Vaughan,[118] but decides to seek out the real philosophers of the Brahmin school that the king describes. In Vaughan's sarcastic narrative, "*now he trots like a* Novis *to the River* Hyphasis, *and carries with him a* Commendatory Letter *to the* Brahmins, *having requested the* Prince *to tell them he was a* good Boy."[119] He comes to a hill where the Brahmins dwell, wrapped in deep cloud and becoming visible or invisible at will (3.13). Their description reminds Vaughan of the Rosicrucians and their mysterious House of the Holy Spirit.[120] But even more the Brahmins' natural philosophy and their knowledge of chemistry impress him as far in advance of anything the Greeks knew.

When Apollonius reaches the Brahmins' leader, Iarchas, the two have a long conversation over dinner. Apollonius asks whether or not one should consider the universe a living being and, if so, whether it is male or female. Iarchas answers that it must be both and explains why (3.35). Impressed, Apollonius stays for another four months, during which the two discuss astrology and prophecy (3.41–44) as well as details like pygmies living underground (3.47), the gold of the griffins (3.48) and the fabulous phoenix (3.49). Vaughan is especially taken, as Ficino was before him,[121] by the account of a marvelous stone, a kind of ruby (Greek *pantarba*) that grows in the earth and emits dazzling light when the Brahmins draw it up to the surface (3.48). Indeed, Vaughan devotes much of the space remaining to a discussion of the Brahmins' "Physical work,"[122] that is to say, their alchemy.

Vaughan's comments on the ignorance of Apollonius are clever and to some extent deserved; the Greek traveler invariably interprets all he sees in light of his Greek experience, and is openly surprised that the Eastern sages expect a person to know himself before he can study philosophy (3.18). (As a good Pythagorean, he expects self-knowledge to come through the study of philosophy.) It seems to Vaughan that Apollonius is the real barbarian, and that real wisdom has always come from the East. Thus his remark, quoted earlier, that the Rosicrucians draw from an ancient "Fountain" of wisdom.[123]

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118 *Fame*, a7r.

119 *Fame*, b1v.

120 *Fame*, b2r–b3r; see the footnote in Pryce's edition (see note 113), b1v–b2r.

121 Marsilio Ficino, *De Vita* (1498; 1506), 3.13–16; h7r–i5v; for an English translation, see Marsilio Ficino, *Three Books on Life*, trans. and ed. Carol V. Kaske and John R. Clark (Tempe, AZ: Medieval & Renaissance Texts & Studies, 1998), 161–70. As Vaughan notes, "Ficinus *corruptly transcribes* Pantaura" (b5v); perhaps he was thinking of a stone that contained "all gold" (*pan* + *aura*) because Apollonius had just asked about "liquid gold" (3.45). Kaske and Clark suggest "pantarbe" as a substitute rendering (442).

122 *Fame*, title page.

123 See note 4 above.

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What Vaughan did not know, and could not have learned from Arabic texts translated into Latin, was that Apollonius enjoyed considerable fame in the Arab world, where he was known as Abuluniyas or more often as Balinus. Six speeches in the *Turba Philosophorum*, a classic work of Latin alchemy translated from Arabic sources, are attributed to Apollonius in even more corrupt versions of the name.[124] Apollonius is repeatedly cited in works belonging to the tradition of the early Arabic alchemist Jābir or Geber. Whole texts of alchemy survive in Arabic editions attributed to him.[125] Apollonius has even received credit, in Arabic literature, for having discovered the most famous of all Hermetic texts, the *Tabula Smagardina* or *Emerald Tablet*, attributed to Hermes Trismegistus himself.[126]

The theory is sometimes advanced that Philostratus wrote his life of Apollonius in an attempt to counter the growing popularity of Christianity in the Greek world—that some pagans saw the Christ story as that of a magus like his near contemporary Apollonius.[127] Philostratus wrote lives of many ancient philosophers, but none at such great length or from such extensive resources as that of Apollonius.[128] It may be no accident that he based his work on the testimony of a Syrian, for Syria was an early stronghold of Christianity and indeed the place where the new religion got its name.[129]

The story of Apollonius and Iarchas, like that of Morienus and Khalid, shows that the East-West exchange really worked both ways. Travelers who came to learn from the East, like Apollonius, or to share in the culture, like Morienus, also brought knowledge with them. This knowledge sparked interest in Western ideas that later bore fruit in Arabic writings and contributed to the revival of learning in Europe during late medieval and early modern times.

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124 Martin Plessner, "Balīnūs," *Encyclopedia of Islam*, ed. H. A. R. Gibb (Leiden: Brill, 1954–2004), vol. 7, 994–95. 2nd ed. P. Bearman Th. Bianquis, C.E. Bosworth, E. van Donzel and W.P. Heinrichs, athttp://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-2/balinus-SIM_1146?s.num=264&s.start=260 (last accessed on Dec. 3. 2012).

125 Martin Plessner, *Vorsokratische Philosophie und greichische Alchemie: Studien zu Text und Inhalt der* Turba Philosophorum (Wiesbaden: Steiner, 1975), esp. 78, 110; *Das "Buch über das Geheimnis der Schöpfung"*, ed. and trans. Ursula Weiser (Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1980).

126 Julius Ruska, *Tabula Smagardina: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der hermetischen Literatur* (Heidelberg: C. Winter, 1926). For an English version of the text, see Stanton J. Linden, ed., *The Alchemy Reader: From Hermes Trismegistus to Isaac Newton* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 27–28. For a non-specialist commentary, see Dennis William Hauck, *The Emerald Tablet: Alchemy for Personal Transformation* (London: Penguin, 1999), 3–148.

127 See Maria Dzielska, *Apollonius of Tyana in Legend and History*, trans. Piotr Pienkowski. Problemi e richerche di storia antika, 10 (Rome: L'Erma di Bretschneider, 1986).

128 See Philostratus and Eunapius, *The Lives of the Sophists*, trans. Wilmer Cave Wright. Loeb Classical Library, 134 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press; London: Heinemann, 1968).

129 Acts 11: 26 specifies Antioch in Syria as the place of origin.

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VIII. Conclusion

A leading scholar of Western esotericism has suggested that the travels of Christian Rosencreutz may correspond to what would later be called "astral travel": the journeys of the soul going out of the body in a trance or an act of imagination.[130] This makes good sense in light of statements to be found both in Rosicrucian and in older Hermetic writings. For example, the *Confessio* poses these rhetorical questions:

> Were it not a precious thing, that you could always live so, as if you had liv'd from the beginning of the world, and moreover, as you should stil live to the end thereof? Were it not excellent, you dwel in one place, that neither the people which dwel beyond the river *Ganges* in the *Indies* could hide any thing, nor those which live in *Peru* might be able to keep secret their counsels from thee?[131]

A similar thought appears in the Hermetic texts:

> Think that for you too nothing is impossible; deem that you are immortal; and that you can grasp all things in your thought, to know every craft and every science; find your home in the haunts of every living creature; make yourself higher than all heights, and lower than all depths; bring together in yourself all opposites of quality, heat and cold, dryness and fluidity; think that you are everywhere at once, on land, at sea, in heaven; think that you are not yet begotten, that you are in the womb, that you are young, that you are old, that you have died, that you are in the world beyond the grave; grasp in your thoughts all this at once, all times and places, all substances and quantities and magnitudes together; then you can apprehend God.[132]

Such feats are, of course, impossible for a mortal body and almost inconceivable to the human mind. However, they are merely a challenge to the immortal soul as understood in Platonic tradition. The second statement is delivered in a discourse to Hermes Trismegisus by Mind itself (Greek *nous*). As Plotinus explained to the ancient world, and Ficino to the early modern world, the individual human being is connected to God through a series of emanations: Mind emanates from God, angels or daemons from Mind, and the soul from these higher powers.[133]

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130 Joscelyn Godwin, personal interview, Hamilton, NY, June 19, 2012. Godwin's scholarship on the Rosicrucian writings includes *Rotert Fludd: Hermetic Philosopher and Surveyor of Two Worlds* (London: Thames & Hudson, 1979).

131 *Fame*, 39; *Entdeckung*, 61.

132 Libellus 10: "A Discourse of the Mind to Hermes," *Hermetica: The Ancient Greek and Latin Writings which Contain Religious or Philosophic Teachings Ascribed to Hermes Trismegistus*, trans. Walter Scott, 4 vols. (1924; London: Dawsons, 1968), vol. 1: 221.

133 Plotinus, *The Enneads*, ed. John Dillon, trans. Stephen McKenna, (London: Penguin, 1991), 251–343; *Enneads* 4.3–8. Also see Marsilio Ficino, *Theologica Platonica*, 1.3–6, now available in Marsilio Ficino, *Platonic Philosophy*, trans. and ed. Michael J. B. Allen, vol. 1: Books I–IV (Cambridge, MA, and London: Harvard University Press, 2001), 28–91.

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Emanation is only a metaphor, however, though a widely used one. From another perspective the soul was coterminous with all other souls, through the World Soul, and the World Soul with Mind and God.[134] The travels of Christian Rosencreutz may thus be viewed as an archetypal journey to the East, in much the way that Germans of a later century would view *Die Morgenlandfahrt* of Hermann Hesse: as a quest for reconciliation with Eastern ideas and the rediscovery of something lost during centuries of cultural conflict and isolation.[135]

As Paracelsus taught the Rosicrucian writers, imagination is the soul's chief organ of perception.[136] This teaching, found also in Plotinus, Ficino, and other Platonists, is based on the insight that every human being is, in some sense, a little world (*microcosmos*) and contains the epitome of the great world (*macrocosmos*).[137] Because the individual contains the whole creation in miniature, thanks to its soul, it has access through the soul to all times and places, on earth and in heaven. From this perspective, the travels of Rosencreutz are indeed true; only their truth lies in the imagination rather than the sensory perceptions.

The Rosicrucian experience of the early seventeenth century has been called an enlightenment, a dream, a hoax, and much else, but may well be approached as a call to learn from the alien Other and thus to prepare for the Millennium. It might indeed be seen as a partial fulfillment of the prophetic words printed on the title page of Francis Bacon's *Novum Organum*: *multi pertransibunt et augitur scientia* ("many shall run to and fro, and knowledge shall be increased."[138]

Behind Christian's story were many others of travelers who brought Eastern ideas to the West. In France, there was Nicolas Flamel, who learned the secrets of alchemy from a Jewish manuscript he found in a Paris market and was finally able to understand it with help from a Spanish Jew, whom he met in his business travels. In Spain, there was Ramon Llull, who learned memory techniques from

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134 For a good general introduction to such theories of the soul, see Patrick Harpur, *The Secret Tradition of the Soul* (Berkeley, CA: North Atlantic Books, 2011); published in England as *A Complete Guide to the Soul* (London: Rider, 2010).

135 Hermann Hesse, *Die Morgenlandfahrt: Eine Erzählung* (1932; Frankfurt a. M.: Suhrkamp, 1982). For an English version see *The Journey to the East*, trans. Hilda Rosner (London: Vision Press, 1956).

136 See Thomas Willard, "The Star in Man: C. G. Jung and Marie-Louise von Franz on the Alchemical Philosophy of Gerard Dorn," *Gutes Leben und guter Tod von der Spätantike bis zur Gegenwart*, ed. Albrecht Classen. Theophrastus Paracelsus Studien, 4 (Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2012), 425–61, esp. 453–54.

137 Of course Plotinus is properly speaking a Middle Platonist and Ficino a Neoplatonist, but both insist on a single Platonic tradition, as did later writers like those who produced and were influenced by the original Rosicrucian texts. Thomas Vaughan identifies the occult sciences with "the *Platonick Philosophie*," as opposed to the official Aristotelianism of universities; see *Euphrates, or the Waters of the East* (London: Humphrey Moseley, 1655), 19.

138 Daniel 12: 4. These words are quoted on the title page of Francis Bacon, *Novum Organum* (London, 1620), which shows a ship sailing beyond the Pillars of Hercules, the symbolic limits of the ancient world.

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Sufis. In Italy, there was Marco Polo, of course, but also his older countryman Leonardo Pisano Bigollo, who introduced the abacus to Europe and, more importantly, Arabic numerals, which revolutionized business accounting. In Germany, there was Paracelsus.

Christian's story was no doubt intended to inspire a new attitude toward learning and religion and their relations. It needs to be read in a non-literal manner, as a symbolic story or myth. A lead of sorts can be found in a book from a full century ago, which offers a psychological reading of an alchemical parable and attempts to show how Freudian symbolism has an "anagogic" parallel in biblical and alchemical symbolism.[139] The author has written:

> Vatter Christian Rosenkreutz is indeed evidently only a composite legendary personage as the bearer of a definite symbolism (Christ, rose, cross), (and may have been devised merely in jest). The name does not come from the personality of the founder but the personality of the founder comes from the name. The symbols and expressions that lie at the foundations are the earlier.[140]

Christian in fact represents a quality in the late-medieval West—a rare quality—that allows him to look for value in the non-Christian world. Many travelers to the East sought rare commodities—spices, silk, inventions—but few were prepared to find something worthy of deep intellectual respect. Christian Rosencreutz presents the same open-minded acceptance of the alien Other that Morienus showed many centuries earlier. Though coming from a sheltered monastic setting, he has youth on his side and finds deep knowledge, knowledge lost to the West for centuries, where others of his time would have seen only ignorance of Western religion and values. Though he is a Christian, he is also a humanist, bringing from the Germanic north an openness to the wisdom of the ancients that only began to appear in the Italian Renaissance.

From the first, the Rosicrucian manifestos showed a combination of Christianity and Humanism. Along with Hermeticism, they offered a different road to modernity than would finally be taken—a road that rejected religious intolerance and extremism but not religion itself. Some would say that this road was later chosen by our country's founding fathers. Others would add, more questionably, that it these founders took inspiration from Freemasonry, with its rather Deistic devotion to the Great Creator, and even, most questionably, to the Rosicrucian Order in Scottish Rite Masonry. I suspect the American inspiration more likely came from the liberal Protestantism of the eighteenth century and the lessons

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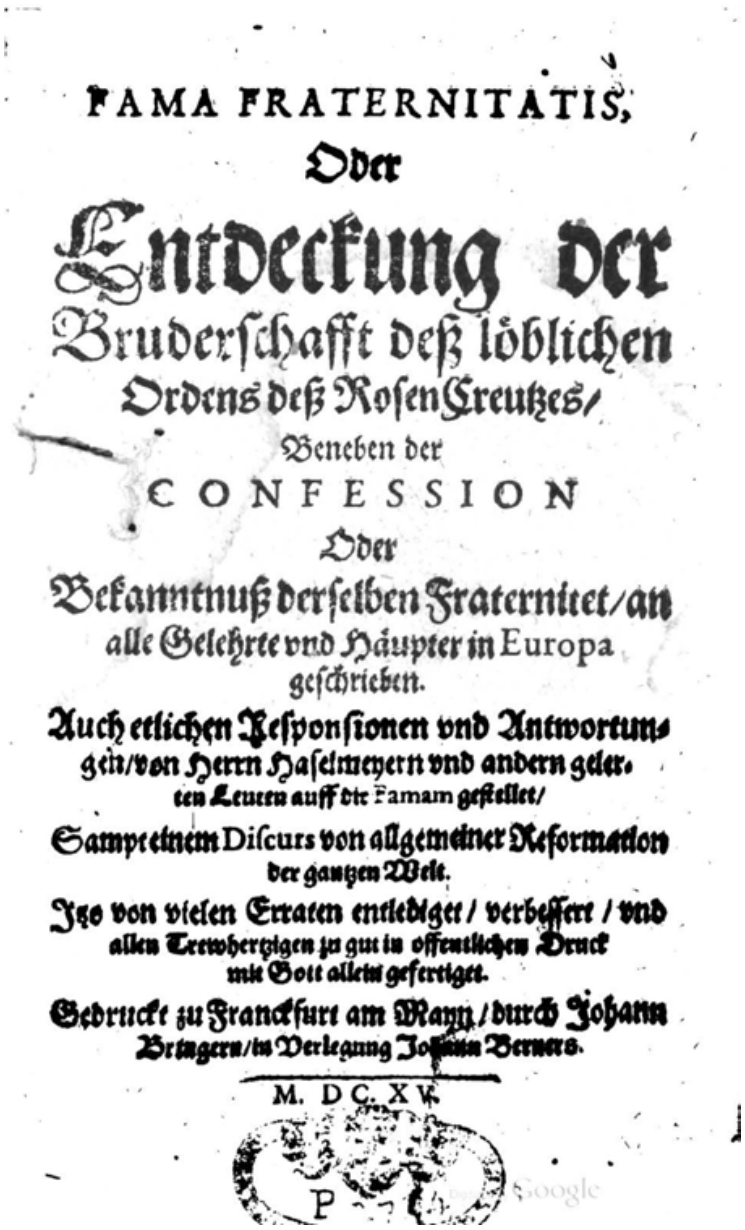
139 Herbert Silberer, *Problems of Mysticism and Its Symbolism*, trans. Smith Ely Jelliffe (1914; New York: Moffat, Yard, & Co., 1917), esp. 263. The late Northrop Frye cited the book in *Anatomy of Criticism: Four Essays* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1957), 359, and in conversation praised Silberer's insight about anagogy, the fourth level in medieval exegesis.

140 Silberer, *Problems of Mysticism* (see note 139), 192.

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learned from the religious wars of the seventeenth century, which affected the whole European continent and prompted some English-speaking people to seek refuge in North America. I shall end, however, by suggesting more confidently that the Rosicrucian myth grew out of a conviction that there was only one way to avoid the sort of religious warfare that had plagued Europe since the Crusades, at least. That solution was to extend the reformation beyond religion to include natural philosophy and moral philosophy—what we would call the sciences and social sciences—and beyond the self-certainties of the West to learn from the East.

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FAMA FRATERNITATIS,
Oder
Entdeckung der
Bruderschafft deß löblichen
Ordens deß Rosen Creutzes/
Beneben der
CONFESSION
Oder
Bekanntnuß derselben Fraternitet/an
alle Gelehrte vnd Häupter in Europa
geschrieben.
Auch etlichen Responsionen vnd Antwortun-
gen/von Herrn Haselmeyern vnd andern gelet-
ten Leuten auff die Famam gestellet/
Sampt einem Discurs von allgemeiner Reformation
der gantzen Welt.
Jtzo von vielen Erraten entlediget / verbessert / vnd
allen Trewhertzigen zu gut in offentlichen Druck
mit Gott allein gefertiget.
Gedruckt zu Franckfurt am Mayn / durch Johann
Bringern/in Verlegung Johann Berners.
M. DC. XV.

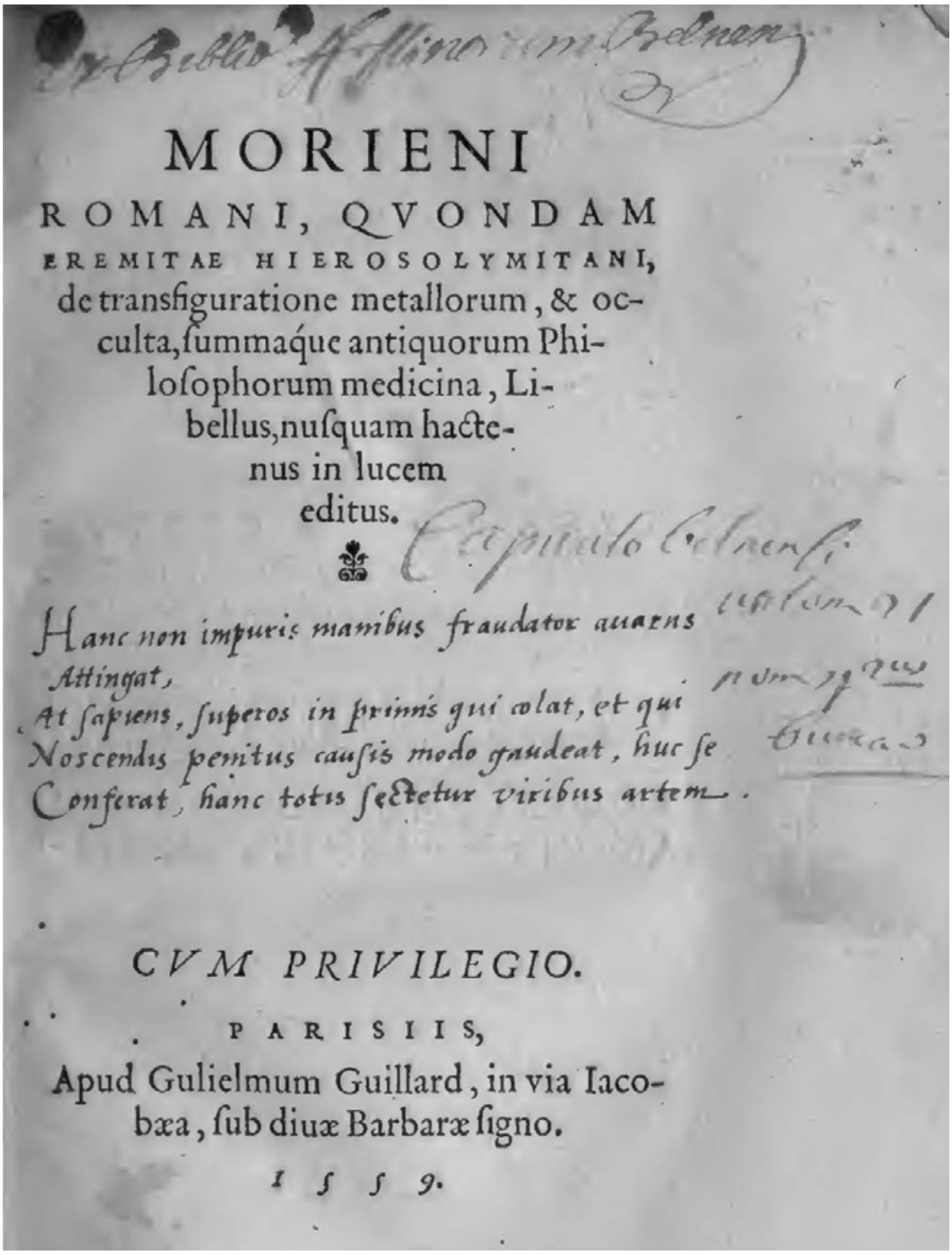
Fig. 1. Title page of the first combined edition of the Rosicrucian *Fama* and *Confessio* (1615)

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Fig. 2. Morienus (right) instructs Calid in the alchemical philosophy. From Michael Maier's *Symbola Aureae Mensae* (1616)

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MORIENI
ROMANI, QVONDAM
EREMITAE HIEROSOLYMITANI,
de transfiguratione metallorum, & occulta, summaque antiquorum Philosophorum medicina, Libellus, nusquam hactenus in lucem editus.

Hanc non impuris manibus fraudator auarus
Attingat,
At sapiens, superos in primis qui colat, et qui
Noscendis penitus causis modo gaudeat, huc se
Conferat, hanc totis sectetur viribus artem.

CVM PRIVILEGIO.

PARISIIS,
Apud Gulielmum Guillard, in via Iacobæa, sub diuæ Barbaræ signo.
1559.

Fig. 3. Title page of the first published account of the dialogue between Morienus and Calid (1559)

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Chapter 20

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Producing *Yeni Dünya* for an Ottoman Readership: The Travels of Ilyas bin Hanna al-Mawsuli in Colonial Latin America, 1675–1683

I. An Arab Christian in the Iberian New World – the not-so "Imperial Gaze"

In 1668, a priest of the Chaldean Catholic Church[1] in Baghdad named Ilyas bin Hanna al-Mawsuli (Elias, son of John of Mosul) embarked on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, but what started as a trip within Ottoman domains to the holy city blossomed into something much larger. Thanks to the relatively recent connection

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[1] According to Caesar E. Farah, trans., *An Arab's Journey to Colonial Spanish America: The Travels of Elias al-Mûsili in the Seventeenth Century*. Middle East Literature in Translation (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 2003), x, the term "Chaldean" as used by al-Mawsuli implies that be belonged to the Eastern Rite that had joined Rome: "The Holy See chose to dub as 'Chaldeans' both the Jacobites and the Nestorians who acknowledged the pope as their spiritual leader. Both were of the Monophysite persuasion but utilized different liturgies in their services." Nabil Matar, ed., trans., *In the Lands of the Christians: Arabic Travel Writing in the Seventeenth Century* (New York: Routledge, 2003), 45, briefly recounting the history of the split of the "Assyrian Church of the East" with Rome after the Council of Ephesus in 431 due to the Monophysite teachings of Nestorius, notes that it reestablished communion with Rome in 1552 after a number of conversions of its bishops to Catholicism, locating its see in Baghdad "because its followers were primarily from Iraq." Finally, regarding whether al-Mawsuli was of the Nestorian or Jacobite persuasion of the Eastern Rite, Farah concludes, "we might safely assume" he was Jacobite, since "the manuscript was discovered in a monastery located in the Jacobite heartland" (Farah, *An Arab's Journey*, x).

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of his Church to Rome in 1552, al-Mawsuli traveled to Europe, visiting Venice, France, Spain and Rome, most likely in order to raise funds for himself and the treasury of his Church.[2] Offered "anything [he] requested"[3] by the Spanish queen regent after holding mass for her and her son, he was convinced by the papal nuncio, Cardinal Mariscotti,[4] to request "permission and a firm order allowing [him] to journey to the West Indies."[5] Al-Mawsuli's request was granted, and he embarked for *yeni dünya*—the New World—in 1675.[6]

Al-Mawsuli's journey took him through the Viceroyalties of Peru and New Spain.[7] Thanks to both letters from the pope and the Spanish queen regent, ecclesiastical and lay officials treated al-Mawsuli with kindness and hospitality at each segment of his travels, allowing him leisurely (and actively) to soak in New World flora and fauna, witness the mining of precious metals, and interact with Native Americans, while al-Mawsuli performed mass for his hosts in the Eastern Rite. In 1680, when his travel permit expired in Lima, he began to write a *riḥla*, or travel narrative, basing it on both his own eyewitness experience and on Spanish textual sources to flesh out a (Eurocentric) history of the New World and of Christianity within. Traveling to the "sultanate of *Yeni Dünya*" (the Viceroyalty of New Spain), whose name he conflated with the entirety of the Americas, al-Mawsuli returned to Spain and thence to Rome in 1683. His narrative then disappears from the historical record for the next two hundred years.

In 1906, the manuscript resurfaced, edited and published by the esteemed Syrian Jesuit priest Antûn Rabbât[8] in Arabic as *The First Journey of an Oriental to America; Voyage of the Priest Elias Son of the Priest John of Mosul from the Ammoun Chaldean*

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2 Neither Farah, *An Arab's Journey* (see note 1) nor Matar, *In the Lands of the Christians* (see note 1) give any solid reason for al-Mawsuli's motives, which are of course absent in his narrative. Both authors mention the possibility that al-Mawsuli attempted to raise personal wealth, or acted as a spy on behalf of the pope for the purpose of investigating the state of the Church in the Americas.

3 Matar, *In the Lands of the Christians* (see note 1), 56.

4 According to Matar he was "an able cardinal who nearly became pope in 1700 but for the objection of France" (*In the Lands of the Christians* [see note 1], 108). Mariscotti is referred to as "blessed" or "a holy man" by Farah and Matar, respectively, but Matar's translation adds that he implores al-Mawsuli to "[beware] the monks of India [the Americas] because they are wicked" Matar, *In the Lands of the Christians* [see note 1], 56).

5 Farah, *An Arab's Journey to Colonial Spanish America* (see note 1), 14.

6 Matar's translation uses "India," "the lands of the Indies," and "the Indies" at the start of the narrative in addition to "Yenki Dunia" (*yeni dünya*).

7 His travels encompassed the modern states of Colombia, Peru, Bolivia, Argentina, Chile, Panama, Venezuela and Mexico. Al-Mawsuli also visited areas that encompass modern Argentina and Paraguay.

8 According to Farah, Rabbât was both a contributor to "the esteemed Jesuit publication of the University of Saint Joseph of Beirut, Lebanon, *al-Mashriq* (The East)" as well as "an authority on Eastern Christianity" (Farah, *An Arab's Journey* [see note 1], ix).

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Family, 1668–1683.[9] It took until 2003 for the *riḥla* to become available in English. Caesar E. Farah and Nabil Matar published their own English translations of the *riḥla*—Farah's as a single volume[10] and Matar's as part of a collection of seventeenth-century Arabic travel literature.[11] Curiously, both translations were published at the same time, but there is no evidence of a collaborative effort.

Travel writing, like any other historical source, does not produce work *wie es eigentliche gewesen ist* (how it actually had been); eyewitness accounts are rendered through the writer's mental lexicon, accompanied by digested (and regurgitated) textual references. Al-Mawsuli's *riḥla* fulfills this standard, but rather than coming from just a European cultural *milieu*, as a Chaldean Catholic priest from Ottoman Iraq he belonged to two cultural zones: what we might call the "Catholic-European" and "Ottoman-Arab" cultural *milieux*. Thus, Al-Mawsuli provides his readers at home with an exotic yet familiar setting—at once the fabled, hidden Ptolematic "fourth clime" (*iqlîm al-rabiʿaa*)[12] and the familiar "land of the Christians" (*bilad al-nasara*).[13] Al-Mawsuli's dual cultural *milieux* are reflected in language: he spoke Spanish well enough to deliver a sermon and to communicate with colonial and Church officials, knew enough Latin to perform mass in the Roman Rite, performed masses in his own liturgical language of Eastern Syriac to eager colonial audiences, utilized his knowledge of Turkish (a requisite language in the ethnic *milieu* of Ottoman Mosul) to translate for an Ottoman emissary to Louis XIV, and he wrote in an Arabic infused with Turkish and Persian words.

It is hard to conceive the unique *riḥla* of Ilyas bin Hanna al-Mawsuli as a work closed to an audience beyond himself. Nabil Matar notes that while al-Mawsuli's

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9 *Riḥlat awwal sharqī ʾilā Amarika wahiya siyāḥat al-khūrī Ilyās ibn al-qasīs Ḥannā al-Mauṣuli min ʿailat Baitʿamūn al-Kaldāni 1668–ʾila 1683* (Beirut: Maṭbaʿa Kathūlīkīya, 1906). A verbatim copy of the Rabbât edict was published in 2001 in Beirut: Nuri al-Jarrah, *Al-Dhahab w-al-Asifa, Riḥlat Ilyas al-Mawsuli ila America* (Beirut: al-Mussasat al-Arabiya lil-Dirasat a-al-Nashr, 2001).

10 Farah, *An Arab's Journey* [see note 1]. Henceforth, when referring to the *Riḥla* itself, it will be cited as *Riḥla* in Farah, *An Arab's Journey*, and when referring to Farah's notes, it will be cited as Farah, *An Arab's Journey*.

11 Matar, *In the Lands of the Christians* [see note 1]. Henceforth, when referring to the *Riḥla* itself, it will be cited as *Riḥla* in Matar, *In the Lands of the Christians*, while when referring to Matar's notes, it will be cited as Matar, *In the Lands of the Christians*.

12 In al-Mawsuli's *exordium*, he frames the Americas and their inhabitants as part of the teleological narrative of Christianity's spread: the "fourth clime" is "concealed from sight and mind" and was believed by St. Augustine to be "uninhabited by humans" (*Riḥla* in Farah, *An Arab's Journey* [see note 1], 3). See Natalie Zemon Davis, *Trickster Travels: A Sixteenth-Century Muslim Between Worlds* (New York: Hill & Wang, 2006), 100.

13 This phrase features heavily in Nabil Matar's collection of early-modern Arabic travel writing; it is in fact part of the title. Regarding the production of chocolate, Farah translates it as a product of "Christian [European] countries" (*Riḥla* in Farah, *An Arab's Journey* [see note 1], 29) while Matar translates it as "a fruit . . . used in all the lands of the Christians" (*Riḥla* in Matar, *In the Lands of the Christians* [see note 1], 64).

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account did not see printing until the twentieth century, this does not mean that it received no reception at home.[14] Yet the nature of the intended reception is open to interpretation. Matar believes that al-Mawsuli's journey was "an affirmation of [Catholic] Christian victory" in the New World,[15] while Farah quite reasonably speculates that al-Mawsuli wrote "for the benefit of fellow Syrians . . . entertain[ing] his fellow countrymen with tales of exploits in unknown lands" and imparting to said readership "a strong awareness of the cultures of the New World, from the perspective both of the native Indian peoples and of the ruling Spaniards and the Church."[16]

Edward Said and others have written of the "imagined geographies,"[17] or constructed perspectives, that dominate European perceptions of the Other; these perspectives were present in early modern Iberian views of the Americas, which incorporated the New World and its peoples into the teleology of Christian Europe or objectified its inhabitants as recipients of Christian power. Indeed, some authors have argued that there is no such thing as an innocent travel text, and that they lend themselves to "promot[ing], confirm[ing] and lament[ing] the exercise of imperial power."[18] While it is safe to say that the seventeenth century was not a time of European global hegemony and that no one could have anticipated said hegemony coming in the nineteenth century, displacing a world trade system centered on China and the Indian Ocean trade nexus,[19] it was still the age of the Habsburg Empire, whose suzerainty included *Las Españas* and by extension Iberian possessions in the Americas.

One has but to consider the arguably ridiculous 1494 Treaty of Tordesillas, which bisected the entire globe into spheres of Iberian Spanish and Iberian Portuguese influence, absolutely ignoring the political reality of the early modern world—one which, incidentally, was *not* dominated by the newfound maritime might of the Portuguese carrack, whose captains still had to vie for maritime supremacy in the Indian Ocean with the Ottomans (who were *not* passive in the face of European voyages).[20]

While the seventeenth-century world was not dominated by Europe, the

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14 Matar, *In the Lands of the Christians* (see note 1), xxiii–xxiv.

15 Matar, *In the Lands of the Christians* (see note 1), 46.

16 Farah, *An Arab's Journey* (see note 1), xvii.

17 These "imagined geographies" include Orientalism and the British "imperial gaze" of Halford Mackinder.

18 *Travel Writing and Empire: Postcolonial Theory in Transit*, ed. Steve Clark (London and New York: Zed Books, distributed by St. Martin's Press, 1999), 3.

19 See Janet Abu Lughod, *Before European Hegemony: The World System A.D. 1250–1350* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989); Andre Gunder Frank, *ReOrient: Global Economy in the Asian Age* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998).

20 See Giancarlo Casale, *The Ottoman Age of Exploration* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010).

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unevenness of the encounter between the Old and New Worlds and the success of Iberian settlement and administration in Central and South America produced a corpus of works we can retrospectively call "Eurocentric," by the simple virtue of their paean to a Christocentric worldview.[21] However, while al-Mawsuli does rely upon "Eurocentric" histories bearing imagined geographies as textual background for his narrative, he is not just arbitrarily reproducing European empire for a home readership. Farah's speculation of al-Mawsuli entertaining his home readership whilst imparting to them an awareness of the New World should be tempered with Matar's statement that al-Mawsuli was "always conscious of himself as coming from the East—both geographically and ecclesiastically."[22]

The gaze of Ilyas bin Hannah al-Mawsuli cannot, therefore, be described as purely imperial. Perhaps it would be better simply to frame the production of the *riḥla*—informed by al-Mawsuli's eyewitness experiences, European textual history, and the lexicon of the author's own Ottoman-Arab cultural *milieu*—as a text, à la Mary Louise Pratt, meant to "produce the rest of the [Christian] world for [Ottoman] readerships,"[23] bearing traces of, but not a paean to, European empire.

Pratt was writing in *Imperial Eyes* of modern European travelers perceiving the Americas and Africa who projected a specifically modern sense of European empire when they "produced the rest of the world" for a home readership, but her phrase provides an appropriate theoretical framework for the *Riḥla Sharqī Awwal ìla Amarika*. Its production may have imparted a sense of European hegemony, but as we will see, Al-Mawsuli was not a European, even if he had a foot in the Catholic-European cultural *milieu* thanks to the connection of his Church to Rome. Thus, his work occupies a complicated place in the body of travel writing about the New World. Lacking access to the original Arabic manuscript, I will utilize both Farah's and Matar's English translations, which differ only in terms of writing style and terminology.[24]

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21 These sources include Gregorio García's *Origen de los indios del Nuevo Mundo e indias occidentales* (1607) and José de Acosta's *História natural y moral de las Indias* (1590), but also works from lesser known (or unknown) authors such as "Garcilasco, Salazar, Anton de Edebra, Diego de Alvera, Roderico Luca, Andreas de Lara, and Hugo Karon" (Farah, *An Arab's Journey* [see note 1], xix).

22 Matar, *In the Lands of the Christians* (see note 1), 46.

23 Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (London: Routledge, 1992), 5.

24 The differences are mainly from transliteration preferences; Farah prefers the Latinized "Elias al-Mûsili" while Matar uses the Romanized "Ilyas al-Mawsuli." Farah also tends to use spelling equivalents somewhat closer to modern Turkish for Turkophone words: *topci bashi* as opposed to Matar's *tubji basha*, *Yeni Dünya* rather than Matar's *Yenki Dunia*. Wheras Farah uses European royal and eccleastical titles Matar sticks to the author's liberal use of sultan, sultanate, *rais* and *sayyid*, among other terms.

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II. Historical Context: The Chaldeans Under Ottoman Rule

After a century-long series of shifts between the imperial Ottoman and Safavid dynasties, al-Mawsuli's namesake hometown of Mosul, as well as Baghdad, became Ottoman *eyalets* in 1639. Subsequently under the Ottoman fold came the Chaldean Church, al-Mawsuli's Monophysite Christian community, which had been linked to Rome in 1522. This link allowed for the retention of the liturgy and language of the Eastern Churches while recognizing the supreme authority of the Roman pontiff.[25] The establishment of the *Propaganda Fide* in 1622 by Pope Gregory XV further solidified this link, offering seminaries for Rome-aligned Christian communities all over the world, Baghdad included. The Reverend Gabriel Oussani, in a 1901 article written for the *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, described the Chaldeans accordingly:

> During the last three centuries many of the Nestorians of Kurdistan and Persia have joined the Roman Catholic Church, keeping, however, their customs, language, and ecclesiastical rites. These Roman Catholic Nestorians are scattered in Mosul, Karkûk, Baghdâd, Mardîn, Diârbekr, Se'ert, Zakho, Akra, Urmia, Salmas, and they are now usually called *Chaldeans*, the name of *Nestorians* being restricted to their non-Catholic brethren.[26]

The Chaldeans received education in Rome and the vestments to conduct mass in their own language, experiencing and partaking in the Catholic-European religio-cultural *milieu*. Described in 1852 by George Percy Badger in typical Orientalist fashion, this link had come to signify the transmission of "civilization" to the Chaldean Church, a gift that fellow Nestorians lacked:

> If we compare . . . the present condition of the Chaldean community with the condition of their Nestorian brothers, justice demands that we should acknowledge the superiority of the former in civilization, general intelligence and ecclesiastical order, because the Chaldeans have profited by their communion and intercourse with Rome from whence they have learned something of European advancement, and their youths, who have been educated at the Propaganda, are undoubtedly more intelligent than those brought up in their own country.[27]

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25 Phyllis Zagano, "What *All* Catholics Should Know," *Catholic Update* (January 2006); online at: http://www.americancatholic.org/Newsletters/CU/ac0106.asp (last accessed on Nov. 2, 2012).

26 Gabriel Oussani, "The Modern Chaldeans and Nestorians, and the Study of Syriac Among Them," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 22 (1901): 79–96; here 81.

27 George Percy Badger, *The Nestorians and their rituals: with the narrative of a mission to Mesopotamia and Coordistan in 1842–1844, and of a late visit to those countries in 1850; also, researches into the present condition of the Syrian Jacobites, papal Syrians, and Chaldeans, and an inquiry into the religious tenets of the Yezeedees* (London: Darf Publishers, 1987). Rev. Oussani quotes Badger, stating that the Chaldeans in 1901 "are still living under much better conditions than their brethren in Kurdistan or Persia" (Oussani, "The Modern Chaldeans and Nestorians" [see note 26], 84).

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Orientalist as this description is, it reflects the fact that Mesopotamian Christian Arabs from 1522 had access to the Catholic-European *milieu* and thus access to both its material and intellectual/spiritual advantages. Al-Mawsuli, while in France, encountered his paternal nephew Yunān (Jonah), returning to Baghdad loaded with books and training provided by the Propaganda Fide.[28] In addition, on his way back to Madrid from Rome, Al-Mawsuli encountered an Aleppine Christian named Yusuf (Joseph) Fattāl who "attended to [his] needs" on the journey and was probably enrolled in a seminary at the Propaganda Fide.[29] According to Nabil Matar, this link between Eastern Monophysite Churches and Rome allowed the genre of *riḥla* to flourish among those Christian Arabs who decided to write of their travels to Rome or beyond, and al-Mawsuli's own work is a product of this link.[30]

IIa. Al-Mawsuli, the Ottoman-Arab

Al-Mawsuli may be to Badger and Oussani a scion of the "West" spirited out of the languor of life under a Muslim ruler, but nowhere in his narrative does he resort to any polemic against Islam. Any mention of "heretics" or "heathens" in his narrative are in reference to Protestant Christians (usually the English) or to Native Americans, and even then his ire is reserved for the former rather than the latter. It is as if Islam was irrelevant to the political reality of al-Mawsuli's life; the only clue to its inescapable presence is the use of Arabic words in the narrative's lexicon that hold a specifically Islamic context.[31] But al-Mawsuli's political allegiance to the Sublime State cannot be ignored. If Islam is not present, its most powerful empire is: in Paris, an emissary (*ilçi*) of Sultan Mehmet IV requested al-Mawsuli's services as translator while he was a guest of Louis XIV:

> While I was [in France], a messenger arrived from Sultan Mohammad, sultan of the Turks [Mehmed IV, 1648–1687], to meet Sultan Louis al-Mansur [Louis XIV, 1638–1715]. This messenger is known in Turkish and Persian as *eelji*. I visited him many times to translate for him into Turkish.[32]

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28 Farah, *An Arab's Journey* (see note 1], 12.

29 Farah, *An Arab's Journey* [see note 1], 13.

30 Matar, *In the Lands of the Christians* [see note 1], xix.

31 Matar notes these words in brackets in his translation; thus is the Garden of Eden *Firdaws Aden*; Jesus's miracles are *ayat* ("signs" of God in the Qur'an); Jerusalem is *Al-Quds al-Sharif*; and the conquest of Peru is referred to as *fat-h*, a noun associated in Arabic histories with the conquests of Islam.

32 *Riḥla* in Matar, *In the Lands of the Christians* [see note 1], 53.

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Al-Mawsuli's *exordium* to his *riḥla* bears witness to the author's knowledge of Amerigo Vespucci as the fourth clime's namesake, even if he considered it "falsely named."[33] The rulers of the Ottoman Empire, however, were also aware of the event and significance of the European encounter with the Americas. The surviving fragment of the famous map of Piri Reis[34] dating from 1513 displays in astounding clarity the shores of the Atlantic Ocean in the Western hemisphere, including the Carribean and a large portion of the South American coastline. The entire region was labeled as *Vilayet Antila*, and there is debate over whether the Ottomans viewed these lands as open to possible conquest.[35] Thus al-Mawsuli's narrative must be read in the context of a preexisting knowledge of the Americas in the Ottoman Empire, at least among higher notables.

Obviously, as well, al-Mawsuli reflects his homeland through his language. As we have seen, he apparently knew Turkish—or at least was familiar enough with it—and his language of everyday life was Arabic, most likely the colloquial of Mosul rather than the classical Arabic of the '*ulamâ*.[36] His findings are articulated in a lexicon of words familiar to him and his home readership. The wool of the vicuña resembles *tiftik* (the soft wool of the Angora goat); Peruvian Indians drank a fermented corn beverage that "[made] them drunk, like *'araq*";[37] rafts for river crossing are referred to as *kelek* (inflated sheepskin used for the same purpose on the Tigris river); and distances and unites of measurement are given in Arabic, Turkish, and Persian terms.[38] In addition—relating to al-Mawsuli's sentiment toward rulership—both the Ottomans and the kings of Europe are "sultans" (*ṣalaṭīn*) rather than "kings" (*mulūk*), reflecting not only biblical associations related to the latter Arabic word but the former's suggestion of a distant and alien ruler.[39]

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33 According to Farah's translation, al-Mawsuli believed that the continent should have been named after its discoverer, Christopher Columbus (*Riḥla* in Farah, *An Arab's Journey* [see note 1], 3).

34 The celebrated sea captain and cartographer serving under Sultan Selim I (r. 1512–1520).

35 Abbas Hamdani suggested that the labeling of the western hemisphere as a *vilayet* meant that the Ottomans intended to extend their spread along the Maghrebi coast to the Americas and were only stymied because they could not gain access to the Atlantic coast (Abbas Hamdani, "Ottoman Response to the Discovery of America and the New Route to India," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 101.3 (1981): 323–30; here 329). Giancarlo Casale, whose research covers the sixteenth century Ottoman maritime imperial expansion, begs to differ, stating that it is clear from Piri's later writings which allow for a partial reconstruction of his map that the eastern, not the western, hemisphere was Selim's focus (Casale, *The Ottoman Age of Exploration* [see note 20], 23).

36 This is due to the *riḥla's* "numerous idiosyncrasies in grammar, vocabulary, and spelling" and lack of "equivalents for many ecclesiastical terms that prevailed in Catholic Europe" noted by Nabil Matar (Matar, p.47). Antûn Rabbât also described al-Mawsuli's Arabic as "lacking in knowledge of composition and literary style" (Farah, *An Arab's Journey* [see note 1], xvi.).

37 *Riḥla* in Farah, *An Arab's Journey* [see note 1], 48.

38 These include the *qirish* (imperial piaster) for currency, *qirat* (karat) and *khandekar* for weight, and the *parasang* for geographical length.

39 Matar, *In the Lands of the Christians,* (see note 1), 107.

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Only the pope is granted the term *sayyid*, or master, showing perhaps where al-Mawsuli's true loyalties lie.

Although the language is not written in his narrative, al-Mawsuli also spoke "the Chaldean language, that is, Eastern Syriac" which he would use to perform mass multiple times to a number of New World audiences, both publicly and privately.[40] In fact, his performance of the mass in the Eastern Rite is a key feature in his travels, punctuating his stays at governors' residences and monasteries. While we do not know the real reason for al-Mawsuli's good treatment at the hands of secular and ecclesiastical officials, perhaps they found him exotic—or perhaps, he *thought* that his European hosts found him exotic—for there are countless reports of "greatly pleased" audiences admiring the Eastern Rite mass and vestments. Or perhaps in his performance of the mass, he participated in a mutual intercultural-religious exchange, absorbing the cultures and sights of the New World while his audiences became acquainted with the old Christianity of the Near East.

III. Historical Context: The Americas at the Time of al-Mawsuli's Travel

The Roman Catholic Church in the Americas provided both a pacifying ideology and a moral legitimation for conquest.[41] The Church's success in the New World lay upon its patronage by Spanish monarchs who sustained the clerical hierarchy and ecclesiastical upkeep through control of taxed and tithed income. Jealously guarded, the Spanish colonies were normally accessible only through possession of licenses granted by the Casa de Contratación, the administrative body that governed Spanish colonization of the Americas. Al-Mawsuli bore a visitor's permit from the Spanish queen regent, which upon presentation to the Casa de Contratación allowed him a license:

> The permit from the queen was addressed to the minister as well as the archbishops, bishops, and governors in all the lands of India [the Spanish American Viceroyalties] and commanded them to offer me assistance. In [Cádiz] assemble the cabinet members [of the Casa de Contratación] who oversee the affairs of the sultanate. I presented them with the queen's permit, which they recorded, and they then gave me a pass.[42]

Even a permit from the queen herself was subject to a fixed unit of time. In 1680,

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40 *Riḥla* in Farah, *An Arab's Journey* (see note 1), 42.

41 Anthony James Gill, *Rendering Unto Caesar: The Catholic Church and the State in Latin America* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998), 20.

42 *Riḥla* in Matar, *In the Lands of the Christians* (see note 1), 56.

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while in Lima, a religious dignitary notified him that "your permit and the license that were given to you are for four years. They are expired."[43] This did not deter al-Mawsuli, though, from spending three more years in the New World. Countless members of the colonial elite in a growing network facilitated his travels, establishing a link in the chain of communication throughout the Viceroyalties of Peru and New Spain.[44] An easily identifiable pattern emerges in the narrative: al-Mawsuli travels to new locations, and at each location he is greeted in person by a secular or ecclesiastical official and given accommodations either at the governor's residence or at a monastery, the latter which he seems to have preferred as it might have allowed him to conceal his possessions, which included precious metals or freshly-minted coins that would normally be inaccessible to a buyer.[45]

IIIa. Al-Mawsuli, the Catholic-European

Al-Mawsuli was not subject to the statutes of *limpieza de sangre*; free of taint in a culture obsessed with imaginary purity of blood, he wandered the New World as an equal to the secular and ecclesiastical officials he encountered, who showered him with accommodations and gifts. He was attended to hand and foot; in some cases, even offered material wealth in the form of natural resources. In the town of Huancavelica, after inspecting the mercury mine with the district governor,

> I held mass there on the altar that they have there in the middle of the mine and blessed them and their mines. The owners of the mine offered me a *bashkash* in the amount of fifty *qintârs* of mercury, asking me to wait a month until it can be extracted from the stone and given to me.[46]

One wonders if a "regular" priest might have afforded accommodations and offers such as al-Mawsuli's. This bushy-bearded Eastern Christian captivated the

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43 *Riḥla* in Matar, *In the Lands of the Christians* (see note 1), 91.

44 For just one example: "As concerns the viceroy of [New Spain], I was bringing him a letter from his relative, my friend the viceroy, who was in Peru" (*Riḥla* in Farah, *An Arab's Journey* [see note 1], 80). This friend—"his name is Don Balthasar Vilagucunda de Castilar, Marquis de Maragun"—had already received al-Mawsuli's letters of recommendation decree from Spain and promptly "received me with great joy and promised to help me with everything I needed" (*Riḥla* in Farah, *An Arab's Journey* [see note 1], 40).

45 This is Farah's speculation (Farah, *An Arab's Journey* [see note 1], xxvii).

46 *Riḥla* in Farah, *An Arab's Journey* [see note 1], 44–45. However, he was unsuccessful in this case: "Because of changing climatic conditions I feared staying, so I deputed someone to receive the mercury on my behalf when it was extracted. But it is under *yasak* [Turkish in origin for: prohibition] from the King [of Spain], who has decreed that no mine owner can sell mercury nor anyone buy it" (Farah, *An Arab's Journey* [see note 1], 45).

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colonials and indigenous alike, impressing his New World audience with his presence and performance of Eastern Rite mass. Even delivering a sermon in Spanish, he cut an impressive figure: in a Peruvian village where "all the inhabitants . . . are Indian" and "only their bishop is Spanish," his audience was "greatly pleased with my sermon, admiring my beard and change of vestment. All were kind to me and sought the blessing from me because I had given them gifts of rosaries and crosses from Jerusalem."[47]

As stated above, it is obvious that al-Mawsuli identified with the pope more than with any other earthly monarch, Europeans included. In addition, it is known that al-Mawsuli studied European works on the New World and its natives in order to provide a historical context to his narrative. It is clear from his narrative that he was not viewed as a stranger by those he encountered. However, al-Mawsuli was not European, and although the parts of Europe he visited as well as the Americas were to him "the lands of the Christians," he did not associate Christianity with Europe exclusively, nor did he associate himself with Europe. He was fully conscious of his status as an "Easterner," and thus brings a different perspective to not only the flora and fauna of the New World but to the Native Americans as well.

IV. Exoticizing through Sight, Familiarizing through Text

Since 1492 there had developed a shift in European and world consciousness, in which an Afro-Eurasian *oikoumene* centered on the Mediterranean Sea and flanked by oceans—beyond which lay "unknown, terrifying space"—gave way to an Ocean world in which all the continents were islands.[48] The Americas served as a *tabula rasa* in this emerging world-view upon which temporal and spiritual European authority was placed.

Ilyas al-Mawsuli's *exordium* to his narrative reflects this incorporation of the "empty" New World into the cosmology of the Old World, an affirmation of Christian victory in virgin space, setting the Catholic Church as its master. The *exordium* features a waxing of polemic on the confessional division in Europe, a division that affects him deeply: only the Protestant sects are "heretics" and the enemies of Christendom, not the "heathen" Native Americans (nor, for that matter, his fellow Muslim subjects of the Ottoman Empire). Al-Mawsuli then proceeds to introduce the cosmological change to his readers:

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47 Farah, *An Arab's Journey* [see note 1], 38.

48 Thomas Bender, *A Nation Among Nations: America's Place in World History* (New York: Hill & Wang, 2006), 16–17. See also Michel Du Jourdin Mollat, *Europe and the Sea: The Making of Europe* trans. Teresa Lavender Fagan (1993; Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 1993).

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> When [the Protestants] separated from the fold of the holy church, the Lord Jesus decided to admit other people in their stead, who were of different races and customs, speaking in foreign languages and tongues, living in valleys and mountains, following the wild ways with no difference between them and beasts . . . living in the *fourth zone*, which had been hidden from sight and was unknown. . . Our purpose is to show the return of those aforementioned people to the true faith and their admission into the holy church. *This zone, about which we intend to speak, is vast in length and width, and is larger, in length and width, than the other three zones known as Asia, Africa, and Europe.*[49] (italics mine)

Matar's "zone" is translated by Farah as "clime," which is in perhaps more proper accordance to Arabic language and geography—the term *iqlīm* refers to modified Ptolemaic, latitudinal climatic zones that medieval and early-modern Arab geographers used to describe the world's surface and the temperament of its varied peoples.[50] This simple exercise of semantics is evidence of al-Mawsuli's envisioning the history of the New World in culture-specific terms: those of classical Arab geographers. One may bring to mind another early modern traveler, Hassan ibn al-Wazzan, otherwise known as Giovanni Leo Africanus, whom Natalie Zemon Davis described as utilizing his captivity and conversion in Europe in order to present himself as an authority on sub-Saharan Africa, bypassing the strictures governing textual production in the Islamic world.[51]

While the late seventeenth century was not yet the era of a Eurocentric cosmology described by Mary Louise Pratt and marked by "the construction of a global-scale meaning through the descriptive apparatus of natural history,"[52] this was no longer the era of the exotic American unknown. The mythic El Dorado had fueled but one "last wave of exploration" in 1559, proving to be nothing more than a fevered dream.[53] The Valladolid debate took place nearly a century before al-Mawsuli's travels; on paper, at least, natives were considered free people unfit for slavery. Matters of administration, trade, and security replaced matters of exploration.

Yet the exotic unknown was what al-Mawsuli encountered and described for his readership back home. Consider the caïman, an "animal resembling a dragon":

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49 *Riḥla* in Matar, *In the Lands of the Christians* (see note 1), 50–51.

50 Although *iqlīm* can also be translated as "region," so perhaps Dr. Matar was not so far off in his choice of words.

51 See Natalie Zemon Davis, *Trickster Travels* (see note 12). See also the discussion of this interesting person by Albrecht Classen in the Introduction to this volume.

52 Pratt, *Imperial Eyes* (see note 23), 15.

53 The last expedition sent in pursuit of this mirage ended in an "embittered commoner" named Lope de Aguierre embarking on a failed conquest of the Viceroyalty of Peru (Mark A. Burkholder and Lyman L. Johnson, *Colonial Latin America,* 8th ed. [1990; New York: Oxford University Press, 2012], 65–66).

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> It is broad-bodied and five yards long, with a mouth about five fingers wide. When it encounters a human being, it swallows him alive, but it would not eat a dead one. It comes out of the water and roams near the river . . . Its feet resemble the paws of lions.[54]

Or the mysterious "flower of the Holy Spirit," thought by Caesar Farah to be an exaggerated description of the blooming of the *polygala*:

> I saw also on this mountain straight branches without leaves. On every branch were three kernels [nuts] like cotton. When the side of the nut opens, there emerges from it a white dove with full wings, legs, a red beak, and black eyes. The flower is called 'the flower of the Holy Spirit.' Many a ruler of Spain wished to have it brought back and planted there but failed [to do so].[55]

One of these new sights escapes rational explanation. Described by the governor of Portobelo, Panama—who tries to warn al-Mawsuli against traveling alone to Lima—and witnessed "with my own eyes!" by al-Mawsuli himself, it is a mobile, predatory "type of grass resembling bamboo" that appears to be selective in its targets:

> When a white man steps on it, it rises from the ground like the shaft of an arrow and strikes him. The one thus smitten does not recover. He dies. It does not strike Indians or blacks, nor does it harm them in any way. When the governor [of Portobelo, Panama] told me this story, I said to him that I do not believe what I do not see with my own eyes. He rose and sent an Indian servant along to point the weed out to me. When we reached where it was located, the Indian came around to my side of the horse and quickly disappeared. Lo and behold, the weed, still at a distance of ten yards from the road, rose and headed in my direction as intending to strike me. The Red man came out [of hiding] and shouted at it: "Beware O dog!" and it immediately fell back unto the ground. I witnessed this with my own eyes![56]

Aside from exotic flora and fauna, al-Mawsuli encountered an abundance of mineral wealth, including silver, whose mining he described fastidiously:

> I went to another mine known as Cailloma at a distance of one day's journey near a small village wherefrom they extract silver. There I observed how they do it, by

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54 *Riḥla* in Farah, *An Arab's Journey* (see note 1), 25.

55 *Riḥla* in Farah, *An Arab's Journey* (see note 1), 24.

56 *Riḥla* in Farah, *An Arab's Journey* (see note 1), 23. It takes only a mildly astute reader to determine that this was mostly likely a trick. Even Antûn Rabbât questioned the credibility of this account, and Caesar Farah in preserving Rabbât's suspicion speculated how perhaps the governor concocted this display in order to "dissuade [al-Mawsuli] from traveling altogether because of the risks involved" (*Riḥla* in Farah, *An Arab's Journey* [see note 1], 23). Yet at the same time, Farah stands by al-Mawsuli's eyewitness account: "there is no special reason to question his account given the fact that he does not merely rely on hearsay in this case" (*Riḥla* in Farah, *An Arab's Journey* (see note 1), 23–24).

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> grinding stones and placing the dirt-like result in water, then adding mercury to the 'mud.' They keep on stirring the mixture all day long for about ten or twelve days. Mercury attracts the silver, which attaches itself to it. Next they wash it in a basin lined with cattle skin. The water carries off the dirt and the silver settles in the bottom. I witnessed this whole process with my own eyes.[57]

Included among the natural wealth of *Yeni Dünya* was one commodity available in Europe but as of yet unavailable in the Ottoman lands:

> One can find [in Babahoyo, in what is today Ecuador] trees resembling mulberry trees bearing a fruit called cacao from which chocolate is made. The fruit hangs from the trees like melons and is attached to the stem of the tree. When it ripens and turns yellow, they harvest it and cut it open. Inside is the fruit, which consists of seeds harder than nuts. They leave them to dry; then they roast them until the color, smell, and taste resemble the coffee bean. But it is very oily, becoming even doughy. They add sugar to it as needed, also cinnamon and raw ambergris, and make patties from it [the mixture], then dry them in the shade. From these patties they boil the chocolate and drink it like coffee. This fruit is common to all Christian [European] countries, which they import from there [Ecuador] and sell.[58]

Al-Mawsuli did not rely on his own experiences alone, however; he digested the stories of the early conquest and Christianization of the natives, particularly those regarding Francisco Pizarro. Thus while the fourth clime was populated by "other peoples of differing lots and temperament . . . folk of strange tongues and languages dwelling in the wilderness and mountains, pursuing a barbarous life and differing not from animals, tormented and guided by the perdition of the devil,"[59] they had "returned" to Christendom after the evangelical efforts of the Spanish conquest of the Americas.

Whenever al-Mawsuli refers to Native Americans as "heathens" or "infidels," however, it is only in reference to those who are not under Spanish (and therefore Roman Catholic) suzerainty. The Indians are neither naturally corrupt nor evil—here al-Mawsuli would have agreed with Bartolomé de las Casas—but are worthy of salvation. Nor does al-Mawsuli demonstrate any sense of "superiority" vis-à-vis Native Americans. When told a story about an Indian who owned "a great rich mine which the Spaniards were unable to find," and asking his host why he did not report this mine's existence to the Spanish monarch, he was told that Indians making revelations to the Spaniards "die under their tortures."[60] Al-Mawsuli confirms the existence of this type of reaction: "I believed his words as concerns cruelty, which I myself have witnessed them [Spaniards] inflict upon the

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57 *Riḥla* in Farah, *An Arab's Journey* (see note 1), 52.
58 *Riḥla* in Farah, *An Arab's Journey* (see note 1), 28–29.
59 *Riḥla* in Farah, *An Arab's Journey* (see note 1), 3.
60 *Riḥla* in Farah, *An Arab's Journey* (see note 1), 63.

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Indians."[61] Again, the true enemies of Christ, at least according to al-Mawsuli, are not the Native Americans but rather the Protestant European nations. Whether al-Mawsuli was involved in further textual regurgitation in this regard—that is, whether he was reproducing Catholic polemic against Protestants—is unknown, although given his use of European textual sources on the Americas, it seems likely.

V. Conclusion

Ilyas al-Mawsuli may be described in retrospect as the first Arab to travel to the Americas, but it was before the development of the national or ethnic concept of "Arab." If we can deduce al-Mawsuli's identity out of what he left behind, we have an Ottoman Christian subject who, thanks to the link between his Church and Rome, was afforded an opportunity none of his fellow Chaldeans or Ottoman subjects had yet experienced. Simply put, he wrote for a home audience, all Ottoman subjects, in a context of knowledge of the existence of the New World but lack of knowledge about what this New World was truly like.

The *Riḥla awwal sharqīʾilā Amarika wahiyā siyāḥat al-kūhrī Ilyās ibn al-qasīs Ḥannā al-Mauṣuli min ʿailat baitʿamūn al-Kaldāni 1668 ʾila 1683* of Ilyas bin Hanna al-Mawsuli reproduces this New World—*Yeni Dünya*—for a home readership. The narrative in part reproduces the power of Christian Iberia placed in the virgin soil of the exotic "fourth clime," but it does so from the perspective of an Arabophone non-European Christian: thus everything is rendered in language familiar to the Ottoman Arab lands, from the New World's vast material wealth to al-Mawsuli's views of Native Americans. One may perhaps draw an interesting parallel to Marco Polo's travel narrative, which attempted to render both the unfamiliar through a familiar lexicon (thus do the "Idolater" Buddhists of Hangzhou have "churches" and "abbeys") while heavily focusing on—perhaps even exaggerating—the material wealth of a land considered the exotic unknown to a home audience.

Unfortunately, we do not have a physical record of how the *riḥla* of al-Mawsuli was received at home, since it was not printed until the twentieth century. However, as Nabil Matar notes, "the fact that the texts were not published does not meant that they were not known or used."[62] Further research into the reception of al-Mawsuli's *riḥla* should take into account the Arabic oral tradition mentioned by Matar that *in lieu* of published material "transmitted news, episodes, histories,

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61 *Riḥla* in Farah, *An Arab's Journey* (see note 1), 68.

62 Matar, *In the Lands of the Christians* (see note 1), xxiii.

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and biographies across the Arabic-speaking community from Fez to Jerusalem and from Aleppo to Mecca."[63]

What we can ultimately deduce from the *riḥla*, however, is that the subjects of the Ottoman Empire were not living in an intellectual vacuum. Al-Mawsuli would not have written his *riḥla* if he had no audience back home, eager for knowledge of the New World, curious about its wonders. The people of the Ottoman Empire did not lack curiosity and were not intellectually stagnant. It was for this readership that al-Mawsuli produced the New World.

63 Matar, *In the Lands of the Christians* (see note 1), xxiii.

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Chapter 21

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Orientalism in Early Modern Europe?

1. Introduction

When Edward Said published *Orientalism* in 1978 he fired a shot that was indeed heard around the world. Like all polemics, Said's seminal book was neither fair nor balanced. But as Nietzsche remarked, "The falseness of a judgment is to us not an objection to a judgment . . . . The question is to what extent it is life-advancing . . . ."[1] As I argue in this essay, Said's book advanced the life of scholarship tremendously by encouraging scholars to reconsider the issue he raised about the power of Western discourse to define and marginalize the East for its own enhancement and imperial ambitions. As a result, it has become increasingly clear over the past decades that Orientalism was not the one-way street Said imagined. Before 1800 Eastern cultures and Eastern ideas—whether from the Middle or Far East—inspired fear and awe among Europeans, and the Western denigration of Islam and the East was in many cases a defensive reaction fostered by a profound sense of inferiority and vulnerability. For what would Europeans have done without the horse collar, paper, gunpowder, the compass, the arch, the vault, and the number zero? And what about the drugs, spices, silks, cottons, coffee, tea, ceramics, and porcelain that came from the East and laid the foundation for a European domestic revolution, which, at least for the relatively well off, turned a house into a home.[2] Consensus has emerged among most scholars that until 1800

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1 Friedrich Nietzsche, *Beyond Good and Evil*, trans. Walter Kaufman (New York: Vintage, 1966), ch. 1, Aphorism 4.

2 The value of English and Dutch imports from Asia in the mid-eighteenth century was greater in value than the English and Dutch exports from the Americas. See Robert Markley, *The Far East and the English Imagination, 1600–1730* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006),

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an integrated world economy existed, and it was dominated by China and to a lesser extent by Japan and Moghal India. As Claudia Schnurmann points out, "compared to the Far East's progressive medicine, industry, and *savoir vivre*, even the Dutch, although highly sophisticated from a European perspective, at best measured up to what today would be considered 'third world' inhabitants in Asian eyes."[3]

Furthermore, some Eastern ideas influenced key aspects of Western religion, science, and culture. What has come to be known as "Western Esotericism" would not exist were it not for the influx of Eastern philosophical and religious ideas These ideas had a major impact on biblical criticism and attitudes toward Christianity and religion in general, paving the way for the Enlightenment. The Scientific Revolution cannot be understood without appreciating the impact of Egyptian, Islamic, Indian, and Chinese science on European natural philosophers (as scientists were called at the time). The popularity of Oriental art, literature, and architecture stimulated European imaginations, influencing Western art and aesthetics and leading many individuals to question behavioral norms as well as established notions of race, class, and gender. And, finally, if denigrating the so-called "other" was a feature of European culture, which it undoubtedly was, that "othering" was far more likely to be an internal Western phenomenon than an East-West one.[4] These are all topics that must be discussed in the light of Said's excoriation of the West for Orientalism.[5]

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341. Cf. Anthony Reid, *South East Asia in the Age of Commerce, 1450–1680*. 2 vols. (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1988–1993); Geoffrey C. Gunn, *First Globalization: The Eurasian Exchange, 1500–1800* (Latham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2003); Raffaella Sarti, *Europe at Home: Family and Material Culture, 1500–1800* (New Haven, CT, and London: Yale University Press, 2002).

3 Claudia Schnurmann, "'Wherever profit leads us. To every sea and shore. . .': The VOC, the WIC, and Dutch Methods of Globalization in the Seventeenth Century," *Renaissance Studies* 17 (2003): 474–93; here 483. Cf. Andre Gunder Frank, *ReOrient: Global Economy in the Asian Age* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997).

4 Jonathan Z. Smith, "Differential Equations: On Constructing the "Other," *Relating Religion: Essays in the Study of Religion* (Chicago and London, 2004), 230–50. Hans J. Hillerbrand, "The Other in the Age of the Reformation: Reflections on Social Control and Deviance in the Sixteenth Century," *Infinite Boundaries: Order, Disorder, and Reorder in Early Modern German Culture*, ed. Max Rheinhart. Sixteenth Century Essay & Studies, 40 (Kirksville, MO: Thomas Jefferson University Press, 1998), 245–69.

5 In *Global Interests: Renaissance Art Between East and West* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2000), Lisa Jardine and Jerry Brotton reject the appropriateness of applying Said's Orientalism to Renaissance and Early Modern Europe, arguing that alongside classical art, Eastern art, and architecture provided powerful influences on European artists and patrons. Cf. Jerry Brotton, *Renaissance Bazaar: From Silk Road to Michelangelo* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002); id., *Trading Territories: Mapping the Early Modern World* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1997); Lisa Jardine, *Wordly Goods: A New History of the Renaissance* (London: Macmillan,1996). Deborah Howard documents the allure of the Orient for Venice in *Venice and the East: The Impact of the Islamic World on Venetian Architecture, 1100–1500* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2000);

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In making his case for the existence of Western Orientalism, Said combined Antonio Gramsci's notion of a "Hegemonic Culture" with Foucault's concept of "discourse" as a tradition backed up by texts, expertise, and institutions. Orientalism was therefore more than a field of study; it was a "corporate institution" that embodied several key ideas: 1. An absolute and systematic difference exists between the West, which is rational, developed, humane, and superior, and the East, which is irrational, underdeveloped, autocratic, and inferior. 2. While the West changes and develops, the East is eternal, uniform, and incapable of defining itself; therefore a generalized and systematic vocabulary for describing the East from a Western standpoint is inevitable and even scientifically "objective." 3. The East is either to be feared or controlled.[6]

To be fair, Said's focus is on the Orientalism directed primarily against Muslims, which he claims emerged at the end of the eighteenth century, gaining momentum in the nineteenth century, and continuing up to the present in support of European and American imperialism. However, Said does suggest that Orientalism was already in place in the ancient and medieval world. In his view, the imaginary Orient is clearly noticeable in Aeschylus (*The Persians*), Euripides (*The Bacchae*), Herodotus, Marco Polo, the Crusaders, Mandeville, and Columbus (with his discovery of the "Indians"). In Said's opinion, for all these individuals the Orient is synonymous with mysteries, while the West is rational, and in every case, new discoveries are interpreted in terms of existing values and prejudices. In other words, the exotic is "domesticated" as the inferior.[7] This was particularly true in the case of Islam, which was viewed with fear and detestation right up to and ever after the defeat of the Turkish armies at the gates of Vienna in 1683. According to Said, the trauma inspired by Islam has been everlasting.

The various examples of Orientalism Said sees as running through Western history encouraged other scholars to look for clear patterns of Orientalist thinking in the medieval and early modern period. While the kind of essentialist rhetoric Said claims as characteristic of Western Orientalism can certainly be found in these earlier periods, it often reveals more about the Westerners who employ it than the Easterners they purportedly describe. Orientalism is not a homogeneous discourse, the sole aim of which is to justify the oppression and subjugation of the Oriental "Other." It could be used to liberate as well as to oppress by exposing the fissures in wealth, class, gender, education, national origin, and religion that cut across Western nations and national identities. In this sense Orientalism offered

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Francesca Trivellato, "Renaissance Italy and the Muslim Mediterranean in Recent Historical Work," *Journal of Modern History* 82.1 (2010): 127–55.

6 Stuart Schaar, "Orientalism In the Service of Imperialism," *Orientalism: A Reader*, ed. Alexander L. Macfie (New York: New York University Press, 2002), 181–93, 186–87.

7 Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Vintage, 1978), 59–60.

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both Europeans and Easterners a dual vision with which they could criticize their own societies.[8] This was certainly the case with the Western Orientalism directed at Muslims in the early modern period.

2. Europe and Islam

The Eurocentric nature of most European history writing minimizes or obscures altogether the fact that Europe was not a dominant power in the early modern period, just as it obscures the role that Islam played in shaping European identities. Few people realize how terrifying and threatening, but at the same time how awe-inspiring, Islam appeared to early modern Europeans. We love pirates and pirate lore but have little conception of how menacing the Barbary pirates actually were. To give an example from the British Isles alone: between 1600 and 1640 Muslim corsairs captured more than 800 English, Scottish, Welsh, and Irish trading vessels in the Mediterranean and Atlantic, enslaving some 12,000 English subjects. The attacks were not confined to the sea but extended to port towns and inland villages. In August 1625, for example, Muslim pirates stormed the church in Monts' Bay, Cornwall, capturing 60 men, women, and children. In 1631 they captured 140 people in Baltimore, County Cork, which means they had become brazen enough to enter the waters of the Irish Sea. Even more brazen were the raiders who roamed the English Channel and traveled up the Thames estuary. According to the minutes of Parliament the fishermen are "afraid to put to sea, and we are forced to keep continual watches on all our coasts."[9] The powerlessness felt by the English was summed up by the Vice Admiral of Devon Sir John Eliot, who lamented that the seas around Britain "seem'd theirs."[10] Between 1660 and the 1730s another 6,000 men, women, and children were captured. Hence some 20,000 or more British were enslaved in North Africa and the Ottoman Empire during the seventeenth and first third of the eighteenth centuries, but this was only a fraction of the total number of Europeans who found themselves in the same predicament.[11]

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8 Daniel Martin Varisco, *Reading Orientalism: Said and the Unsaid* (Seattle, WA, and London: University of Washington Press, 2007), 178.

9 Robert C. Davis, *Christian Slaves, Muslim Masters: White Slavery in the Mediterranean, The Barbary Coast, and Italy, 1500–1800*. Early Modern History: Society and Culture (London: Macmillan Palgrave, 2004), 4. Davis's book has been justifiably criticized for not taking into account Ottoman sources or showing any understanding of Ottoman society, but since I am interested in European perceptions of Barbary and Ottoman slavery, his book is a useful source. Cf. Ehud R. Toledano's review of Davis's book in *The Journal of African History* 47.1 (2006): 140–42.

10 Nabil Matar, *Islam in Britain, 1558–1685* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 7.

11 Davis, *Christian Slaves* (see note 9), 28.

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Robert C. Davis claims that by 1570 "enslaving Christians had been elevated to something approaching state policy in North Africa and Ottoman Empire."[12] Enormous flotillas attacked Christian shipping and devastated coastal areas of Spain, Italy, France, England, and the Mediterranean islands. On occasion the size of the fleets consisted of over 100 galleys and 10,000 soldiers, enabling the Ottomans to blockade major ports such as Genoa and Naples, threaten Rome, and sack coastal cities. In a diary kept between 1679 and 1685 Thomas Barker, the English Consul in Tripoli, frequently noted galleys setting off to go "a Christian stealing" or "a men-stealing." In one entry he noted that the corsairs had set off "Westward to Fish for Dutchmen, whom . . . they hope to meet in Great Schools."[13] Some corsair attacks became legendary like the 7,000 captives the Algerians took in the Bay of Naples in 1544; the 6,000 taken when the Algerians sacked Vieste in Calabria in 1554; the 4,000 men, women, and children seized in Granada in 1566; the 1,200 men and women captured in Madeira in 1617; the 400 seized in Iceland in 1627; the 700 taken in Calabria in 1636, followed by another 1,000 in 1636 and still another 4,000 in 1644. Between 1570 and 1606 Sicily was attached at least 136 times, with some raids penetrating inland as far as 10 to 20 miles.[14] The vulnerability and fear felt by Europeans is graphically described by Sebastian Brant in his poem *Ship of Fools* (1494):

> So strong the Turks have grown to be
> They hold the ocean alone,
> The Danube too is now their own.
> They make their inroads when they will,
> Bishoprics, churches suffer ill,
> Now they attack Apulia,
> Tomorrow e'en Sicilia,
> And next it is to be Italy,
> Wherefore a victim Rome may be
> And Lombardy and Romance land,
> We have the arch foe close at hand . . .
> For Europe's gates are open wide,
> The foe encircles every side,
> With sleep or rest he's not content,
> On Christian blood alone he's bent.[15]

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12 Davis, *Christian Slaves* (see note 9), 28.

13 Thomas Barker, *Piracy and Diplomacy in Seventeenth-Century North Africa: The Journal of Thomas Baker, English Consul in Tripoli, 1677–1685,* ed. with an introduction by C.R. Pennell (Rutherford: Fairleigh Dickinson Press, 1989). Cited in Davis, *Christian Slaves* (see note 9), 205 n.3.

14 Davis, *Christian Slaves* (see note 9), 8.

15 Sebastian Brant, *Ship of Fools* [1494], trans. Edwin Zeydel (New York: Columbia University, 1944), 317–18.

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There is no way to give a precise estimate of the number of Europeans captured and enslaved in the early modern period, but Davis concludes that between 1530 and 1780 "there were almost certainly a million and quite possibly as many as a million and a quarter white, European Christians enslaved by the Muslims of the Barbary coast.[16] The economic and social effects of the destruction caused by corsair raids is also impossible to calculate with any precision. Diego de Haëdo, an enslaved friar, claimed "they have ravaged and ruined Sardinia, Corsica, Sicily, Calabria, the coasts of Naples, Rome and Genoa, the Balearics, and all the coast of Spain."[17] Another European commented, "Everyone . . . could see with their own eyes the desolation of the Spanish, French, and Italian coasts, thanks to the pertinacious infestation of those pirates: the wretched beaches, the abandoned islands, the shacks [reduced to] ashes, the fishermen in flight, and the vessels of the Barbarian rovers loitering about on the sea."[18] The corsairs behaved like invading armies, laying waste to towns, villages, and countryside. Francis Knight, a galley slave, described the carnage they left in their wake:

> The bold Turke landed on the main [in Calabria], and set fire their houses, burnt fisher boates, passage boates, horses, and travellers provisions, without feare . . . killing beeves, and other Cattle, and setting whole fields of corne on fire and committing many other outrages, to the great damage of the country, insomuch, as it was disliked by some Turkes themselves.[19]

Joseph Morgan described the shock caused by the mere sight of a galley with its crew of galley slaves:

> Those who have not seen a Galley at sea . . . cannot well conceive the shock such a spectacle must give to a Heart capable of the least Tincture of commiseration to behold Ranks and Files of half-naked, half-starved, half-tanned, meager wretches, chained to a Plank, from whence they remove not for Months together . . . urged on, even beyond human Strength, with cruel and repeated Blows, on the bare Flesh, to an incessant continuation of the most violent of all Exercises.[20]

Knowing what might be in store for them, Chastelet des Boys gives a vivid picture of the sheer terror he and his fellow passengers experienced as they awaited capture: "Unable to cure [ourselves] of a certain lethargic melancholy, we were incapable of giving or receiving advice: our imaginations were left stupefied by fear, to the point of persuading ourselves that, in boarding, these brutally martial

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16 Davis, *Christian Slaves* (see note 9) 23.

17 Davis, *Christian Slaves* (see note 9), 35.

18 Davis, *Christian Slaves* (see note 9), 24.

19 Francis Knight, *Relation of Seaven Years Slaverie Under the Turks of Argeire suffered by an English captive merchant* (London: printed by T. Cotes, for M[ichael]. S[parke]. Iunior, 1640), 19.

20 Joseph Morgan, *A Complete History of Algiers* (1728–1729; New York: Negro University Press, 1970), 617.

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people would sacrifice every one of us on the edge of their scimitars."[21] Once captured the passengers were often humiliated by being made to undress as they were searched and beaten. Within minutes after his capture, Jan Stuys's humiliation was complete: "The put me in a Galley, stript off my Robes, shaved my head, and set me to an Oar, which was work enough for six of us to tug at."[22]

Shaving the hair and beards of male captives was in itself a form of humiliation since along the Barbary coast a common saying was that a strong and cunning man was "a Man with a Beard." Once on land and in the slave markets, captives were treated like animals: ". . .they make [the slaves] walk, jump and leap about with blows of a stick, in order to recognize thereby that they do not have any gout."[23] The teeth of slaves consigned to the galleys were examined to see if they could chew the tough biscuits and dried beef that would be their daily fare. The earlobes of women were checked; if their ears had been pierced it was a sign they were upper class and might be ransomed for a handsome sum.[24]

The cost of the corsair raids in terms of the obliteration of towns and villages, the loss of farm and grazing land, and the destruction of crops and fishing boats had a serious effect on European development. Added to this was the depopulation of the coastal areas, which permanently affected demographics with the enslavement of a large percentage of women of childbearing age. The return of the corsairs after such raids to demand ransom for their prisoners caused further hardship. Those peasants unable to pay turned over whatever property they had—land, houses, fishing boats, even the dowries of their daughters—to petty speculators, who paid for them. This caused long-term damage to the peasantry, undermining their economic viability.[25] The fear of the corsairs left a permanent mark on the Italian language with such expressions as "pigliato dai Turchi," taken by the Turks, meaning taken by surprise.[26]

What was even more distressing than the inability of the European powers to protect their subjects was the fact that thousands of these Christian captives converted to Islam.[27] Earlier generations of historians dismissed these conversions

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21 Davis, *Christian Slaves* (see note 9), 53.
22 Davis, *Christian Slaves* (see note 9), 53.
23 Davis, *Christian Slaves* (see note 9), 59.
24 Davis, *Christian Slaves* (see note 9), 62.
25 Davis, *Christian Slaves* (see note 9), 44, 140.
26 Davis, *Christian Slaves* (see note 9), 39
27 In *Captives: Britain, Empire and the World, 1660–1850s* (New York: Pantheon Books, 2002), Linda Colley describes the British attempt to colonize Tangiers, which was acquired by Britain as part of Catherine of Braganza's marriage settlement with Charles II. In terms of the huge financial costs, loss of lives, and loss of face when the English were forced to evacuate in 1684, the effort was an unmitigated disaster. As Colley says, the fate of Tangiers "is a powerful demonstration of just how effectively Britain's sporadic imperial disasters and retreats were expunged from the historical record and from national and even international memory" (33). It was also common

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as relatively few and unimportant. Samuel Chew claimed that converts were "miserable" because of the guilt they experienced over their apostasy. G.N. Clark saw such converts as the dregs of a superior Western society. For Robert Schwoebel converts were "opportunists," while Bernard Lewis claims that "few" Christians converted, and those who did were chiefly "adventurers."[28] These scholars failed to appreciate the allure that Islam projected in the early modern period. In terms of its political and military might, cultural superiority, political stability, and opportunities for advancement, Islam offered far more to the great majority of those captured than their home countries. In the words of Nabil Matar, "it was the allure of an empire that changed an Englishman's hat into a turban—with all the symbolism of strength associated with the Islamic headdress—a Christian 'John' into a Muslim 'Ramadan,' and allowed converts to Islam to fulfill themselves in worldly power and glory."[29] Davis agrees, concluding that a fair number of disaffected European soldiers, sailors, peasants oppressed by feudal lords, and even merchants came to the Maghreb to seek their fortunes. The majority of renegades, however, probably started out as slaves. Of these Davis estimates that approximately 4% converted each year.[30] If Davis is right in calculating that between 1530 and 1780 over one million slaves were captured, the number of conversion was significant.

The Ottoman Empire was not in decline in the seventeenth century nor even in major respects in the eighteenth. While it had been defeated at the gates of Vienna in 1683, it was able to seize Morea from Venice in 1715, annex Iran in 1727, and recover Belgrade from Austria in 1739. The disastrous wars with Russia in the 1760s and 1770s began the decline that turned the Ottoman Empire into "the sick man of Europe," but only in the nineteenth century. In the early modern period, as Linda Colley points out, "Its sheer territorial dimensions, like its huge, ill-disciplined armies, and the size of its population, continued to provoke awe,

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knowledge among the English high command that far more of their men deserted to Islam than Muslims came over to the side of the Christians in Tangiers (39).

28 Samuel Chew, *The Crescent and the Rose: Islam and England During the Renaissance* (1937; New York, NY: Octagon Press, 1974); G. N. Clark, "Barbary Corsairs in the Seventeenth Century," *Cambridge Historical Journal* 8 (1944): 22–35; here 35; Robert Schwoebel, *The Shadow of the Crescent: The Renaissance Image of the Turk, 1453–1517* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1967); Bernard Lewis, *Islam and the West* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993).

29 Matar, *Islam in Britain* (see note 10),15. Bartolomé and Lucile Bennasser discuss the allure of Islam for the French in *Les Chrétiens d'Allah: L'histoire extraordinaire des renégats, xve–xviie siècle* (Paris: Librairie Académique Perrin, 1989). Gino Benzoni does the same for the Italians in "Il 'farsi turco,' ossia l'ombra del rinnegato," *Venezia e i Turchi: Scontri e confronti di due civilità*, ed. Carlo Pirovano (Milan: Electa Edittrice, 1985), 91–134; for Spain, see Ellen G. Friedman, *Spanish Captives in North Africa in the Early Modern Age* (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 1983).

30 Davis, *Christian Slaves* (see note 9), 22.

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especially in a small under-populated country like early modern Britain."[31] Britain with its 5.5 million people and small army could not compete with the 30 million inhabitants of the Ottoman Empire and its armed forces of over 150,000 men. As Mustafa Soykut puts it so well, the early modern period is that of the "invincible Turk" and not "the innocuous Turk" of later centuries.[32]

The British were not the only Europeans to experience fear and awe when it came to the Ottoman Empire. Christopher Pastore characterizes the reaction of the Medicis to the Islamic world as exhibiting "bipolar behavior": "Florentine imagery characterized and presented the Turks and other Muslims both negatively (as dangerous enemies or bound prisoners) and positively (as noble hunters or brave warriors."[33] The Grand Duke Ferdinando de' Medici was fascinated by Ottoman culture. While a Cardinal in Rome, he sponsored an Arabic press, the Stamperia Orientale. After he left the Church and became Duke, he had the gardens at Pratolino, Castello, and Boboli renovated to incorporate features reflecting Islamic gardens with their labyrinths, intricate watercourses, and espaliered fruit trees. He was also interested in Islamic and Far Eastern science and technology, carrying on a tradition begun by his father Cosimo I (1539–1574), who had imported silk worms and mulberry trees from the East as part of his project to transform the Florentine State.[34] The same ambivalence the Medicis felt toward the Ottomans was characteristic of the house of Ferrara as well.[35]

In light of these facts, Matar contends that it is dangerous to use literature as history. In *Islam in Britain, 1558–1685* he argues that the negative, even demonic, picture of Islam that appears with particular force in English plays, sermons, and evangelical writing was intended to undermine the clear attractions Islam had for Englishmen. These sources emphasize the horrible fate awaiting Christian converts to Islam as well as Muslims who failed to convert to Christianity, and they present a picture of stalwart Englishmen resisting capture and soundly defeating the infidel or, when that was impossible, going to their deaths cloaked in national pride and Christian certitude.

The problem was, however, that Britons were captured, were defeated by Muslim forces in battle, and did convert to Islam. "Rule Britannia," written by

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31 Colley, *Captives* (see note 27), 66.

32 Mustafa Soykut, *The Image of the "Turk" in Italy: A History of the "Other" in Early Modern Europe, 1453–1683*. Islamkundliche Untersuchungen, 236 (Berlin: K. Swatz, 2001), 2.

33 Christopher Pastore, "Bipolar Behavior: Ferdinando I de' Medici and the East," *The Turk and Islam in the Western Eye, 1450–1750*, ed. James G. Harper (Farnham, Surrey, and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2011), 129–54.

34 Christopher Pastore, "Bipolar Behavior" (see note 33), 136. Cf. Luigi Zangheri, Brunella Lorenzi, and Nausikaa Mandan Rahmati, *Il Giardino Islamico* (Florence: Leo S. Olschki, 2006).

35 Anthony, D'Elia, "Genealogy and the Limits of Pangeyric: Turks and Huns in Fifteenth-Century Epithalamia," *Sixteenth Century Journal* 35.4 (2003): 973–91.

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James Thomson and set to music by Thomas Arne, was decidedly ahead of the curve, for even as late as 1740 when this patriotic song appeared Britannia did not rule the waves and Britons who supposedly "never will be slaves" actually were.[36] Even more unsettling was the fact that many more Christians converted to Islam than Muslims to Christianity. As if that were not enough, travel literature revealed the prosperity achieved by many Christian converts and testified to the magnificence of Islamic art and architecture, the grandeur and sophistication of its cities and public places, and the far greater degree of religious toleration and racial fluidity existing in Muslim than Christian lands.

Only in the nineteenth century did the separation between West and East become clearer as a result of the establishment of supposedly scientific racial ideologies and the scientific and technological advances made in the West. Before 1750 what characterized advanced and powerful societies was the state of their towns and trade, both of which flourished in Islamic societies. Travelers to North Africa were stunned by the vastness and magnificence of Muslim architecture. The palace built by the Sultan Moulay Ismaïly was, according to one British traveller, the "largest he had ever seen," and the stables, which were some three quarters of a mile long "the noblest of the kind perhaps in the world."[37] In size this Muslim palace did indeed dwarf Hampton Court and even Versailles. Because of his reputation as a fierce warrior and his love of grandeur Moulay Ismaïly was compared to Louis XIV, but in actual fact he was far grander.

Being captured and enslaved by Muslim corsairs was not the ideal way to see the world, but like all travelers European captives were confronted by new sights, new experiences, new cultures, and new expectations. They were forced by their predicament to reexamine and in many cases question their common assumptions about nationality, race, religion, political allegiance, modes of behavior, systems of government, and the exertion of power. Linda Colley's analysis of English captive narratives highlights how unsettling they could be for their writers and readers alike in terms of English self-identity and self esteem. She gives the example of "Lord Bateman's ballad," which appeared in some 112 versions between the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries.

Here captivity is not described as horrible but as a means to self-betterment in both sexual and monetary terms. A young man is captured by Muslim pirates and imprisoned. But he is befriended by the Governor's beautiful daughter, who helps him escape and then follows him to England, where he jilts his English finance and marries her. She has prudently brought a jeweled belt with her worth more than all the wealth in Northumberland, so the two live happily every after. These and similar tales show that "captivity in an Islamic power is not a fate worse than

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36 Colley, *Captives* (see note 27), 47.

37 Colley, *Captives* (see note 27), 110 .

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death, nor a confrontation with an uncompromising and monolithic Other.[38] Instead individual Christians and Muslims break ranks, compromise allegiances, and collaborate for a mutual benefit."[39] In his captivity memoir, Joseph Pitts tells much the same story. Captured at the age of 15, he only returns to England because he received a letter from his father and is overcome with guilt. He admits to his ambivalent feelings about returning: "I was in a much fairer way for honour and preferment in Algiers, than I could expect ever to have been in England." His caution was deserved, for the moment he sets foot on English soil he was imprisoned and threatened with impressment in the Royal Navy. In his narrative, which was published in 1704 and again in 1717, 1731, and 1778, he describes at least three captives who chose to stay in Algiers and one who was ransomed, returning to England only to flee back to Algiers and convert to Islam of his own free will.[40]

Descriptions of conversions such as these raised profoundly disturbing questions about the truth of Christianity. Did the success of Islam in attracting converts imply that Islam was actually a better religion and that it would succeed Christianity as Christianity had Judaism? For a number of people Islam was indeed superior because like all esteemed wisdom it arose in the East, but unlike Christianity it had not been corrupted by its sojourn in the West. Simon Ockley (1678–1720), who held the Chair of Arabic at Cambridge, made an invidious comparison between Muslim culture and his own:

> So far as fear of God is concerned, the control of the appetites, prudence and sobriety in conduct of life, decency and moderation in all circumstances—in regard to all these things, (and after all, they yield to none in importance) I declare that if the West has added one single *iota* to the accumulated wisdom of the East, my powers of perception have been strangely in abeyance.[41]

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38 There is a long tradition in medieval literature of Muslim princesses who run away with Christians, convert, and marry them such as Wolfram von Eschenbach's *Willehalm* or in the thirteenth-century verse narrative (*mære*) *Die Heidin*. See Albrecht Classen, "Confrontation with the Foreign World of the East: Saracen Princesses in Medieval German Narratives," *Orbis Litterarum* 53 (1998): 277–95; id., "'Die Heidin' — A Late-Medieval Experiment in Cultural Rapprochement Between Christians and Saracens," *Medieval Encounters* 11.1–2 (2005): 50–71. See also Sharon Kinoshita, *Medieval Boundaries: Rethinking Difference in Old French Literature*. The Middle Ages (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2006), ch. 2, 46–73.

39 Colley, *Captives* (see note 27), 84.

40 Collley, *Captives* (see note 27), 118.

41 Robert Irwin, *Dangerous Knowledge: Orientalism and Its Discontents* (Woodstock, NY: The Overlook Press, 2006), 120. Ockley's major work was *The History of the Saracens* (2 vols., 1708–1718). While he routinely referred to Mohammed as an imposter, he portrayed Muslim Arab warriors as heroes, and he emphasized the military prowess and learning of people in the Muslim world.

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There were a number of people who, while they didn't go as far as Ockley, argued that Christianity should take a leaf out of Islam's book and return to its own monotheistic roots. Protestants in particular found aspects of Islam much more palatable than Catholicism. The fact that Islam stressed the oneness of God and had no doctrines comparable to the Christian Trinity or, for many Protestants, the cannibalistic notion of transubstantiation made Islam a model for a purified Christianity. Henry Stubbe (1632–1676) took this line, arguing that Islam was essentially a revival of Arian Christianity and anticlerical Messianic Judaism. In his opinion, Mohammed "was a convert to the Judaizing Christians and formed his Religion as far as possible in resemblance of theirs."[42] Islam had arisen as Christianity declined precisely because Christianity had lost it moorings as a consequence of Trinitarianism and the increasing power wielded by the clergy. Mohammed, or Mahomet, as he was more commonly called in the early modern age, was a "wise legislator," who replaced incomprehensible Christian dogma with the restoration of constitutional law. Stubbe viewed "Mahometanism" as a natural religion worthy of admiration for the simplicity and clarity of its teachings, its emphasis on charitable giving to limit the disparity between rich and poor, its lack of commercial corruption, its prohibition of gambling and usury, its elimination of hereditary nobility, and its toleration of religious minorities.[43]

The notion of Mohammed as a "wise legislator" was picked up by other authors, especially Deists, because it buttressed their arguments for toleration and republicanism against orthodoxy and absolutism.[44] John Locke left an unfinished manuscript surveying Islamic doctrine. He realized that since Charles II was expanding trade with Muslim North Africa the prevailing prejudicial view of Islam was neither accurate nor helpful. He asked his friend James Tyrrell for a description of the Moroccan ambassador's visit to England, which had caused a great stir because the ambassador had defied stereotypes and shown himself to be extraordinarily polite, erudite, and, in a word, civil.[45] Locke's defense of toleration for Muslims and Jews was part of his argument for the toleration of English dissenters. For Locke, religion, like everything else, was learned. Because he rejected the possibility of the kind of radical doubt advocated by Descartes, he

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42 Humberto Garcia, *Islam and the English Enlightenment, 1670–1840* (Baltimore, MD: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2012), 40.

43 Garcia, *Islam and the English Enlightenment* (see note 42), 49.

44 Garcia, *Islam and the English Enlightenment* (see note 42), 58. Garcia recasts the "Glorious Revolution" of 1688 as an Islamic-inspired event that prevented the Counter-Reformation from taking over England. Following Matar, he agrees that Locke himself was influenced by models of Islamic toleration in formulating his own ideas. See Nabil Matar, "John Locke and the 'Turbanned Nations,'" *Journal of Islamic Studies* 2 (1991): 67–77.

45 Matar, "John Locke and the 'Turbanned' Nations'" (see note 44), 72.

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concluded that we are all products of our respective cultures. For this reason, conversion cannot be forced. As he wrote in *A Third Letter for Toleration* (1692):

> You cannot but allow there are many Turks who sincerely seek truth, to whom yet you could never bring evidence sufficient to convince them of the truth of the Christian religion, whilst they looked on it as a principle not to be questioned, that the Alcoran was of divine revelation. This possibly you will tell me is a prejudice, and so it is; but yet if this man shall tell you it is no more a prejudice in him, than it is a prejudice in any amongst Christians, who having not examined it, lays it down as an unquestionable principle of his religion, that the scripture is the word of god, what will you answer him?[46]

Like many of his contemporaries Locke had a negative view of Islam, but not of Muslims, and while he justly feared the Ottoman Empire this did not extend to individual Muslims who might come and live in England.

Locke was a covert Unitarian. He and Newton collaborated on a manuscript in which they proved that the one scriptural passage supporting the Trinity (1 John: 7) was a ninth-century interpolation—while this appears in the King James Bible it has been removed from modern editions. Newton had persuaded Locke not to publish their findings because denying the Trinity was a grave offense at the time that could, and recently had, led to execution. Newton and Locke closely followed the case of the unfortunate eighteenth-year-old Edinburgh university student Thomas Aikenhead, who had drunkenly defamed the Trinity only to find himself on the gallows some two weeks later.[47]

While Locke could not openly deny the Trinity, like many of his contemporaries he argued for an inclusive Anglican Church that would reject what were called "adiaphora," those doctrines and teachings that were not expressly outlined in Scripture and therefore in his view not essential parts of the Christian religion or practice. The issue of "adiaphora" greatly concerned English Arians, Unitarians, and Deists who aligned themselves with Islam against "idolatrous" Christian doctrines such as the Trinity, the atonement, transubstantiation, the doctrine of original sin, apostolic succession, the incarnation, miracles, and the elevated role of the clergy. What these "enlightened" Christians wanted was for Christianity to return to its primitive roots by cleansing itself of what they saw as the superstition and fanatical dogmatism that had crept into it from pagan and Catholic sources.

This is the message of Hogarth's engraving "Credulity, Superstition, and Fanaticism" (see Fig. 1). Given all the commotion going on in this church scene, it

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46 Matar, "John Locke and the 'Turbanned' Nations'" (see note 45), 74.

47 On Locke, Unitarianism and Aikenhead, see Allison P. Coudert, *The Impact of the Kabbalah in the Seventeenth Century: The Life and Thought of Francis Mercury van Helmont, 1614–1698* (Leiden and Boston, MA: Brill, 1999), 287. Cf. Michael F. Graham, *The Blasphemies of Thomas Aikenhead: Boundaries of Belief on the Eve of the Enlightenment* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2008).

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takes some effort to see the Turk quietly smoking a pipe as he looks through the window on the top left at the antics of the fanatical Christian preacher and his crazed parishioners. The Turk represents the rational, enlightened part of mankind that looks down on the superstition and lunacy that has overtaken Christianity.

Imaginary letters by Muslims in support of Deism were enormously popular in the eighteenth century. Giovanni P. Marana's *Letters Writ By A Turkish Spy Living in Paris* was published in eight volumes in thirty-two English editions between 1692 and 1801. The Turkish spy was highly critical of Christian doctrines, especially the Trinity, as well as Christian rituals. Lady Mary Wortley Montague (1689–1762) adopted the Turkish spy motif in *The Turkish Embassy Letters*, which she wrote in 1717–1718 while she lived in Turkey with her husband, who was on a diplomatic mission. The letters feature Achmed Bey, a wise but fictitious Islamic scholar from Belgrade, who drinks wine and had no time for the Virgin Mary or Christian emphasis on chastity since God created the world and humans are meant to take pleasure in it.

In making this argument Montague follows the Deist John Toland, who used the familial letter form to criticize Christianity and promote the libertine argument that the idea of a sexual paradise and the practice of polygamy in Islam are not sinful since there is no sin in sexual pleasure.[48] But Montague takes the argument further, applying it to women and arguing that Turkish women were not oppressed, that, in fact, they were far freer than their European counterparts. Unlike English women who forfeit all their rights and property to their husbands upon marriage, Turkish wives retained full control of their assets and had some power to initiate divorce and inherit property. Their sexual claims were also recognized, and they became subjects of the Ottoman Empire in their own right once they reached puberty.[49] Montague rejects the claims of those who foolishly "lament . . . the miserable confinement of the Turkish ladies" and argues that they are "perhaps, freer than any ladies in the universe, and are the only women in the world that lead a life of uninterrupted pleasure, exempt from cares, their whole time being spent in visiting, bathing, or the agreeable amusement of spending money and inventing new fashions."[50] To drive her point home about the despotic nature of European patriarchal power, Montague describes her visit to a Turkish bath:

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48 John Toland, *A Letter from an Arabian Physician to a Famous Professor in the University of Halle in Saxony* (London: n.p., 1706).The *English Short Title Catalogue* suggests that the Arabian physician is possibly a pseudonym for Anthony Collins, but Robert E. Sullivan has traced it back to Toland. See his *John Toland and The Desist Controversy* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1982), 337.

49 Suraiya Faroghi, *Subjects of the Sultan: Culture and Daily Life in the Ottoman Empire* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2000).

50 Cited in Garcia, *Islam and the English Enlightenment* (see note 42), 69.

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> The lady that seemed the most considerable amongst them entreated me to sit by her and would fain have undressed me for the bath. I excused myself with some difficulty, they being however all so earnest in persuading me, I was at last forced to open my shirt, and show them my stays, which satisfied them very well, for I saw that they believed I was so locked up in that machine, that it was not in my own power to open it, which contrivance they attributed to my husband.[51]

Montague, like all British wives at the time, was male property, not a "freeborn" English woman, the complement of her "freeborn" English husband.

As we have seen, Europeans in the early modern period did not have a uniformly negative view of the Muslim world. This is not to say that Said's kind of Orientalism did not exist, but to suggest that it may well have arisen out of a sense of inferiority and defensiveness and not the kind of unreflective superiority that Said sees as the motivating force behind Western Orientalism. This is the conclusion Colley reached in the case in Britain:

> Self-consciously small, increasingly rich, and confronted with European enemies that were often bigger and militarily more formidable than themselves, the British were frequently on edge, constantly fearful themselves of being invaded, necessarily alert and ready for a fight. A sense of inferiority, suggested Alfred Adler in regard to troubled individuals, breeds aggression and above all an urge to compensate. So arguably it proved with the British as a people.[52]

Colley considers the accusations made by Britons that Muslims sodomized their Christian captives as a way for them to express their insecurities and the fear that Islam might use its powers to subdue and "penetrate" them literally as well as figuratively.[53] A sense of inferiority could not have been helped by the prevalent view around the Mediterranean and across North Africa that Britons and indeed Europeans in general actually were inferior. European travelers found themselves humiliated as Muslims "would stand and stare upon us and spy upon us," as the servant of Henry Cavendish wrote in 1589. While the blond European may have appeared as a God to native Americans, for Muslims their reddish skin recalled the

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51 Garcia, *Islam and the English Enlightenment* (see note 43), 74.

52 Colley, *Captives* (see note 27), 11l. For discussions of the way Eurocentrism hides a sense of Europe's inferiority, see Kavita Philip, *Civilizing Natures: Race, Resources, and Modernity in Colonial South India* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2004); Rajani Sudan, *Fair Exotics: Xenophobic Subjects in English Literature, 1720–1850* (Philadelphia: University of Philadelphia Press, 2002); Felicity A. Nussbaum, *Torrid Zones: Maternity, Sexuality, and Empire in Eighteenth-Century English Narratives* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1995).

53 Colley makes the telling point that accusations of sodomy receded only when British and European fears of penetration from without diminished toward the end of the eighteenth century. At this point the fantasy of male Muslim lust for Western females took over, a sign that European males were beginning to see Muslims as threatening their property rather than themselves (*Captives* [see note 27], 130–31).

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unclean pig.[54] James Irving, who was held captive in Morocco for a year, noticed how the local inhabitants "would never use any vessel that had touched our lips: so great was their detestation and contempt for us."[55] When Sir Daniel Harvey arrived in Istanbul in 1668 as ambassador to the Ottoman Empire, he had to wait a full year for an audience with the Sultan, so little did the Sultan think of him or the country from which he came.[56] Muslims considered European dress with its tight waists for women and tight trousers for men obscene, if not immoral. Elizabeth Marsh describes a Moroccan woman who was extremely "curious in examining my dress and person, and . . . highly entertained at the appearance I made."[57] Matar comments that this kind of reaction made it clear to Europeans that they did not hold the balance of power; they were not even in the running:

> No Muslim fell on his knees before a Briton: rather he humiliated the "Goure" (Kafir, infidel) who could not but submit to the indignity. The Muslim not only did not fear the Englishman: he did not even recognize him . . . . From whichever angle a Briton reflected on the Muslim perception of the Christians, he realized that Muslims saw themselves in power and certitude.[58]

3. Europe and the Far East

When we turn to the Far East, we find the same Eurocentric vision dominating the work of early modern scholars until relatively recently. If this new work is taken into account, however, it becomes clear that the presuppositions of nineteenth-century colonialism cannot be read back into the early modern era. Neither the English nor Western Europeans assumed national and racial superiority over non-Europeans, and Europe did not enjoy the overwhelming technical and military superiority in the Far East they had in the Americas. Finally, it is simply untrue that the intellectual, religious, cultural, and financial contacts between Western Europe and the Far East were comparatively unimportant in the early modern

54 Matar, *Islam in Britain* (see note 10), 4.
55 Colley, *Captives* (see note 27), 115.
56 Colley, *Captives* (see note 27), 104.
57 Colley, *Captives* (see note 27), 115.
58 Matar, *Islam in Britain* (see note 10), 4.

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period.[59] Robert Markley describes China as "the economic engine for the early modern world."

It was the Chinese demand for bullion that "drove the long-distance trade of European maritime powers for three hundred years."[60] There was little demand for European goods in the Far East but a huge demand in Europe for Far Eastern cottons, silks, porcelain, spices, and tea, all of which had to be paid for in bullion. Eighty percent of European trade with the Far East before 1800 consisted of bullion.[61] European travelers and travel books gave mouth-watering descriptions of the extraordinary riches of China. In *A Voyage Round the World*, Giovanni Francisco Gemelli Careri remarks on the "extraordinary industry of the "very sharp witted" Chinese and admits that they "exceed the *Europeans* in Ingenuity."[62] He claims that Chinese goods "amaze all Europeans," and he is impressed by the honesty of the merchants, whom he describes as "all very obliging and civil" and willing to negotiate prices. "Their oath is Inviolable, and they will hazard their Head to keep their word."[63]

Stories of the fabulous wealth of the Chinese Emperor circulated throughout Europe from the time of Marco Polo. But the specificity of the figures given by Olfert Draper, the editor of the *Atlas Chinesis* (1671), were bound to boggle the minds of his contemporaries:

> Great Revenues are sent yearly to the Emperor out of the fifteen Provinces; for none in the whole Realm possesseth one Foot of Land without paying Tribute: Nay, they say, that besides the common Charges bestow'd on the *Mandarins*, Governors, and Soldiers, the Emperor hath sixty Millions of *Ducats* brought yearly into his Treasury: The whole Sum of his Revenue is reckon'd to a hundred and fifty Millions of Crowns. All fifteen Provinces produce Annually 32207447 Bags of Rice for Tribute; every one containing as much as would plentifully feed a hundred Men a whole day; 409949 of

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59 In *The Ideological Origins of the British Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000) and *Lord of All the World: Ideologies of Empire in Spain, Britain and France, c. 1500–1800* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1995) David Armitage and Anthony Pagden leave out China and Japan. John Michael Archer claims that "China, Japan, and the Moluccas . . . effectively fall outside the overlap of early modern trade with the geo-historical itinerary of Mediterranean antiquity. See his *Old Worlds: Egypt, Southwest Asia, India, and Russia in Early Modern English Writing* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2001), 19. A number of scholars have demonstrated that there is little historical evidence to support the idea that England, the Netherlands, and France became world powers in the sixteenth century and consolidated this power in the seventeenth and eighteenth. Cf. Frank Perlin, *The Invisible City: Monetary, Administrative and Popular Infrastructure in Asia and Europe 1500–1900*. Collected Studies Series, CS 387 (Aldershot, Hampshire: Variorum, and Brookfield, VT:Ashgate, 1993.); Kenneth Pomeranz, *The Great Divergence: China, Europe, and the Making of the Modern World Economy* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2000).

60 Markley, *The Far East and the English Imagination* (see note 2), 11.

61 Markley, *The Far East and the English Imagination* (see note 2), 11–12.

62 Markley, *The Far East and the English Imagination* (see note 2), 197.

63 Markley, *The Far East and the English Imagination* (see note 2), 198.

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> Raw Silk, 712436 Rowls of Hempen Cloth, 630770 Bales of Cotton, 191730 Rowls of Silk-Stuffs, 1794261 Weys of Salt, every Wey containing a hundred twenty-four Pound, together 187688364, 2418627 Bundles of Hay and Straw for the Emperor's Horses. Some reckon that the yearly Revenue amounts to 50000000.[64]

England's revenue was one tenth of this, and her population of six million compared even more poorly to the 59 million Chinese than it did to the 30 million Ottomans. Pomerantz has shown that China and Japan came far closer to Adam Smith's model of a vibrant economy than any European country. The labor markets were freer in China and Japan than in England or France. The diets of peasants and laborers were as good if not better than in Europe, where meat consumption actually decreased between 1500 and 1800. Life expectancy was also higher in China. While some three million peasants died of starvation in Europe between 1740 and 1743 because of harvest failures, the Qing dynasty saved two million peasants during the 1743–1744 droughts as a result of a sophisticated system of granaries.[65] Jan Nieuhoff, who travelled to China in 1655–1656 on a trade mission with two ambassadors from the Dutch East India Company, was clearly astonished by what he found there. In terms of natural resources, China outstripped Europe by a long shot:

> This may be affirmed for truth in general, that all things necessary for the sustenance of Man, as well as for delight, are to be had [in China] in great abundance, without being beholden to their Neighbours. And thus much I dare from my own knowledge affirm, that whatever is to be had in *Europe*, is likewise found in *China*; and if in truth there want any thing, Nature hath supply'd that single defect with divers other things beyond those we have in Europe.[66]

His amazement was compounded by the fact that China was a "heathen" and "idolatrous" nation: "It is almost incredible for any body to believe (unless they had seen it) in what state and Pomp these Idolaters and Heathen Princes live, and with what good orders their People in the Courts of the Vice-Roys . . . manage their Affairs with so much quietness and expedition, that all things were dispatched, and with like dexterity as in a private Family."[67]

Another Dutch traveler, Engelbert Kaempfer, was equally impressed by Japan, which he describes as "a valiant and invincible Nation, a polite, industrious and virtuous People, enrich'd by a mutual Commerce among themselves, and possess'd of a Country on which Nature hath lavish'd her most valuable Treasure."[68] The general consensus among Europeans was that Japan and China

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64 Markley, *The Far East and the English Imagination* (see note 2), 109.
65 Markley, *The Far East and the English Imagination* (see note 2), 198
66 Markley, *The Far East and the English Imagination* (see note 2), 113.
67 Markley, *The Far East and the English Imagination* (see note 2), 115.
68 Engelbert Kaempfer, *The History of Japan*, trans. John Gaspar Scheuchzer (1727). Cited in Markley,

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rivaled or surpassed Europeans in terms of their standard of living, technology, business acumen, military power, and even civility. Their cities were cleaner and safer. Their water quality and sewage and trash removal systems were far in advance of those in London or Paris.[69] Their citizens had a more nutritious and varied died, cheaper entertainments, more religious freedom (except for Christians), and good and inexpensive medical care.[70] These kinds of comparisons were bound to challenge the European sense of *amour propre*.

A further challenge to Western pride lay in the ancient history of China and Japan and their celebrated political and social stability. For many Europeans living in a period of religious, political, and social turmoil, China and Japan represented desirable models. The Jesuit missionary Matteo Ricci emphasized the link between Confucianism and the orderly, hierarchical nature of Chinese Society. Describing the ruling elite, he claims that "they make much of the five social relationships that they view as common to all men, namely those between father and son, husband and wife, master and servant, older and younger brother, and between friends . . . . They greatly emphasize the obedience of children to parents and the fidelity of servants to master and superiors.[71] This would have been music to the ears of those like John Donne who lamented the chaos that had overtaken Europe with the breakdown of patriarchal and communal values:

> And new philosophy calls all in doubt,
> The element of fire is quite put out,
> The sun is lost, and th'earth, and no man's wit
> Can well direct him where to look for it.
> And freely men confess that this world's spent,
> When in the planets and the firmament
> They seek so many new; they see that this
> Is crumbled out again to his atomies.
> 'Tis all in pieces, all coherence gone,
> All just supply, and all relation;
> Prince, subject, father, son, are things forgot,
> For every man alone thinks he hath got
> To be a phoenix, and that there can be

The Far East and The English Imagination (see note 2), 243.

69 Allison P. Coudert, "Sewers, Cesspools, and Privies: Waste as Reality and Metaphor in Premodern European Cities," *Urban Space in the Middle Ages and the Early Modern Age*, ed. Albrecht Classen and Marilyn Sandidge. Fundamentals of Medieval and Early Modern Culture, 4 (Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2009), 713–33.

70 Markley, *The Far East and the English Imagination* (see note 2), 244. Cf. the contributions to *Discovering China: European Interpretations in the Enlightenment,* ed. Julia Ching and Willard G. Oxtoby. Library of the History of Ideas, 7 (Rochester, NY: University of Rochester Press, 1992).

71 Markley, *The Far East and the English Imagination* (see note 2), 102.

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> None of that kind, of which he is, but he.
> This is the world's condition now . . . .[72]

China even became involved in English politics. The English Royalists looked to China as a model for the Stuart monarchy, while Republicans like Milton were at a loss to explain how such an authoritative and non-representative political system could provide such peace and prosperity. But even those on Milton's side of the political fence, like Henry St John, 1st Viscount Bolingbroke (1678–1751), turned to China to envision a new social order in which merit and rank went hand in hand, as they conspicuously did not in Britain.[73]

Taking Ricci's account of the Chinese at face value, the Englishman John Webb considered the Chinese government the apogee of perfection and consequently a positive model for Britain:

> . . . if any Monarchy in the world was constituted according to political principles, and dictates of right reason, it may be boldly said that of the *Chinois* is. For therein every thing is found disposed in so great order; as that whereas all matters are under the rule and power of their *Literati*, or wisemen, so also hardly any thing is transacted throughout the whole Empire which depends not upon them; neither can any man attain to any degree of Honour, that is not very richly learned in their Letters and Science. In a word, their Kings may be said to be Philosophers, and their Philosophers, Kings; and they order everything . . . in such manner, as may most conduce to good government, concord, peace, and quietness in families, and in the exercise of virtue.[74]

Webb goes further still, moving Noah—Milton's "one just Man"—from Mosaic into Chinese history: "from the East came the first knowledge of all things, and that the East parts of the world were the first civilized, having Noah himself for an Instructor, whereby the farther East to this day, the more Civil, the farther West the more Savage."[75] Settling Noah farther East could not, however, solve the very real problem posed by biblical chronology. For by the biblical account Noah was a relative newcomer to a world that long before his arrival had established a political and ethical system that was, in Webb's estimation, a model of probity and efficiency, a state of affairs which appeared to have continued into the early modern period.[76]

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72 John Donne, *An Anatomy of the World* (1611), lines 205–19. John Donne, *The Anniversaries*, ed. with an introduction by Frank Manley (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1963), 73.

73 Henry St. John Bolingbroke, *The Idea of a Patriot King* with respect to the constitution of Great Britain (London: printed for T.C, 1740). Cf. Christine Gerrard, *The Patriot Opposition to Walpole: Politics, Poetry, and National Myth, 1725–1742* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994).

74 Markley, *The Far East and The English Imagination* (see note 2), 77 .

75 Rachel Ramsey, "China and the Ideal of Order in John Webb's *An Historical Essay*," *The Journal of the History of Ideas* 62.3 (2001): 483–503.

76 Paolo Rossi, *The Dark Abyss of Time: The History of the Earth and the History of Nations from Hooke to Vico*, trans. Lydia G. Cochrane (1979; Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1987);

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Webb took these ideas from Walter Ralegh's *History or the World*. Ralegh had located the Garden of Eden in Southern Armenia, where he claimed "that the people are constrained twice to mow downe their cornfields, and a third time to eat them up with sheep."[77] The elephant in the room was precisely this: Had China somehow avoided the consequences of the Fall? And if it had, what did this suggest about Christian Europe? Early modern Christians found an explanation for the perilous times in which they lived in the Genesis story of the Fall. Godfrey Goodman's *The Fall of Man, or the Corruption of Nature* (London 1616) is typical of this tradition. Goodman considered famine, disease, social disorder, greed, corruption, and rebellion the natural and inevitable consequences of Adam's and Eve's fall and expulsion from the Garden of Eden. The collapse of the great ancient empires of the Persians, Greeks, and Romans fit into this scheme perfectly, but the China described by European travelers and missionaries did not. By locating the Garden of Eden where he did and describing it in such a language of plenty, Ralegh allowed Europeans to wonder if that Edenic paradise might be regained and nature exploited to its full and profitable potential.[78] This is a theme that develops in late seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Europe, providing a foundation for the "anthropological revolution" and the enlightenment view that man was not irredeemably fallen but could with effort and the proper use of reason return earth to it prelapsarian state.[79]

In terms of wealth, political stability, and the well-being of their citizens China and Japan had much to teach Europeans, but once again the most unsettling fact of all was that both countries had prospered inordinately even though they did not live under the providential hand of a Christian God. Could it be that their ethical and religious systems were in fact superior and that this was what allowed their leaders to govern so successfully? This is the nagging thought at the heart of Ricci's description of Confucian China: "Of all the gentiles who have come to our attention in Europe, I know of none that made fewer errors concerning matters of religion than did the Chinese in their earliest antiquity." The only way Ricci and his fellow missionaries could explain this was by saying that the Chinese were essentially Christians: "Thus I find in their books that they have always worshipped a supreme deity which they call the Lord of Heaven or heaven and earth."[80]

Edwin J. van Kley, "Europe's 'Discovery' of China and the Writing of World History," *American Historical Review* 76 (1971): 358–85; John Michael Archer, *Old Worlds* (see note 59).

77 Markley, *The Far East and the English Imagination* (see note 2), 78 .

78 Markley, *The Far East and the English Imagination* (see note 2), 78.

79 Allison P. Coudert, *Religion, Magic, and Science in Early Modern Europe and America*. Praeger Series on the Early Modern World (Santa Barbara, CA: Praeger, 2011), ch. 6 "The Anthropological Revolution."

80 Davis Porter, *Ideographia: The Chinese Cipher in Early Modern Europe* (Stanford, CA: Stanford

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This conclusion did not, however, quell the doubts of the Jesuit missionaries because it became increasingly apparent after 1620 that the Chinese were not Christians and were not converting to Christianity for the good reason that key Christian doctrines such as the Virgin Birth, the Crucifixion, the Trinity, and the Resurrection were utterly foreign, even distasteful, to the Chinese. Zhang Chao, who worked with the Jesuits on translations, praised the missionaries for their knowledge of astronomy, medicine, and mathematics, as well as for their "loyalty, good faith, constancy, and integrity," but he thought it was is a pity that they spoke of a "Master of Heaven" in such incorrect and distasteful ways, which led them "into nonsense." He was referring to the image of the crucified Christ, and claimed that if they left that out, "they would be very close to . . . Confucianism."[81]

Ricci's attempt to use Christian paintings to impress converts backfired because it led many Chinese to conclude that the Virgin Mary was God. The Jesuit missionaries faced a further difficulty when it came to the Jews of Kaifeng, who considered themselves Jews even though they had assimilated the laws, intellectual traditions, and culture of the Chinese. Outside of their synagogue they had erected a stele in 1489 with the following inscription:

> Confucianism and our doctrine may differ from each other, while being in agreement on the main points. As regards the way to establish the mind and to regulate the conduct they [both] amount to revering the way of Heaven, honouring our ancestors, esteeming the relation between ruler and subject, being filial towards our parents, living in harmony with wife and children, observing the right distinctions between superiors and inferiors, and the right relations between friends.[82]

Convinced of the superiority and essential rightness of the Judeo-Christian tradition, Ricci and his fellow Jesuits could not fathom this type of accommodation and ecumenism. Alvarez Semedo, for example, bizarrely concluded that these Jews had actually converted to Islam: "anciently there was a greater store of [Jews in China], they have been diminished little by little, many of them turning Moors."[83] The Jesuits were further surprised that the Chinese Jews had no knowledge of Jesus. This did not fit their Christian conviction that the Jews knew about Jesus but corrupted scripture "to obscure the glorie of our Redeemer."[84]

The difficulty of communicating Christian doctrines to people living in an entirely different culture with no shared history or assumptions held good for Japan as well as China. In the account of his journey to the Moluccas and Japan, John Saris describes an incident when he invited a group of Japanese women to

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University Press, 2001), 93.

81 Markley, *The Far East and The English Imagination* (see note 2), 92.

82 Markley, *The Far East and The English Imagination* (see note 2), 88.

83 Markley, *The Far East and The English Imagination* (see note 2), 87–88.

84 Markley, *The Far East and The English Imagination* (see note 2), 87–88.

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come aboard his ship and into his cabin. Realizing he had an erotic painting of a naked Venus and Cupid hanging on the wall, he worried that the women might find it offensive; instead they fell down and worshiped it, admitting they were Christians and believing it depicted the Virgin and Child. Japanese women clearly did not share western notions of modesty and decorum, especially in connection with the relationship of a mother and child.[85]

Between 1696 and 1700 the Faculty of Theology at the Sorbonne took up the question of the compatibility between Confucianism and Catholicism in what became known as the "Rites Controversy." After some thirty assemblies and the speeches of 160 theologians, the Faculty concluded that Confucianism and Christianity were entirely incompatible and the Chinese were not virtual Christians. When the Chinese referred to the "Heavenly Master" and "heaven" they did not refer to the Judeo-Christian God or the Judeo-Christian heaven since the Chinese language lacked any concept of purely spiritual substance. Furthermore, they did not simply revere their ancestors; they worshipped them.[86]

The experience of Europeans in the Far East paralleled their experience in the Ottoman Empire. As Stuart Schwartz points out, when different groups of people come into contact, "[e]ach group's sense of its own cultural identity shaped its perception of others, and this in turn was refracted back on self-understanding."[87] Such encounters had consequences inasmuch as they led individuals to rethink and readjust their ideas about themselves in light of the others with whom they interacted. The Rites Controversy had such consequences by leading, at least in some minds, to the realization that customs and beliefs are relative and that history is not universal but particular. The Catholic Bishop François Fénélon (1651–1715) came to this conclusion:

> The manners and ideas of these people, concerning demonstrations of respect, are infinitely far removed from out own. We know from our own experience, besides, that signs used in expressing religious devotion can vary with time and the customs of each nation. The same incense which expresses the supreme faith when one offers it to the Eucharist, no longer signifies the same belief, tho in the same temple and the same ceremony when one offers it to the entire congregation, or even the bodies of the deceased . . . . It is thus clear . . . that the tokens of belief are in themselves arbitrary, equivocal, and subject to variation with each country: how much more reason for them to be equivocal between nations whose manners and prejudices are at such a remove from one another![88]

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85 Markley, *The Far East and The English Imagination* (see note 2), 54.

86 Porter, *Ideographia* (see note 80), 109–11.

87 Stuart B. Schwartz, *Implicit Understandings: Observing, Reporting, and Reflecting on the Encounters Between Europeans and Other Peoples in the Early Modern Era* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 3.

88 Porter, *Ideographia* (see note 80), 123.

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Fénélon, like many of his contemporaries, turned the interpretative lens back on himself to wonder "what Chinese would not be mistaken, if he came to examine our ceremonies."[89] The same could be said of Montaigne's cannibals and Montesqieus's Persians, and a host of other imagined travelers from foreign parts brought to life by European writers to reveal the strangeness of what they routinely took for granted. Pierre Bayle (1647–1706) imagines a dialogue between the Chinese Emperor and Christian missionaries, in which the Emperor asks the missionaries what they would do if the Chinese rejected their teachings and refused to convert. Their answer came straight from Luke 14:23: "Compel them to come in." Bayle then asks what the Emperor would do and answers his own question: he would expel the missionaries for their intolerance. Voltaire upped the anti in his inimitable fashion in another fictional dialogue between a Jesuit missionary and a Chinese Emperor. The Emperor ridicules the Christian idea of Jesus's conception and birth: "God slept with his mother . . . in order to be born of her?" Brother Rigolet replies, "That's correct, your sacred Majesty, grace is working upon you already." The Emperor was equally direct when it came to the doctrine of Transubstantiation: "But my dear friend, you have eaten and drunk of your god: what becomes of him when you have need of a chamber pot."[90]

The Europeans found themselves at cross-purposes with the Chinese and Japanese over more than religion. They came to the Far East to negotiate trade deals, and to do this they presented themselves as equals, who shared the same cultural ideals, patterns of civility, and economic interests as their Far Eastern hosts. This led them to downplay racial or cultural differences, as we can see in Jan Nieuhoff's description of the Chinese:

> The Chinese . . . are almost as white of complexion as the People of Europe; tho indeed some of them who live in the southern countries. . . are so scorched with Heat of the sun, that they become of swarthy colour . . . . Their Eyes are little, somewhat long, yet inclined to round, and black of colour. Their noses little, and not rising very high, but their Ears are of the largest size; but in the other parts of the Face, they differ very little or nothing from those in Europe.[91]

An emphasis on the commonality of their interests characterizes the letter of introduction Jan Maatzuiker, the Governor General of the Dutch East Indian Company, wrote to the Shun-chih Emperor in 1655:

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89 Porter, *Ideographia* (see note 80), 124.

90 Porter, *Ideographia* (see note 80), 131.

91 Markley, *The Far East and The English Imagination* (see note 2), 119. Roxanna Wheeler, *The Complexion of Race: Categories of Difference in Eighteenth-Century British Culture* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2000); David Bindman, *Ape to Apollo: Aesthetics and the Idea of Race in the Eighteenth Century* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2002).

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> The Lord Creator, who made this earth, divided it into ten thousand nations. Some nations raise only natural products; other nations produce manufactures. The former have something which the latter have not; the latter have something which the former have not. The Lord Creator wishes people to exchange what they have with each other so they can respect and admire each other, and be in harmony . . . .
>
> Now we hear that the Emperor of Ta-Ch'ing has won a great victory and has ascended the throne of the Middle Kingdom. This is by the grace of the Lord of Heaven who has given your Majesty this supreme mandate. We, therefore, seek to congratulate [your Majesty] and to petition Your Majesty for permission to allow our people to trade at any of the ports where our ships may anchor, for mutual trade is the will of God as well as the custom of all nations.[92]

The problem with this approach was that the Chinese rejected any notion of shared interests or commonality with people from what they considered an upstart, barbarous nation, a nation which might be acceptable in the role of a tributary state but certainly not as an equal:

> We consider your country . . . to be distantly located on Our western border, separated from Us by remote and dangerous oceans. Since ancient times your country has never embraced Chinese culture. Nevertheless, from afar you know and long for Our virtue and civilization, and respect and admire Us, you Sovereign and Father . . . . therefore we order than your country should present tribute every eight years, the officers and servants should not be more than 100 men, only twenty of whom shall be allowed to go to [the] Imperial Capital.
>
> You should understand the kindness with which We will cherish and protect you and carefully perform the duties of a prince of the feudal territory. Prudently present you regular tribute. Reverently receive this gracious order.[93]

A little less than a century earlier the Jesuits experienced the same rude awakening and realized they had to adopt Chinese ways and Chinese apparel just to get their foot in the door. Clerical garb, poverty, and self-denial did not impress the Chinese; wealth and family connections did. Ricci presents a portrait of himself in the aftermath of this insight: "If only your reverence could see me as I am now; I have made myself a Chinaman. Indeed, in our dress, our looks, our manners, and in everything external we have made ourselves Chinese."[94] He continues:

> We have let our beards grow and our hair down to our ears; at the same time we have adopted the special dress that the literati wear on their social visits . . . which is of purple silk, and the hem of the robe and the collar and the edges are bordered with a band of blue silk a little less than a palm wide; the same decoration is on the edge of

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92 Markley, *The Far East and The English Imagination* (see note 2), 123.
93 Markley, *The Far East and The English Imagination* (see note 2), 124.
94 Markley, *The Far East and The English Imagination* (see note 2), 84.

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> the sleeves which hang open [and] a wide sash of the purple silk trimmed in blue. . . is fastened around the same robe.[95]

He explains that this transformation was necessary so that the Jesuits wouldn't be taken for foreign Buddhist priests, who were despised by the Chinese literary elite:

> To give ourselves more dignity we do not walk in the streets on foot, but have ourselves carried in chairs, on men's shoulders, in the manner of persons of rank here. We have great need for such authority in these parts, as without it our efforts would bear no fruit among these gentiles: for the name of foreigners and priests is so vile in China that we need this and other such stratagems to show them that we are not priests as vile as their own.[96]

In the eyes of the Chinese elite, however, Buddhist teachings were much closer to Christianity than to Confucianism and the Jesuits to the Buddhists, at least when they talked about their religion. No change of garb, length of hair, or means of transportation could or would convince the Chinese that Europeans were in any way equal. Writing in 1668 the Jesuit Gabriel Magalhães exhibits the frustration, humiliation, even mortification caused by the recognition of this indubitable fact. Fully willing to admit the many "Excellencies" that characterize Chinese culture, he claims that these "infuse into the Chinese a Pride most Insupportable. They put the highest value imaginable upon their Empire and all that belongs to them; but as for strangers, they Scorn 'em to the lowest pitch of Contempt."[97] The way his Chinese interlocutors questioned him, clearly got under Magalhães's skin:

> I have many time observ'd, that when I have been discoursing with the Learned concerning the Chinese Religion, and the Sciences of Europe, they ask'd me whether we had their Books? To which when I answer'd No, they reply'd altogether surpris'd, wavering and scandalize'd. If in Europe you have not our Books and our writings, what Learning or what Sciences can you have? . . . . It is impossible to imagine the high Idea which not only the great Lords and Learned Men, but also the Vulgar People have conceived of this Empire.[98]

The Japanese were as xenophobic as the Chinese and just as unimpressed by the looks of Europeans as Muslims in the Ottoman Empire. A Japanese chronicler describes the horrible impression his first view of a Jesuit made on him as follows:

> During the reign of the Emperor Gonara-no-in [1526–1557] . . . there came on a Nanban merchantman a creature one couldn't put a name to, that [appeared to have] human form at first [glance], but might as well be a long-nosed goblin, or a long-necked

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95 Markley, *The Far East and The English Imagination* (see note 2), 94.

96 Porter, *Ideographia* (see note 80), 86.

97 Markley, *The Far East and the English Imaagination* (see note 2), 90.

98 Markley, *The Far East and The English Imagination* (see note 2), 91. Jacques Gernet, *China and the Christian Impact: A Conflict of Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985).

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> demon of the sort that disguise themselves as Buddhist lay priests in order to trick people. Careful inquiry [revealed] that the creature was called a "Padre." The first thing one noticed was how long its nose was! It was like a wartless conch-shell, stuck onto [his face] by suction. How big its eyes were! They were like a pair of telescopes, but the irises were yellow. Its head was small; it had long claws on its hands and feet. It was over 7 feet tall and was black in color, [but] its nose was red; its teeth were longer than a horse's teeth, and its hair was mouse-grey. Above its forehead it'd shaved a spot on its pate about the size of an over-turned sake cup. Its speech was incomprehensible to the ear; its voice resembled the screech of an owl. Everyone ran to see it, mobbing the roads with abandon. They thought this phantasm more terrible than the most ferocious monster.[99]

Given such a response, it is of little surprise that the Japanese did not see Europeans as equals. In his *History of Japan*, Kaempfer offers his European readers a graphic account of what it was like to suffer the indignities of being considered strange, even repulsive, and definitely inferior. He describes the abject position of the Dutch in Japan, forced to live on an island off the coast and made to sacrifice their national honor, personal pride, and religion just to keep their unstable toehold in the country. In addition to trampling on crucifixes and burning Bibles, the Dutch were expected to offer tribute to the Shogun annually in a ceremony that was utterly degrading. Forced to creep with their heads bowed to the ground as they gave most humble thanks for the extremely limited trading oportunites they had been granted, Kaempfer and his colleagues were ordered to remove their ceremonial garments, stand upright, walk, stand still, compliment each other, dance, jump, play the drunkard, speak in broken Japanese, read Dutch, paint, sing, and put their cloaks off and on. As Kaempfer says, "we obey'd the Emperor's commands in the best manner we could, I join'd to my dance, a love-song in high German. In this manner we must suffer ourselves to contribute to the Emperor's and court's diversion.[100] There is no hint of European superiority or European Orientalism in Kaempfer's journal. But as David Porter shows in his insightful book *Ideographia: The Chinese Cipher in Early Modern Europe*, the European view of China and the Far East became less positive in the course of the eighteenth century.

Porter claims that a positive view of the Far East predominated from about 1600 to 1740 and reflected Europe's own turbulent times of religious wars, civil wars, political crises, and economic and social turmoil. During this period China and Japan appeared as oases of prosperity and stability, whose ancient institutions and

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99 Ronald P. Toby, "The 'Indianness' of Iberia and Changing Japanese Iconographies of Other," *Implicit Understandings* (see note 87), 323–51, 325–26. For the full text in somewhat different translation, see George Elison, *Deus Destroyed: The Image of Christianity in Early Modern Japan* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1973), 325–36.

100 Markley, *The Far East and the English Imagination* (see note 2), 260.

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cultural traditions had resisted the kind of change Europeans associated with the degeneration following the Fall. For China watchers like the Englishman John Webb the antiquity, stability, and prosperity of China was summed up in the perfection of the Chinese language, which in his opinion conformed to the six principle characteristics of a "real character" or "natural language": simplicity, generality, modesty of expression, vitality, and brevity.[101]

The seventeenth century marked the height of the search for a "real character" in Europe.[102] This search reflected the historical connection routinely made at the time between religious and political crises and attempts to reform language. The biblical image of the destruction of the Tower of Babel symbolized the religious and political conflict and fragmentation characteristic of the Reformation and Counter Reformation. William Petty (1623–1687), the English economist, philosopher, and scientist came to the conclusion that the religious conflicts roiling England were largely a matter of verbal misunderstandings. If people had the same definitions of concepts like "God," "heaven," or "hell," religious conflict would cease.[103] Petty was one of the innumerable scholars, theologians, and natural philosophers who tried to discover or devise a universal language in which such misunderstandings would be impossible. John Webb believed he had discovered this language in Chinese.[104] He was convinced the Chinese language had not been affected by the destruction of the Tower of Babel.

Following the lead of Francis Bacon, Thomas Sprat, and a host of others, Webb attributed the lack of correspondence between words and things to the temptations presented by rhetoric. Rhetoric was gendered feminine and connected with temptation, deceit, decadence, and debauchery. Bacon, for example, insisted that one had to return to the original progenitor of language and avoid unlawfully begotten words.[105] Sprat challenges people to resist the "beautiful deceit" of rhetorical eloquence and refrain from linguistic "debauchery," the "illicit" and uncontrolled reproduction of meaning, "colloquial licentiousness," and "adulterations."[106] Webb emphasized the modesty with which the Chinese speak. No "undecent and offensive" words marred their conversation in contrast to the

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101 Porter, *Ideographia* (see note 80), 44.

102 Paul Cornelius, *Language in Seventeenth-and Early Eighteenth-Century Imaginary Voyages* (Geneva: Librarie Droz, 1965); Robert Markley, *Fallen Languages: Crises of Representation in Newtonian England, 1660–1740* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1995); James Bono, *The Word of God and the Languages of Man: Interpreting Nature in Early Modern Science and Medicine* (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 1995).

103 Ted McCormick, *William Petty: And the Ambition of Political Arithmetick* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2010).

104 John Webb, *Essay Endeavouring a Probability that the Language of the Empire of China is the Primitive Language* (London: Brook, 1669).

105 Porter, *Ideographia* (see note 80), 22.

106 Porter, *Ideographia* (see note 80), 30–32.

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promiscuity and corruption of English language speakers.[107] The perfection of the Chinese language together with China's political stability and enormous wealth all conspired to make China the cynosure of many European eyes and a model ripe for emulated. This view of China diminished, however, starting for some Europeans as early as 1675 and becoming ever more prevalent after 1740 and until 1775.

Porter attributes the increasingly negative view of China to the growth of stability in Europe and the appearance of a new cultural and economic model that promoted capitalism and applauded the change and belief in progress that came with it. In this new climate, the antiquity of China and its reputed resistance to change was considered stultifying and inimical to novelty and innovation.[108] As Porter says, "Prosperous eighteenth-century consumers were no longer drawn to China in search of a reassuring image of order and stability; they were enticed, rather, by the promise of fresh inspiration for their imaginative fancy and novel vehicles for aesthetic innovation and social display."[109] The desires and tastes of these new consumers fueled the craze for "Chinoiserie" furniture, wallpaper, porcelain, and architecture that transformed sitting rooms and garden across Europe.[110]

The passion for everything Chinese created a backlash, however, as European technology caught up and Europeans were themselves able to produce luxury goods, especially porcelain, similar or superior to those obtained from China. As Gerritt and McDowell remark, " In the early decades of the eighteenth century, knowledge gave rise to disillusion."[111] Commodore John Anson (1697–1762) made this disillusionment clear in his account of his experience in China.[112] Anson

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107 Porter, *Ideographia* (see note 80), 46.

108 Porter, *Ideographia* (see note 80), 135. Cf. Maxime Berg, *Luxury and Pleasure in Eighteenth Century Britain* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007); Maxine Berg and Elizabeth Eger, ed., *Luxury and Pleasure in the Eighteenth Century: Debates, Desires and Delectable Goods* (New York: Palgrave, 2003). In *Boredom* Patricia Meyer Spacks argues that by creating the expectation of variety, novelty, and diversions, capitalism helped to create the idea of boredom. It is no coincidence that in the same period, curiosity became a positive rather than a negative trait. Cf. Barbara M. Benedict, *Curiosity: A Cultural History of Early Modern Inquiry* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 2001).

109 Porter, *Ideographia* (see note 80), 142.

110 Madeleine Jarry, *Chinoiserie: Chinese Influence on European Decorative Art, 17th and 18th Centuries*, trans. Gail Mangold-Vine (New York: Vendome Press, 1981); Dawn Jacobson, *Chinoiserie* (London: Phaidon Press, 1993).

111 Anne Gerritsen and Stephen McDowall, "Material Culture and the Other: European Encounters with Chinese Porcelain, ca. 1650–1800," *Journal of World History* 23.1 (2012): 87–113.

112 *A Voyage Round the World in the Years MDCCXL, I, II, III, IV*, by George Anson, Esq; Commander in Chief of a Squadron of His Majesty's Ships . . . compiled by Richard Walter (London: John & Paul Knapton, 1748). Cf. Glyndwr Williams, *The Prize of All the Oceans: The Triumph and Tragedy of Anson's Voyage Around the World* (London: Harper-Collins, 1999).

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arrived in Canton in 1743 with a badly damaged ship and in desperate need of supplies, neither of which seemed to spark the least interest in the Chinese. One of his officers was robbed while on shore, and one of the masts of his ship was stolen. Under these circumstances it is understandable that Anson was not in the best frame of mind to appreciate Chinese art, which he found to lack the "ease and grace" of European art. Chinese workmen exhibited a "poverty of genius, which constantly attends all servile imitators." They are consequently incapable of producing "works which require great truth and accuracy."[113] The platonic trinity of beauty, truth, and reason that so captivated European devotees of the classical tradition turned this aesthetic judgment into a moral one, and Anson extends the deficiencies of Chinese art to the moral turpitude of the Chinese themselves: "Their magistrates are corrupt, their people thievish . . . in artifice [and] falsehood . . . the Chinese are difficult to be paralleled by any other people."[114] The denigration of the Chinese and the backlash against Chinoiserie was especially strong among those who championed the "masculine" rationality and simplicity of the neoclassical style and contrasted it to the frivolous, effeminate style of the Chinese. In his *Dialogues des Morts* (1712–1730) Fénélon has Socrates berate Confucius on just these grounds:

> Your architecture shows no sense of proportion: all is low and flattened out, all is confused and weighed down with little ornaments that are neither noble nor natural. Your painting has life and a certain kind of grace, but it is correct neither in drawing, layout, the nobility of figures, not the truth of its representations; one sees neither natural landscapes, historical scenes, nor evidence of reasonable and coherent thought; one is only dazzled by the beauty of the colors and polish.[115]

Socrates goes on to question the virtue and wisdom of the Chinese: "I persist in believing that the whole of . . . [this] people is incapable of rising to the principles of true wisdom."[116] This attack on Chinese wisdom spread to the Chinese language as scholars began to realize that the sheer number of Chinese characters and their various meanings led to confusion and ambiguity, the same confusion and ambiguity found in Chinese art. For one critic, the Chinese language was nothing more than a "freakish curiosity" because ". . . among the Chinese the same word is noun, adjective, verb, adverb, singular, plural, masculine, feminine, etc."[117] He goes on to discuss the meaning of the word *shu*: ". . . there is *shu* great heat, *shu* storyteller, *shu* dawn, *shu* rain, *shu* charity, *shu* habituated, *shu* to lose a bet, etc. I

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113 Gerritsen and McDowall, "Material Culture and the Other" (see note 111), 108.
114 Gerritsen and McDowall, "Material Culture and the Other" (see note 111), 108.
115 Porter, *Ideographia* (see note 80), 164.
116 Porter, *Ideographia* (see note 80), 164.
117 Porter, *Ideographia* (see note 80), 76.

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would never finish if I wanted to give all the meanings of the same word."[118] The poet and critic Joseph Warton drew attention to the same lack of clarity in the monstrous products of the Eastern mind:

> I saw a sensible foreigner astonished at a late auction, with the exorbitant prices given for these splendid deformities [China and Indian screens], as he called them, while an exquisite Guido passed unnoticed, and was set aside as unfashionable lumber . . . . No genuine beauty is to be found in whimsical and grotesque figures, the monstrous offspring of wild imagination, undirected by nature and truth.[119]

A further charge against the Chinese and Chinoiserie was that the high cost and luxury associated with the purchase of such artifacts was destructive of home and county and a sign of male effeminacy. John Shebbeare excoriated "walls covered with Chinese paper fill'd with figures which resemble nothing of God's creation, and which a prudent nation would prohibit for the sake of pregnant woman."[120] Jonas Hanway was convinced that drinking China tea was emasculating Britain by sucking out its "vital" and "precious" substances, namely gold and silver, thus undermining the building of a strong military state: "He who should be able to drive three Frenchmen before him, or she who might be a breeder of such a race of men, are to be seen sipping their tea."[121] Samuel Johnson agreed that tea drinking weakened and effeminized the nation: "tea is one of the stated amusements of the idle and luxurious. The whole mode of life is changed, every kind of voluntary labor, every exercise that strengthened the nerves and the muscles, is fallen into disuse."[122] Commenting on Simon Mason's "The Good and Bad Effects of Tea Considered" (1701) Elizabeth Kowaleski-Wallace finds a topsy-turvey world in which tea-drinking women conspire to emasculate men and deprive them of their power.[123]

Not everyone extrapolated such dire consequences from tea drinking. Kowaleski-Wallace cites Nahum Tate's "Poem upon Tea with a discourse on Its Sov'rain Virtues and directions in the Uses of It for Health." Tate claims that tea not only makes lawyers more eloquent but it stimulates musicians, artists, and poets to be more productive. Peter Motteux, author of "A Poem in Praise of Tea" (1712) identifies himself as "ready to cross the seas again to Recruit those new branches of foreign Silks, Lace, Linens, Pictures, and other Goods."[124] He argues

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118 Porter, *Ideographia* (see note 80), 76–77.
119 Porter, *Ideographia* (see note 80), 174.
120 Porter, *Ideographia* (see note 80), 172.
121 Porter, *Ideographia* (see note 80), 194.
122 Beth Kowaleski-Wallace, "Tea, Gender, and Domesticity in Eighteenth-Century England," *Studies in Eighteenth Century Culture* 23 (1994), 131–45; here 136.
123 Kowaleski-Wallace, "Tea, Gender, and Domesticity" (see note 122), 136.
124 Kowaleski-Wallace, "Tea, Gender, and Domesticity" (see note 122), 132.

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that, unlike wine, tea humanizes and civilizes and allows for the enlightenment of the mind. Joseph Addison considered the morning tea table a place of instruction and the enforcement of domestic virtues. For people like these the fanciful, frivolous, exotic, and even grotesque nature of Chinoiserie was an intrinsic part of its charm. Sir William Chambers, for example, embraced Chinese art and especially Chinese gardens because they were designed to present the viewer with "pleasing, horrid, and enchanted" scenes. He compared the "bucolic blandness" of the English country estate to the variety and surprise excited by Chinese landscapes:

> Sometimes the traveller, after having wandered in the dusk of the forest, finds himself on the edge of precipices, in the glare of the day-light, with cataracts falling from the mountains around and torrents raging in the depths beneath him; or at the foot of impending rocks, as gloomy vallies, overhung with woods, on the backs of dull moving rivers, whose shores are covered with sepulchral monuments, under the shadow of willows, laurels, and other plants, sacred to Manchew, the genius of sorrow.[125]

As Porter points out, Chambers combined the exotic with the erotic, rejecting the neoclassical virtues of rational and masculine order for the combined delights of the Chinese garden and the Turkish seraglio:

> Sometimes, in this romantic excursion, the passenger finds himself in extensive recesses, surrounded with arbors of Jessamine, vine and roses, where beauteous Tartarean damsels, in loose transparent robes, that flutter in the air, present him with rich wines, mangostans, ananas, and . . . crown him with garlands of flowers, and invite him to taste the sweets of retirement, on Persian carpets, and beds of camusath skin down.[126]

Chambers adhered to a new aesthetic that delighted in opulence, variety, and even uncertainty and confusion for the psychological effects they had on viewers. In short, he shared the preference for the sublime over the beautiful. Addison anticipated this new aesthetic when he claimed that "uncertitude of the mind" and "anxiety" prevented "that state of languor [in other words boredom] into which the mind naturally sinks by dwelling long on the same objects."[127] At this point China, Porter concludes, "is no longer a terrain to be subdued by rationalist cartographies but one in which to luxuriate in the sensual allure of foreigness and to take respite from the dullness and insipidity of the everyday."[128]

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125 Porter, *Ideographia* (see note 80), 178.
126 Porter, *Ideographia* (see note 80), 180.
127 Porter, *Ideographia* (see note 80), 175, 179.
128 Porter, *Ideographia* (see note 80), 179.

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4. Europe's Intellectual Debt to the Orient

As we have seen, the engagement of early modern Europeans with the Near and Far East occurred on many different fronts and levels and influenced European culture in decisive ways in terms of religion, politics, economics, and aesthetics. But one last subject must be addressed, the impact of Eastern thought on the development of European science and philosophy. I referred earlier to Simon Ockley when he claimed that the West has not added "one single *iota* to the accumulated wisdom of the East" and to John Webb's claim that "from the East came the first knowledge of all things." Webb and Ockley's veneration of the East had a long history in the West. For early as well as later Christians the Garden of Eden was located in the East and the Wise Men or Magi who visited the Christ child were depicted as Eastern sages.

Another great Eastern sage, the founder of alchemy, Hermes Trismegistus, was reputed to be a contemporary of Moses, and some Christians believed that Moses had actually received his wisdom from Hermes. From the Renaissance and throughout the early modern period Egypt was seen as the source of both Hebrew and Greek culture, and Egyptian hieroglyphs were believed to encapsulate in symbolic form the wisdom of the ancients.[129] On the basis of this reverence for all things Egyptian, Cosimo di Medici ordered his resident philosopher Marsilio Ficino to stop work on his translation of the Platonic dialogues and translate the Hermetic texts instead, texts Cosimo had recently acquired. So revered were these texts and their reputed author that Hermes Trismegistus was given the status of an honorary Christian, and his image was etched onto the beautiful marble floors of the cathedral in Siena.[130]

Francis Yates believed that the Hermetic tradition declined after 1614 as a result of Isaac Casaubon's (1559–1614) exposure of the texts as early Christian forgeries, but a number of scholars have shown that this was not the case.[131] Hermes Trismegistus and the Hermetica lived on, as did the notion of the *prisca theologia*, communicated to Adam by God and passed down to Noah, from whom it spread throughout the postdiluvian world, appearing in the Egyptian hieroglyphs, the Jewish Kabbalah, the Chinese *I Ching*, even in the runes of the Danes and Swedes.

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129 Erik Iversen, *The Myth of Egypt and its Hieroglyphs in European Tradition* (Copenhagen: Gad, 1961); Brian Curran, *The Egyptian Renaissance: The Afterlife of Egypt in Early Modern Italy* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007); Daniel Stolzenberg, *Egyptian Oedipus: Athanasius Kircher and the Secrets of Antiquity* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2013).

130 D[aniel]. P[ickering]. Walker, *The Ancient Theology: Studies in Christian Platonism from the Fifteenth to the Eighteenth Century* (London: Duckworth, 1972).

131 Jan Assmann, *Moses the Egyptian* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1997), 56; Dimitri Levitson, "John Spencer's *De Legibus Hebraeorum* (1683–85) and 'Enlightened' Sacred History: A New Interpretation," *Journal of the Warburg and Cortauld Institutes* 76 (2013): 1–35.

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Moses has not yet become the Egyptian figure about whom Freud would later write, but in the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries he was seen as an "Egyptianized Hebrew," who was "well versed in all the wisdom of Egypt" (Acts 7:22).[132]

Even as the notion of a *prisca theologia* gave way before the idea of progress and evolution that developed in the eighteenth century many Enlightenment thinkers continued to be attracted by the thought that an ancient and esoteric wisdom had been passed down through the ages and was still accessible to the *cognoscenti*:

> The idea that pagan religions developed and degenerated around a nucleus of original wisdom which they enshrined and sheltered in a complex and enigmatic architecture of hieroglyphics and ceremonies and which in the course of time became more and more antithetic to their political institutions had special appeal in the Age of Enlightenment, when the most advanced ideas were communicated with the esoteric circles of secret communities.[133]

Jehovah was in reality Isis, and Isis was the embodiment of Nature. Ignaz von Born, the Grand Master of True Concord, Vienna's most important lodge of Freemasons, makes this point:

> The knowledge of nature is the ultimate purpose of our application. We worship this progenitor, nourisher, and preserver of all Creation in the image of Isis. Only he who knows the whole extent of her power and force will be able to uncover the veil without punishment.[134]

The association of this ancient wisdom with the sublime and with mystery and initiation appears constantly in eighteenth and nineteenth century literature dealing with the Egyptian mysteries.[135]

Egypt was not the only source of ancient wisdom mined by early modern scholars. As Europeans became more proficient in the study of Greek, Hebrew, and Arabic, they turned to other sources thought to enshrine ancient wisdom, such as the Eastern Church Fathers, the Jewish Kabbalah, alchemy, and Muslim philosophy. William Postel (1510–1581), who made the first translation of the *Zohar*, the mystical, kabbalistic writings of the Jews, held the first chair in Arabic

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132 Assmann, *Moses the Egyptian* (see note 131), 55, 95.

133 Assmann, *Moses the Egyptian* (see note 121), 102. Cf. Karl F. H. Frick, *Die Erleuchteten*. Vol. 2: *Licht und Finsternis: gnostisch-theosophische und freimaurerisch-okkulte Geheimgesellschaften bis an die Wende zum 20. Jahrhundert. Wege in die Gegenwart*. Part 2: *Geschichte ihrer Lehren, Rituale und Organisationen* (Graz: Akademische Druck- und Verlags-Anstalt, 1978); Peter Christian Ludz, ed., *Geheime Gesellschaften*. Wolfenbüttler Studien zur Aufklärung, 5.1 (Heidelberg: Lambert Schneider, 1979).

134 Assmann, *Moses the Egyptian* (see note 121), 125.

135 Assmann, *Moses the Egyptian* (see note 121), 129–31. Margaret C. Jacob, *The Radical Enlightenment: Pantheists, Freemasons and Republicans*. 2nd rev. ed (1981; Lafayette, LA: Cornerstone Book Publishers, 2006).

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at the Collège de France established in 1539. He accompanied the French ambassador to the court of Suleiman the Magnificent in Constantinople to collect oriental manuscripts. Postel firmly believed in the superiority of the East. As he wrote, "All things that we hold in the West as of extraordinary artifice are like mere shadows of oriental excellence."[136]

Cromwell's parliament voted to give Cambridge University 500 pounds to purchase a collection of Oriental books and another 40–50 pounds for printing Arabic books. Samuel Hartlib was involved in these purchases. One of his correspondents, Thomas Smith, wrote to thank him: "not myself only but the whole Commonwealth of learning are eternally obliged to you for your earnest & happy endeavours for the promotion of all kind of learning especially Oriental."[137] At the time Hartlib was trying to obtain Arabic and Syriac type-faces for Cambridge and a Marconite to read difficult oriental manuscripts. Hartlib studied the Oriental books purchased by Cambridge along with ancient alchemical treatises as part of his attempt to promote learning and restore the Garden of Eden, the goal of many of his contemporaries.[138] He was joined in these endeavors by Robert Boyle, John Locke, and Isaac Newton, and a host of other early modern natural philosophers, whose work contributed to the Scientific Revolution.[139]

Mysticism and Eastern Christianity joined hands in the revival of the doctrines of the preexistence of souls and universal salvation in the seventeenth century. Origen had supported both in the second century, only to have his work anathematized by the Church. But his treatise was republished anonymously by

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136 William J. Bouwsma, *Concordia Mundi: The Career and Thought of Guillaume Postel (1510–1581)* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1957).

137 Letter to Hartlib, 11 October 1648, Hartlib Papers, xv vii. Cited in Charles Webster, *The Great Instauration: Science, Medicine and Reform, 1626–1660* (London: Duckworth, 1975), 152; Stephen Clucas, "Samuel Hartlib's Ephemerides, 1635–59, and the Pursuit of Scientific and Philosophical Manuscripts: The Religious Ethos of the Intelligencer," *Seventeenth Century Journal* 6.1 (1991): 33–55.

138 As a result of the wave of apocalyptic and millenarian thinking that spread across Europe during the seventeenth century, there was an outpouring of "spiritualist-scientific utopias" predicated on restoring humans to their prelapsarian state in the Garden of Eden. Hartilib's goal of promoting communication and science was strongly influenced by millenarianism. Cf. Clucas article cited in note 137; Coudert, *Religion, Magic, and Science*, ch. 7 (see note 79).

139 On the role of alchemy in fostering the scientific revolution, see Betty Jo T. Dobbs, *The Foundations of Newton's Alchemy: or, "The Hunting of the Green Lyon"* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1975); eadem, *The Janus Face of Genius: The Role of Alchemy in Newton's Thought* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991); Richard S. Westfall, "Newton and Alchemy, *Occult and Scientific Mentalities in the Renaissance*, ed. Brian Vickers (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984); Lawrence M. Principle, *The Aspiring Adept: Robert Boyle and his Alchemical Quest* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1998); Bruce T. Moran, *Distilling Knowledge: Alchemy, Chemistry, and the Scientific Revolution* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2006); William R. Newman, *Promethean Ambitions: Alchemy and the Quest to Perfect Nature* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 2004).

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George Rust in 1661 and attracted a great deal of attention.[140] The same two doctrines appeared in the Jewish Kabbalah with the doctrine of *tikkun*, or restoration, which postulated that after a series of reincarnations all things would eventually be restored to their original perfection in God. Martin Mulsow contends that the idea of *tikkun* and the emphasis on the role of reincarnation in this cosmic process of restoration was accepted on rational and pragmatic grounds by a broad range of enlightenment thinkers, among whom were Leibniz, Wolff, Lessing, Schade, Clavius, and Weishaupt. The idea that individuals would reap their rewards or punishments in future lives offered a morally compelling picture of a benevolent God, whose creation was preordained to return to its original perfection. Mulsow claims that these ideas became key concepts in the "Religion of intelligent people."[141]

One of the most popular books to give voice to these ideas was *Travels of Cyrus* (1727) by Andrew Michael Ramsey (1686–1743), or Chevalier Ramsey, as he was better known. Ramsey's book was phenomenally popular and "one of the principal conduits affording Western readers exposure to Eastern religious ideas in the 18th century."[142] The impact of these various strands of Eastern thought on the intellectual life of Europe have become increasingly clear with the emergence Esoteric Studies as a recognized field of research and scholarship.[143]

5. Conclusion

At this point it should be clear that Said's Orientalism does not apply to early modern Europeans, who had a very different relationship with the Near and Far Eastern compared with their successors in the nineteenth century. In the early modern period the Ottoman Empire, China, and Japan were superior to Europe in terms of wealth, power, and technology. As European nation states began to flex their muscles they did so not at the expense of the Muslim or Far Eastern world

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140 [George Rust,] *A Letter of Resolution Concerning Origen* (London: n. p., 1661).

141 Martin Mulsow, "Vernünftige Metempsychosis: Über Monadenlehre, Esoterik und geheime Aufklärungsgesellschaften im 18. Jahrhundert," *Aufklärung und Esoterik*, ed. Monika Neugebauer-Wölk, with the assistance of Holger Zaunstöck. Studien zum achtzehnten Jahrhundert, 24 (Hamburg: Felix Meiner Verlag, 1999), 211–73.

142 Terry Givens, *When Souls Had Wings: Pre-Mortal Existence in Western Thought* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 190. Ramsey's book was published in French but immediately translated into English. There were twenty-five editions in Britain and America over the next century. It was also translated into German, Italian, Spanish, and Russian.

143 Wouter J. Hanegraaff and Joyce Pijnenburg, eds., *Hermes in the Academy: Ten Years' Study of Western Esotericism at the University of Amsterdam* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2009).

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but at the expense of each other. A straightforward confrontation between East and West did not and could not exist for the simple reason that Europeans with a modicum of sense realized their inferior position—the British certainly learned this as a result of their expulsion from Tangiers. But even more importantly Muslims as well as the Chinese and Japanese were crucial, if dangerous, partners in the business of trade. Consequently, whatever "othering" European powers did in the early modern period tended to be among themselves.[144] The British and French were extremely good at dehumanizing each other. Hogarth's engraving "The Gates of Calais, commonly known as "O, The Roast Beef of Old England" (see Fig. 2), exemplifies the English contempt for all thing French. In the center of the picture a huge hunch of English roast beef is being carried to the local English tavern as the proverbial fat and venial monk and several emaciated French soldiers—fed on the watery broth in the kettle on the right of the picture—salivate.

The French returned the non-compliment in their portrayals of the British as drunken, uncouth, and seriously challenged when it comes to fashion (see Fig. 3). Infinite examples of this kind of inter-European "othering" exist in the early modern period. But let me end with a minor sort of "othering," but one that we can easily recognize for all its pernicious force. In 1747 a British government minister asked the Ironmongers's company of London to aid in ransoming British captives from the Barbary pirates. The negative response to the minister's request is the following: "They [meaning the members of the Ironmonger's Company] further object that in the number of four score prisoners now detained there [in Morocco] may possibly be some Irishmen. . . and that there must therefore be proof made that they were all Britons before they apply the money."[145] It may come as no surprise that an educated person like Joseph Glanvill, who was a member of England's prestigious Royal Society, believed the Irish had tails. Such disdain and the animosity behind it make any simple dichotomy between East versus West or European versus non-European impossible in the early modern period and probably in any period as well.

Robert Irwin is one of Said's most severe critics. He rejects the notion that Said's work opened up new areas for scholars to explore. In his opinion Orientalism "is

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144 Richard Helgeson argues that in Elizabethan England national identity was formed against the threat posed by Spain. See his *Forms of Nationhood: The Elizabethan Writing of England* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1992). In the seventeenth century, the Dutch were the primary "other" against whom the English defined themselves (Markley, *The Far East an the English Imagination* [see note 2], 143. Linda Colley describes how this "other" changed to the French during the eighteenth century. See her *Britons: Forging the Nation* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1992). Cf. Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, rev. ed. (1983; London: Varo, 1991).

145 Colley, *Captives* (see note 27), 120.

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neither very important nor very glamorous—still less actually sinister."[146] But even more damaging is his assessment of Said's book as "a work of malignant charlatanry in which it is hard to distinguish honest mistakes from willful misrepresentations."[147] Irwin points out that Said's focus on the Middle East and Orientalism in relation to the study of Islam and Arab history is flawed from the start since one cannot study Islam without taking into account Persian and Ottoman Studies or developments in Sinology and Egyptology. One must also consider Biblical and Hebrew studies and studies of religion in general to understand the way Islam and the Arabs were viewed and described. Having done none of these things, Irwin denounces Said's work as polemical puffery and malignant prejudice. But whatever one may think of Said's book, it did stir the pot and foster new areas of study that have led scholars of European and American history away from their Eurocentric and American-centric tendencies. In the decades since the publication of *Orientalism* we have witnessed the move toward global history and the recognition that neither Europe nor America can be studied in isolation from the rest of the world. If this is one of the responses to Said's book, it is extremely positive.

146 Irwin, *Dangerous Knowledge* (see note 41), 2.
147 Irwin, *Dangerous Knowledge* (see note 41), 4.

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Fig. 1: William Hogarth, "Credulity, Superstition, and Fanaticism"

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Fig. 2: William Hogarth, "O the Roast Beef of Old England"

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Fig. 3: "L'apres Souper des Anglais a Paris ou L'Auberge Pleine" (courtesy of The Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, England)

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Chapter 22

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A Seventeenth-Century French Merchant in the Orient: The Portrait of Jean-Baptiste Tavernier in *Les six voyages*

In *Orientalism*, Edward Said unveiled the invention of the Orient by nineteenth-century Europe.[1] According to this critic, Western colonial powers understood and depicted Eastern lands as primarily Islamic, while Arabic-speaking Orientals were represented as lazy, sexually decadent, and tyrannical. Omnipresent in both literature and art, this imagined Orient allegedly called on Western nations to conquer, circumscribe, and civilize.[2] As the European creation of the Orient was used to justify and consolidate French and British colonization of the Middle East and North Africa, Western control of exotic and far-away lands reinforced the deviant image of the Orient in the eyes of occupiers.

Following Said, scholars of the medieval and early modern periods have identified the presence of Orientalism in earlier centuries.[3] In the case of France, Ina Baghdiantz McCabe posits Guillaume Postel, the controversial humanist, as the first French Orientalist.[4] Most scholars, however, identify the absolutist

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1 Edward Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1978). However, for a different take of Orientalism, based on a different set of criteria and data, see now the contribution to the present volume by Allison P. Coudert.

2 Christine Peltre, *Les Orientalistes* (Paris: Hazan, 1997). The English translation appeared as *Orientalism in Art* (New York and London: Abbeville, 1998).

3 For examples of Orientalisms in the Middle Ages, see the introduction to this volume.

4 Ina Baghdiantz McCabe, *Orientalism in Early Modern France: Eurasian Trade, Exoticism and the Ancien Regime* (Oxford and New York: Berg, 2008). McCabe's treatment of Postel is quite problematic, however, particularly since the Ottomans and the French were strong political allies in the sixteenth century and since the latter were in no position to dominate the international scene. For a more nuanced approach of Postel and his interpretation of the Orient, see Frédéric Tinguely, *L'Écriture du Levant à la Renaissance: enquête sur les voyageurs français dans l'Empire de*

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regimes of the seventeenth-century, particularly that of Louis XIV, as the era during which Orientalism was born. Both Michèle Longino and Nicholas Dew argue most strongly in favor of this view. The former focuses on the tamed presence of the 'Turk' in French classical drama, while the latter analyzes the powerful circles of seventeenth-century intellectuals who were involved in describing and inscribing the Orient onto the French political and cultural landscape in what the scholar calls the era of baroque Orientalism.[5] Absent from Longino's and Dew's compelling analyses are merchants. Sometimes deemed secondary in the socio-political makeup of the early modern state, merchants were quintessential in the formation of Orientalist thought in France. Jean-Baptiste Tavernier, for example, spent most of his life exploring and living east of the French kingdom[6] and in the last three decades of his life, while continuing to travel, he authored three voluminous works detailing his itineraries and the customs of the people he encountered during his travels.[7] Tavernier's experience and writing of the Orient is undeniable and, although he was neither a playwright nor a scholar, the French merchant played a major role in anchoring Orientalism in early modern France, his work profoundly influencing *philosophes* of the next generation.[8]

Soliman le Magnifique (Geneva: Droz, 2000).

5 Michèle Longino, *Orientalism in French Classical Drama* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001); Nicholas Dew, *Orientalism in Louis XIV's France* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009).

6 According to his own declarations, Tavernier spent most of his adult life in India, Persia, and the Ottoman Empire. At the end of his life, he was approached by Friedrich-Wilhelm, Elector of Brandeburg, to serve as ambassador to the Mogul court in the hope of establishing an East India Company of his own. See Muzaffar Alam and Sanjay Subrahmanyam, *The Indo-Persian Travels in the Age of Discoveries, 1400–1800* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 357.

7 Tavernier's first published work was *Nouvelle relation de l'intérieur du serrail du Grand Seigneur* (Paris; O. de Varennes, 1675), followed by the first edition of *Les six voyages de Jean Baptiste Tavernier*—henceforth abbreviated as *Les six voyages*—and the *Recueil de plusieurs relations et traitez singuliers et curieux* (Paris: G. Clouzier, 1679). References to *Les six voyages* will be to the *edition princeps* of 1676 as it is available on Gallica: http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k853250. All translations are mine. There were at least eighteen reprints and re-editions of *Les six voyages* by 1724. The work was translated into English in 1677, German in 1681, and Italian in 1682 (Alam and Subrahmanyam, *Indo-Persian Travels* [see note 6], 352.)

8 See Jean-Baptiste Tavernier, *Les six voyages de Turquie et de Perse*, ed. Stéphane Yérasimos (Paris: Maspero, 1981). In this modern and abridged edition of Tavernier's work, Yérasimos includes most chapters dealing with the Ottoman Empire and Persia, but excludes those on India. In the introduction Yérasimos underlines the influence of Tavernier's works on Voltaire's *Essai sur les mœurs et l'esprit des nations* (7). Montesquieu's *Lettres Persanes* also owns much to Tavernier.

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Who was Jean-Baptiste Tavernier?

Jean-Baptiste Tavernier is something of an enigma. Biographical details about this inveterate traveler and material traces of his professional and personal accomplishments abound; and yet the man remains a mystery. A native of Paris and the son of a Protestant immigrant from Anvers, he was born in 1605 to a family of geographers. He first explored the world on his father's and uncle's maps in their boutique before becoming a relentless traveler and a successful early modern entrepreneur who quickly caught the attention of French royals to whom he sold his precious stones, including a large blue sapphire known in France as "le diamant bleu de la Couronne" and which is now kept at the National Museum of Natural History in Washington, DC, and known as the Hope Diamond.[9] A Protestant who was at one time financially and socially rewarded by a Catholic king—he was ennobled by Louis XIV on February 16, 1669—Tavernier left the French kingdom two years after the revocation of the Edit de Nantes to seek refuge in his *baronnie d'Aubonne* near Geneva. In 1689, he died near Moscow.

Recently, Tavernier's life and career have inspired an American gemologist and novelist,[10] a Swiss cinematographer,[11] as well as scholars who have begun to analyze the vast and rich materials published by the traveler toward the end of his life. These commentators have sketched the complex portrait of an ambitious merchant who leaves some mesmerized or enraptured, and others quasi-silenced or bewildered by his role in seventeenth-century cultural politics. The enthusiasts tend not to be scholars. Following Tavernier's contemporaries,[12] most historians and literary critics are disparaging toward the merchant. Dew and Longino, for example, discuss the traveler only briefly. There are, however, supporters. Stressing cross-cultural exchanges in the traveler's work, Faith Beasley praises Tavernier and his contemporary, François Bernier, for being culturally sensitive:

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9 The diamond, which has a rocambolesque history, is visible in the American museum since 1958.

10 Richard W. Wise, *The French Blue* (Lenox, MA: Brunswick House Press, 2010). This historical fiction's counterpart in France was penned by Patrick Voillot; see his *Les mystères du diamant bleu* (Paris: Bourin, 2010).

11 Philippe Nicolet whose *docu-fiction*, *Les voyages an Orient du Baron d'Aubonne*, was released in 2005 for the 400th anniversary of Tavernier's birth.

12 The scholars of the Republic of Letters expressed distrust toward Tavernier and did not hesitate to snub him. Jean Chardin, for example, would stress that he served as Tavernier's interpreter, while Jean Thévenot would not mention traveling with Tavernier in 1665. Furthermore, judging by Tavernier's self-imposed exile to Aubonne, the king's original appreciation for the merchant did not last.

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> What emerges from even a cursory glance at travel narratives such as those by Bernier and Tavernier is a fascination with and a respect for the *diverse* aspects of this truly foreign culture and how diversity was valued within the culture itself.[13]

In a more balanced and convincing analysis, Frédéric Tinguely sees the merchant as an astute courtier, engaged in securing a position at court for himself.[14] This article demonstrates that Tavernier's enactment of courtly and literary conventions falls short, however. Furthermore, a reading of Tavernier as an open-minded and respectful Westerner immersed in and appreciative of the Orient is simply impossible. The traveler should be attentively studied by scholars—because some of his observations which are indeed precise, original, devoid of judgment, are juxtaposed with an open criticism of Asia and a sense of superiority, not only as a Frenchman but as an individual, that reveal an early modern merchant's bold take on the Orient, or, in other words, Orientalism at work in the seventeenth-century.

In this article, I examine the portrait that Jean-Baptiste Tavernier gives of himself in *Les six voyages de Jean Baptiste Tavernier, ecuyer baron d'Aubonne qu'il a fait en Turquie, en Perse et aux Indes*, first published in Paris by Gervais Clouzier and Claude Barbin in 1676. Looking at the prologue and specific anecdotes in the narrative, I suggest that Tavernier's ambitious authorial strategies fail, ultimately revealing a powerful individual whose business tactics and ethics denigrate entirely the Orient with which, paradoxically, the merchant identifies himself. Tavernier, I claim, is the locus where East and West clash in a unique way. Unlike his contemporaries who could be qualified as translators, or *rapporteurs* of the East, this merchant encapsulates the Orient by boldly embodying it, exposing a crudest form of Orientalism in its embryonic stage. Tavernier does not serve as a bridge between East and West; instead, he creates, in his own self, an unsettling amalgamation between two societies which remain fundamentally opposed and from which emerges one ultimate hegemon, Jean-Baptiste Tavernier himself. This article, therefore, proposes an explanation for the contradictory responses that Tavernier has elicited and continues to produce.

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13 Faith E. Beasley, "Versailles meets the Taj Mahal," *French Global: A New Approach to Literary History*. ed. Christie McDonald and Susan Rubin Suleiman (New York: Columbia University Press, 2010), 207–22. In her analysis, Beasley focuses on India whereas I examine Tavernier's contacts with Persia.

14 See Frédéric Tinguely, "Portrait du voyageur en honnête homme: la culture de cour chez Jean-Baptiste Tavernier," http://revuefrancaise.free.fr/Tinguely.htm (last accessed Dec. 18, 2012).

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Dissimulation and The Multiple

One cannot overstate the multidimensionality of early modern travels. When, in 1511, Jean Thenaud leaves Angoulême for Jerusalem on behalf of Louise de Savoie, his pilgrimage gives him the opportunity to witness (and perhaps engage in) a diplomatic mission with the Knights of Saint-John-of-Jerusalem in Rhodes and with the Mamluk Sultan, ultimately resulting in economic and travel agreements between Louis XII and Qansou Ghoury.[15] Furthermore, Thenaud's travel is the occasion for Louise's son, Francis—future king of France—to make political overtures with (or to spy on?) Shah Isma'il, the emerging Safavid leader. Thus, Thenaud's travel is motivated religiously, politically, and economically. A century later, Tavernier's travels prove as multifaceted as his predecessor's. Prompted by financial gain, the merchant does not hesitate to take on the role of political emissary and author during and after his trips.[16] The prologue to *Les six voyages* is the place where Tavernier's personae as diplomat and writer are first crafted. In addition, in chapter V of book II, the merchant tells of his encounter with Domenico de Santis, a Venetian ambassador, whom the Frenchman takes under his personal guidance since his companion appears totally ignorant about rudimentary diplomatic etiquette.[17] Nevertheless, the Venetian accumulates faux-pas after gaffe, the most glaring of which takes place during a meal when, unable to control his appetite and to wait for the food to cool down, de Santis burns his

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15 See Jean Thenaud, *Le voyage d'Outremer de Jean Thenaud*, ed. Charles Schefer (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1884).

16 Friedrich Wolfzettel highlights Tavernier posing as an ambassador and insists on the merchant, the diplomat, and the writer as being three facets of the same man. See Friedrich Wolfzettel, *Le discours du voyageur: pour une histoire littéraire du récit de voyage en France, du Moyen Âge au XVIIIe siècle* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1996), 142–53. The following remarks derive from and complete Wolfzettel's analysis.

17 "Ce Venitien, comme je diray ailleurs, estoit un tres-petit genie qui répondoit mal à la qualité d'Ambassadeur, & l'ayant vû autrefois aux Indes en trespauvre état au service d'un Ecclesiastique noir que le Pape honora depuis d'un Evesché, je crus que la charité m'obligeoit de luy donner de bons avis en cette rencontre, comme je l'avois assisté de ma bourse en d'autres. Sans les peres Capucins et moy, il auroit esté souvent fort embarrassé, & je voulus bien qu'il se servît d'ordinaire de mon trucheman. Mais j'avois lieu de m'étonner de ce que de si grands Princes & une si sage Republique envoyoient un homme de cette sorte en Ambassade pour une affaire de l'importance de celle dont il s'agissoit alors" (181) [As I will explain later, this Venetian was far from being a genius and could hardly fulfill his duties as ambassador. I had met him once in India where, poor as dirt, he was serving a black clergyman who was later promoted to the rank of bishop by the pope. As I had helped him then with money, I thought that charity dictated me to help him once more, with advice this time. For without me and the Capuchins, he would have been often embarrassed, and I agreed to let him use my interpreter. But I was utterly surprised to see that the great princes of the wise Venetian Republic would send such a man as an envoy to discuss important matters.]

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mouth and has to spit out the hot stew publicly, "une action indécente" amounting to cultural crime according to Tavernier. The French merchant proceeds to display his own intimate knowledge of Persian customs and councils the Venetian in the art of diplomacy.

Tavernier's self-avowed diplomatic dexterity in the East is coupled by his accomplishments as an author. According to him, his literary talents are unsurpassed and he outshines the acclaimed authors of his generation and those before him: "je l'ai fait [le livre] avec plus de hardiesse, & meme avec plus de succez que ceux qui avoient un titre & un caractere pour en parler" (I have written [this book] with more boldness, and even more success, than those who had a title and an authority to speak.) When it came to representing his very real commercial skills as well as his self-proclaimed, and more debatable, diplomatic and authorial dexterity, modesty was not in Tavernier's repertoire. In the *Six voyages* indeed, the character of Tavernier is one of heroic proportions.[18]

Whether a hero elevated by work—*travail*—or a courtier, the traveler claims higher social status, an opportunity offered to merchants by Colbert and his Oriental Companies.[19] As a result, Tavernier's outsider status as non-erudite and less-integrated-at-court is erased in *Les six voyages*, which could explain the merchant's rejection by his contemporaries.

Wearing different hats would have seemed only natural to Tavernier who, as a traveler to the East, was accustomed to donning masks, alternatively revealing and hiding his identity. Indeed, because of the multiple facets of early modern travels, dissimulation was crucial for a successful and safe journey. In Asia, for example, turban and "truchement" (interpreter) guaranteed safety and comfort, as well as access to places that would have otherwise remained inaccessible to the foreign visitor.[20] Tavernier, who continuously relied on Père Raphaël in Ispahan to communicate with Persian officials,[21] used both freely. In Chapter VI of Book I for example, he brags about his chameleonic skills, claiming that he was able to penetrate any place he desired, including mosques: "Les Chrestiens n'y entrent pas bien aisément, sur tout ceux dont l'habit ny la mine ne donnent pas dans la veuë:

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18 Isabelle Morlin focuses on Tavernier's self-heroization through work. See her "Récits de voyages marchands dans la seconde moitié du XVIIe siècle: portrait du négociant en héros," *Études littéraires* 40.2 (2009): 13–29.

19 The *Compagnie française pour le commerce des Indes orientales* and the *Compagnie françaises des Indes Occidentales* were established by Colbert in 1664, the *Compagnie du Levant* in 1670.

20 On the practicality and the necessity of wearing foreign garb while traveling, see Dirk Van der Cruysse, *Le noble désir de courir le monde: Voyager en Asie au XVIIe siècle* (Paris: Fayard, 2002); here the chapter "Les habits de l'Autre," 407–13.

21 Tavernier does not hide the fact that he does not speak Farsi or Arabic and that he uses Father Raphaël, a French Capuchin and *éminence grise* of Shah Abbas II, as a regular interpreter. See book IV, chapter 14 for example.

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mais de la maniere que j'ay toújours voyagé en Perse & aux Indes on ne m'a jamais refusé la porte en aucun lieu" (67; Christians don't enter there very easily, especially the ones whose clothes are not appropriate, but because of the way I've always dressed in Persia and India, I was never forbidden to enter any place I wished to see).[22]

Because all European travelers were, in a sense, emissaries, they had to know when to embrace elements of a foreign culture in order to be well-received, and when to remain attached to their own cultural identity, donning masks that alternately disguise and reveal their identity.[23] There was neither deception nor duplicity in this kind of dissimulation, but rather pragmatism and pride combined. Back in France, however, patrons, kings, and peers required that travelers peel off certain layers of identities that the latter had acquired abroad, so as to return to a more fundamental core. The pilgrim or the merchant doubling as diplomat, spy, or ethnographer, was expected to return to France as a loyal subject, hence speaking, behaving, and dressing according to his social status. Consequently, his report had to account for his accomplishments in foreign lands as well as to conform to and confirm a *retour au naturel*.

Taking readers through a maze of geographical places—whether new or old, whether visited or not by authors before—the travel account aimed at presenting its audience with the traveler's diverse incarnations while reasserting his most essential identity, that of a French-speaking subject at the service (or in search) of a protector. Again, this did not preclude travelers from portraying themselves as others and from engaging in a certain degree of self-fashioning,[24] but only at the condition that their allegiance to their homeland be made explicit. Hence, in the *Six voyages*, Tavernier the merchant can appear as diplomat and author, but he has to show his Frenchness first. Pompa Banerjee has shown that Barthélemy Carré played the role of doctor, Persian merchant, matchmaker, and harem master during his peregrinations and/or his retelling of them.[25] Similarly, Tavernier, who is the abbot's contemporary, assumed several conflicting, yet complementing, identities during his trips and in his narrative. Clearly, Tavernier's personae in his travel narrative are a continuation of his incarnations as emissary in the East

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22 In this quote, Tavernier talks about the mosque in Qom. "Donner dans la vue" implies that Tavernier is not only dressed according to local customs, but also clothed with rich garments meant to produce an immediate impression.

23 For a detailed analysis of the emissary in the early modern world, see *Emissaries in Early Modern Literature and Culture: Mediation, Transmission, Traffic, 1550–1700*, ed. Brinda Charry and Gitanjali Shahani (Farnham, Surrey, and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2008), particularly the introduction.

24 The term is taken from Stephen Greenblatt, *Renaissance Self-Fashioning: From More to Shakespeare*. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980).

25 Pompa Banerjee, "Just Passing" (see note 22), 95–111.

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where, depending on the circumstances, he had to display,[26] hide, or complicate his French identity.

As early modern travelers comment on the need to conceal themselves under linguistic or material disguise, they also insist on the veracity of their voyages. For, by highlighting their various functions—real or imagined— during and after the voyages, they ran the risk of being taken for pompous liars. Potentially flirting with incredulousness, travelers felt obliged to assert their authenticity. Due in part to the multiplicity of early modern travel motives, narratives acquired an encyclopedic scope, causing the author to oscillate between truthfulness, verisimilitude, and lying.[27] The travel narratives, therefore, reflect the length and the complexities of the journeys they depict, while emphasizing the originality of each author-traveler who becomes an authority on un- or little-known places. In the case of Tavernier, this meant claiming to abhor dissimulation: "ma façon d'agir [est] ennemie de toute dissimulation" (my method of action [is] hostile to deception). Displaying multiple identities while simultaneously asserting his legitimacy and reliability, Tavernier was able to proudly declare that his literary work was as rich as the merchandise he brought back from the Orient:

> I'espere SIRE, que ces Relations exactes & fideles que j'ai écrites depuis mon retour sur les Memoires que j'avois recueillis, ne seront pas moins utiles à ma Nation que les riches marchandises que j'ai raportées de mes voyages. (3–4)
>
> [I hope, Sire, that the exact and faithful relations I have written based on the notes I had collected will not be less useful to my nation that the rich merchandise I have brought back from my travels.]

Upon their return to France, early modern travelers like Tavernier used their accounts as proof of their voyages. On other occasions, they displayed a map or a diamond, rare books collected for their *cabinet de curiosités*, or colorful pieces of

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26 As Tavernier points out in book V chapter 1, the ceremonial at the Persian court depends on whom the sultan receives. In a particular instance, a Dutch dignitary wearing foreign clothes is mistaken for a Persian and questioned about his perceived out-of-bounds behavior (519).

27 "L'attitude du viateur oscille entre deux limites, la certitude ou l'incertitude fondée ou illusoire de la réalité ou de l'irréalité de l'histoire racontée. La gamme des attitudes s'étend du probable à l'improbable en passant par le vraisemblable, le possible, l'indécidable, le douteux. Ajoutons à cela les prétentions du viateur qui risque de radicaliser son propos en donnant pour certain ce qui est invérifié: la falsification est alors plus ou moins innocente" (The position of the traveler oscillates between two limits, certitude and incertitude, the latter being real or imagined and founded on the fact that the story being told did happen or not. The spectrum of attitudes goes from the probable to the improbable—verisimilitude, possible, undecidable, and doubtful being options in between. In addition, the traveler may radicalize his account by ascertaining what cannot be verified; falsification then becomes more or less innocent). Sophie Linon-Chipon, *Gallia Orientalis: Voyages aux Indes orientales (1529–1722)* (Paris: Presses de l'Université de Paris-Sorbonne, 2003), 223.

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clothing in which to wrap themselves publicly. In this particular case, the original purpose of garment as hiding tool in foreign lands is transformed into an assertion of power and identity in the home country. Under their turbans and *babouches*, Jean Thévenot, François La Boullaye, and Pétis de la Croix are fully exposed to their country fellows as Frenchmen.[28] Jean Thévenot, for example, includes a portrait of himself at the onset of his *Relation d'un voyage fait au Levant* (Fig. 1).[29]

A contemporary of Tavernier, Thévenot, looking straight into the reader's eyes, wears a turban, baboosh-style shoes, and an ample caftan slightly opened in the front—revealing an equally loose undergarment tied at the waist by a belt holding a dagger. The hanging curtain in the background and the tablecloth (a carpet?) on the left lower corner add volume and voluptuousness to the man's clothes. Standing straight, Thévenot's pose is unambiguous: pointing his right finger to a map where one can read Arabia and Africa, the Frenchman proudly shows the geographical space he has visited and dominated. The globe on top of the map suggests that the traveler's authority is not limited to one spot in the Orient, but extends throughout the world. A couplet, in French, completes the visual representation of Thévenot as the perfect traveler-conqueror. Located below the feet of the traveler, the following verses, closing Thévenot's portrait, could have concluded any of his compatriots':

> Amy tu connoistras l'Autheur par ce portrait
> Tu ne scaurois trouver voyageur plus parfait
>
> [My friend, you will recognize the author with this portrait
> You will not find a more perfect traveler]

This traveler, it is implied by the fronstipiece, appears foreign because of his garb, but is exceptional and exceptionally French. By including woodcuts or engravings at the onset of their accounts, travelers like Jean Thévenot posit themselves as Frenchmen easily recognizable under their Oriental garb. The portraits included in their travel accounts legitimize the travelers' (ad)ventures and solidify their identity as knowledgeable, courageous, and heroic Europeans. Seventeenth-century travel accounts, then, describe exotic peoples and places while asserting the traveler's Frenchness.

In the first edition of Tavernier's *Six voyages*, one finds a section entitled "Dessein de l'auteur" (Fig. 2). The *dessein*, however, is not a literal drawing as in the case of Thévenot, but a literary portrayal of the traveler, more precisely a summary of Tavernier's early travels. This *dessein* aims at asserting the author's honesty and authenticity and replace—perhaps clumsily—a pictorial represen-

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[28] See Michael Harrigan, *Veiled Encounters: Representing the Orient in 17th-Century French Travel Literature*. Faux titre, 321 (Amsterdam and New York: Rodopi, 2008), 157–60.

[29] Jean Thévenot, *Relation d'un voyage fait au Levant* (Paris: L. Bilaine, 1664).

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tation. We do not know why the traveler did not include a visual depiction of himself at the onset of the first edition of *Les six voyages*.[30] It may have been for lack of time or funding, although the latter sounds improbable. This omission, however, may have been responsible for Tavernier's first loss of control over his Frenchness. Because the ubiquitous portrait of the recognizable traveler in Oriental clothes reinforces the idea that the European man is *only* wrapped in foreign garb, the Orient is seen as something that one puts on to create an image of exoticism and otherness while asserting the subject's incorruptible Western identity. The absence of this particular convention in the first edition of Tavernier's *Six voyages* creates an uneasy blurring between the European traveler and the Orient, one that is further encouraged in the prologue in which Tavernier undermines his credibility as a humble subject of the king of France by indicating that the structure of his narrative imitates the slow and uneven pace of caravans.

The Prologue: In Defense of the French Kingdom?

Numerous and arguably numbing descriptions of Tavernier's itineraries accompany detailed accounts of his cultural discoveries and clash with the focused and forcefully subservient tone of the prologue. Dedicated to Louis XIV, the prologue of the *Six voyages* makes Tavernier's position vis-à-vis the monarch very clear. Deploying a variety of personae, the incorrigible traveler claims to have had only one goal: to sing the praises of his king and of his kingdom. *Les six voyages* thus opens with a dedicatory letter to the king in which Tavernier describes and literally inscribes himself as "tres-humble, tres-obeissant, & tres-fidele serviteur & subjet," (very humble, very obedient and very faithful servant and subject). The traveler's social position is reinforced visually on the page as the capitalized title of the dedication—AU ROY—its apostrophe—SIRE—and the repeated VOSTRE MAJESTÉ, your majesty, dwarf Tavernier's closing signature, which is also in capital letters but much smaller than the previous titles, smaller even than the print of the text itself (Figs. 3 and 4). The merchant's expected place in society is therefore carefully inscribed in the prologue: Tavernier is a subject of the French crown and he writes as such.

When Tavernier portrays himself as *homme de lettres* and diplomat, a move that could be perceived as rather audacious for a Protestant bourgeois, it is with the aim of favoring his native country ostensibly. Forever indebted to his king and

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30 He will do so three years later only, and again in the 1713 edition of the *Six voyages*. The engraving of 1679 is by Johann Hainzelmann, which in turn is based on a portrait by Largillière (Alam and Subrahmanyam, *Indo-Persian Travels* [see note 6], 354). Tavernier could be wearing the "calaate," the ornate Persian dress offered by the sultan (see *Les six voyages*, book IV chapter 15).

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kingdom, the traveler depicts his labor, which entails not only acquiring rare merchandise like precious stones, but also giving an account of his observations by writing "ces Relations exactes & fideles" (exact and faithful accounts).[31] The merchant's self-declared highest goal being to extol his king and the kingdom of France,[32] Tavernier seeks to situate Louis XIV above all the monarchs of Europe and the kings of the East.[33]

In short, the goal of the traveler is to impress respect in the hearts of "barbarians"[34] by imposing "ce Nom Auguste respecté dans tout le monde" (this august name, respected throughout the world). In this context, Tavernier's account is as useful as the rich merchandise he brought back from his trips because, whether assuming the role of merchant, diplomat, or writer, Tavernier is always at the service of his king. Multiple goals and identities are expected when traveling and accepted in a travel narrative as long as the ultimate and avowed objective is to praise the French king and to situate oneself under the monarch's sphere of influence. Tavernier's prologue, therefore, completes his *dessein* and functions as the visual portrait given by Thévenot in his own account. *Les six voyages* purportedly presents a proud Frenchman eager to share the predominance of his native land with the world.[35]

The prologue, however, is a contested site where tensions surface. Tavernier is the king's subaltern; yet, the merchant claims that he is second to none when it comes to traveling and trading[36] as well as engaging in diplomacy and writing. Furthermore, Tavernier shows signs of Orientalization in both his prologue and the stories that later punctuate his narrative.[37] These signs, however subtle, undermine the Frenchman's purported inferiority and loyalty to his king and native land. The *dédicace*, for example, ends on an unexpected note where the

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31 "Rendre compte de mes observations sur ce que j'ay vû" (3), "ces Relations exactes & fideles" (4).

32 "faire conoître les qualitez heroïques de VOSTRE MAJESTÉ & les merveilles de son regne, de donner une haute idée de sa puissance, & de montrer combien ses Subjets excellent par leur industrie & par leur courage sur les autres peuples de la terre" (4) (to make known the heroic qualities of your Majesty, and the wonders of his reign, and to give a high idea of his power, and to show how his subjects excel by their industry and by their courage over all other nations on earth).

33 "par mes discours VOSTRE MAJESTÉ au dessus de tous les Princes de l'Europe & de ces Rois d'Orient, meme en leur presence" (4–5) (exalting your Majesty by my words above all the monarchs of Europe and the Kings of the East—even in their very presence).

34 "le respect de vostre Nom dans le coeur de ces Barbares" (5)

35 Other examples of France's superiority pepper Tavernier's narrative, but they are not as forcefully presented as in the prologue and the concluding paragraph of *Les six voyages*.

36 Tavernier claims that, unlike his country fellows, he only drinks in moderation (book III chapter 2). He is also above all other travelers (see book IV chapter 5).

37 For the complex and crucial roles that anecdotes play in travel narratives, see Sophie Linon-Chipon, "Certificata loquor," *Roman et récit de voyage*, ed. Marie-Christine Gomez-Géraud and Philippe Antoine (Paris: Presses de l'Université de Paris, 2001), 193–204.

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merchant explains that the descriptions found in his narrative will be sprinkled by personal anecdotes. In other words, Tavernier will follow the windy path of caravans:

> I'ay mis en de certains endroits des histoires qui peuvent délasser l'esprit aprés le recit d'une marche ennuïeuse des Caravanes, imitant en cela les Orientaux qui établissent des Caravanseras d'espace en espace dans leurs deserts pour le soulagement des Voyageurs. (5)
>
> [I have interposed in certain places stories, which may relieve the mind after the telling of the tedious march of caravans, imitating in that the Orientals, who establish *caravanserais* at intervals in their deserts for the relief of travelers.]

A revered object of theory and practice in the Renaissance before it lost its prestige in favor of experience—acquired by traveling and eye-witnessing—imitation (*imitatio*) took as its object works by the ancients and their followers, from Plato to Virgil to Petrarch. Although these famous models lived east of the French kingdom, they were considered as belonging to a common ancestry that shared an arguably superior civilization from which the French claimed to have descended.[38] Tavernier, though, locates the objects of his *imitatio* in contemporary Oriental culture—Indian, Persian, or Ottoman.

Tavernier's Orient

Tavernier emphasizes the superiority of the French kingdom in his prologue. He stresses and favors European society again in his first chapter where he comments on the ease of traveling in Europe compared to Asia: "les voyages ne se font pas dans l'Asie comme dans l'Europe" (one does not travel in Asia the same way as one does in Europe). Unequivocally, the merchant explains that travelers in Asia are rare, perhaps because of a lack of curiosity attributed by Tavernier to Orientals. Besides, there is a lack of means of transportation and lodging in the East. In addition to pirates, the sterility of the land, and a harsh climate, the laziness of the locals makes traveling in Asia complicated for someone like Tavernier who, born under a more temperate climate, is by nature active and hard-working.[39] Among Asians, however, the Persians stand out.

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38 Like many early modern travelers, Tavernier situates himself in a long lineage of conquerors and takes Alexander the Great as model before adding that he traveled more dangerous roads than the Greek ruler (96).

39 Tavernier, even in his old age, cannot bear to be inactive and useless ("inutile"); this is one of the reasons why he set up to write *Les six voyages* he explains in the prologue. Montesquieu will later expand on the climate theory mentioned here by Tavernier.

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In Tavernier's text, Persia is clearly a more amenable place than "Turquie", a term commonly used in the early modern period to signify the Ottoman lands. Tavernier underscores the advantages of "Perse" at the onset of *Les six voyages* and throughout the narrative. Persia is poor, yet full of potential—mainly because customs taxes on travelers are not as heavy as in other eastern regions. Persians are not exceptional businessmen, but they are generous, civil, and welcoming—especially toward the French. Refined, patient, and true to their words, they honor commercial deals swiftly. The country is safe and Tavernier remarks on the striking similarities between Persia and the French kingdom. Certainly Ispahan is not Paris, Persian gardens are not Versailles, and bridges in Persia do not compare to the Pont-Neuf in the French capital; nevertheless, Persia is to Asia what France is to Europe. Later in his text, Tavernier will not hesitate to criticize certain aspects of the Persian culture, including its form of government and the particular form of Islam which the Persians follow; yet, the traveler emphasizes similarities between French and Persian societies. Denounced as tyrannical by Tavernier, Persia is nevertheless the place in the Orient that resembles France the most.[40] A Franco-Persian alliance is even evoked, fleetingly and mockingly for sure, but nevertheless firmly located in the narrative in a quasi-celebratory manner.[41]

By contrast, the Ottomans are avaricious and cruel. They destroy their surroundings and historic places. They are so corrupt that they denature names. Ignorant and inclined to bribery, they believe in predestination—ironically equated to superstition in Tavernier's text—whereas the French follow reason. Erzerom, a city located in Turkey on the borderline with Persia, exemplifies the poverty and the cruelty that characterize everything Ottoman. Above all, the Ottomans are thieves. Summarizing his conclusions, Tavernier states that there is no doubt about the Orientals' true nature—"nature voleuse des Orientaux"— and that "toute la Turquie est pleine de voleurs" (all of Turkey is full of thieves).

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40 Tavernier is not alone in praising Persia. See Harrigan and Sonja Brentjes, "The Interests of the Republic of Letters in the Middle East, 1550–1700," *Science in Context* 12.3 (1999): 435–68; here 450. See also Rudi Matthee, "The Imagery Realm: Europe's Enlightenment Image of Early Modern Iran," *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East* 30.3 (2010): 449–62; here 451–53. Both Harrigan (*Veiled Encounters* [see note 25], 151–57) and Sonja Brentjes note the European travelers' different perceptions of Persia and the Ottoman Empire. Matthee remarks that Persians have negative as well positive characteristics, but do share taste and sensibility with the French, the French interest in all things Persian going back to the days of Shah Isma'il in the early sixteenth century. Additionally, Harrigan points out that if Persia is compared to France, Spain resembles the Ottoman Empire (*Veiled Encounters*, 154).

41 This alliance functions politically in the same way as alliances between French queens and Ottoman sultans. See Christine IsomVerhaaren, "Royal French Women in the Ottoman Sultans' Harem: The Political Uses of Fabricated Accounts from the Sixteenth to the Twenty-first Century," *Journal of World History* 17.2 (2006): 159–96.

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Clearly the Ottoman Empire is no longer perceived as a threat by Tavernier, but only as an inconvenience to a merchant's travels and commercial dealings. A traditional ally of the French since the mid–1530s, "Turquie" has been domesticated by Tavernier as it was by seventeenth-century French playwrights and Louis XIV's court. Bypassing Ottoman lands in his travels and in his writings, Tavernier focuses on India and Persia as new frontiers of opportunities.[42]

By comparing his narrative to an Oriental caravan moving throughout Persia, Tavernier takes the first step in identifying himself as non-French. Praising Persian lands and customs, the European traveler further alludes to the possibility of cultural similarities between the French kingdom and Persian society. When, in chapter VIII of book I, Tavernier recounts how he was the victim of a theft and how he tricked the robbers, he unveils a much darker side of himself.

The Attempted Robbery on the Ultimate Robber

Chapter VIII of book I is entitled "D'un vol qui fut fait à l'Auteur proche de Tocat; & d'une sorte de laine tres-rare & tres-belle qu'il apporta le premier en France" (Of a theft that happened near Tocat; and of a kind of wool, very rare and very beautiful, which the author was the first to bring back to France) and describes a theft in Ottoman territory. The alleged goal of this chapter is to illustrate the Ottomans' natural propensity for theft, one of Tavernier's major concerns along with taxes and baksheesh. Near Tocat, the merchant asserts that he had been the victim of brigands who attempted to steal the musk that he was bringing to France. Tavernier was wary and had hidden musk caskets in four of the many huge bales of a rare kind of wool which, like the musk, he intended to sell in France. Preparing for the night, a most dangerous time for travelers, he had arranged the wool bales tightly around his tent, with those containing musk nearest his bed. The bales formed a double wall around the traveler's bed thereby placing the merchant at the heart of concentric circles. This peculiar disposition suggests that Tavernier's most precious merchandises might not have been the wool, the musk, Tavernier's literary accomplishments, or even the Hope Diamond, but the French traveler himself.

As expected, the robbers pay Tavernier a visit. They are indeed after musk, which they can smell. After a first failed attempt at stealing the rare commodity—an attempt warded off by none other than the Frenchman whose servants sleep instead of guarding their master and his treasure—the Ottoman

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42 Tavernier regularly mentions the wars that occupy Persia and the Ottoman Empire, keeping their attention away from Europe, thus implying that the East is not a threat for the French kingdom.

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thieves manage to untie and steal two outside bales of wool. They soon realize, though, that there is no musk to be found in the bales they have stolen. Frustrated, they disperse the wool, leaving a trail of grayish fluffy balls, which allows Tavernier to recuperate his goods.

Showcasing his knowledge of cultures—the Tocat area, the traveler claims, is the perfect place for thieves—Tavernier demonstrates that he is capable of not only anticipating the theft, but also forestalling it by keeping the musk safe and by devising a stratagem that allows him to recuperate all the wool he carried. In other words, Tavernier is slyer than his thieves.[43] Furthermore, he is market savvy for he knows what is valuable. The musk, of course, is a precious commodity, but so is the wool, claims the merchant. The only good mentioned in the title of chapter VIII, the wool actually constitutes the real story of this chapter, while the musk and its failed attempt are secondary to the plot.

Whereas the robbers are indeed aware of the price and desirability of musk, they do not realize the uniqueness and the worth of the wool that Tavernier carries:

> J'ay dit que ces voleurs ne crûrent pas que la laine qu'ils avoient dérobée fût de grande valeur, parce qu'ils ne la connoissoient pas, ou qu'en effet elle ne valoit guere pour leur usage. Mais au fond c'estoit une sorte de laine fort rare & fort belle, que je portay de Perse jusqu'à Paris où jamais il n'en avoit esté vû de si fine. (94–95)
>
> [I said that the thieves did not believe in the value of the wool they had stolen, because they did not know it, or because it did not have any value for them. But, ultimately, it was a kind of extremely rare and very beautiful wool that I was carrying from Persia to Paris where no one had ever seen one so fine.]

Along with theft then, ignorance characterizes the Orientals according to Tavernier. Unable to recognize the value of the wool they stole, the Ottomans exemplify their lack of sophistication with regards to what the French merchant sees and presents as an emerging commodity on the Western market.

After this anecdotal *mise en bouche*, Tavernier goes further into the Tocat story and reveals his own, much more impressive, if not literal, robbery. As a prelude, the merchant shows off his scientific and cultural knowledge of the wool. After describing the sheep which produce the precious commodity, Tavernier tells how

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[43] Chapter 6 of book I and chapter 3 of book II give other examples of Tavernier's slyness. In the first, the merchant approaches Smyrna by boat; wanting to avoid the city's high taxes, he convinces four Dutch women to hide his most precious merchandises under their garments: "A mon dernier voyage quatre Hollandoises qui estoient venues de leur pays dans nostre vaisseau, me porterent à terre sous leurs juppes ce que j'avois de plus precieux, & les Turcs ont tant de retenuë pour le sexe qu'ils n'oseroient approcher d'une femme pour la foüiller" (79) (During my last trip, four women from Holland who had been traveling on our boat hid my most precious merchandises under their skirts and brought it to land for me; as the Turks exercise self-restraint toward women, they will never come close to a woman to body search her). In the second episode, Tavernier tricks a sick emir into thinking that the medicine he needs is not available.

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the wool is cleaned and treated, why it is so rare, where it is found—in the Persian province of Kerman —and who works it—the "Gaures," or Zoroastrians. Additionally, Tavernier explains that he set out to acquire the raw material in 1654 after having successfully shown and given samples of finished products to "feue reine mere" and Madame la duchesse d'Orléans.

Next in his account, Tavernier describes Kerman province quickly before introducing its ruler, the khan. The merchant stresses the exchanges that occur between the European and several socially and politically important figures such as the governor of the province and a young seigneur. Mules, diamonds, a fire arm, a watch, and horses are traded or purchased from one another. This exchange of gifts, Tavernier suggests, allows him to be well positioned for the acquisition of the wool he covets.[44]

> Il [le Kan] voulut de plus en avoir de moy pour sept ou huit mille livres [de diamants] & tant le present que la vente faciliterent l'achat des laines que je voulois faire . . . . M'estant insinüé de la sorte dans l'affection du Kan & de cet autre Seigneur, cela me servit beaucoup à l'achat des laines que je voulois faire. (96–97)
>
> [He (the khan) wanted to have more (diamonds) from me for a sum of seven or eight pounds, and the gift as much as the sale eased the purchase of the wool I had in mind . . . . Having insinuated myself in the company of the khan and that of the other lord helped me in securing the purchase of the wool I wanted.]

Knowledge of gift culture and the connections established by way of presents were important to Tavernier's business but, ultimately, trickery—and not as much work and work ethics as Isabelle Morlin argues[45]—is what makes the difference and allows the French merchant to obtain the entire wool reserves of Kerman.

Soon Tavernier's new wool business affects the local production and the Persians, having become suspicious of the Frenchman's activities, complain to their ruler: "Ils luy representerent que j'enlevois toute la laine du pays, & que les pauvres gens demeureroient sans rien faire, ce qui causeroit un prejudice considerable à la Province," (they argued that I was removing all the wool of the land and that poor people would have nothing more to do, which could cause a not-so-negligible prejudice to the whole province.) In Tavernier's own words, the Persians refer to his action as a subtraction, a taking away—*j'enlevois*. After several gift exchanges that led to more meaningful and substantial commercial transactions, the French merchant did purchase the wool, but he robbed the "Gaures" of economic prosperity. Tavernier, therefore, confesses his figurative

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44 On the importance of gifts in the early modern period, see Natalie Zemon-Davis, *The Gift in Sixteenth-Century France*. The Curti Lectures (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000).

45 See note 18.

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theft and, in his own account, appears as a cunning merchant whose actions result in nothing less than the plundering of another people's resources.

With deeper repercussions than that of the robbery of musk on a French merchant, Tavernier's wool steal affects not a single individual but an entire community, that of the people of Kerman. From a Western proto-capitalistic point of view, Ottoman robbery is detrimental to a European merchant's risky and difficult business; but the grander robbery, by the French, of Oriental natural resources and therefore of economic activity is acceptable.[46] The fact that the superiority of the King of France comes necessarily at the expense of other peoples is welcome by an aggressive merchant like Tavernier who, in the process of sketching his portrait, has exposed himself as a thief. Equating himself with an Oriental, the French merchant is much more than a courtier preoccupied with securing a place at court for himself: he has unveiled the strong mercantilist and individualistic base of Orientalism.

Adding insult to injury, Tavernier slips out of his problematic situation with the locals by inventing an attractive potential economic outcome for the "Gaures":

> Pour parer ce coup, je fis accroire au Kan que le Roi de Perse vouloit essayer si on pourroit faire en France des draps de cette laine, aussi beaux & aussi fins que ceux d'Angleterre & de Hollande, afin que si la chose reüssisoit, on pût se passer des étofes des Anglois & des Hollandois, en amenant de France des ouvriers pour établir des manufactures de draps en Perse. (98)
>
> [To avoid being accused, I tricked the khan into believing that the king of Persia wanted to see if one could make sheets out of this wool in France, sheets as beautiful and fine as those made in England and Holland, so that if the enterprise was successful one could do away with English and Dutch cloth by bringing from France workers who would open textile factories in Persia.]

Anticipating outsourcing by three centuries, Tavernier also suggests a transfer of technology from the West to the East that remains as illusive today as it was in the seventeenth century.[47] Adding menace to false promises, Tavernier manages to get all the wool he wants while conceding that he never went back to Kerman,

---

[46] In another anecdote, Tavernier describes the Europeans' archaeological pillage of Asia: "Les Grecs & les Armeniens, & sur tous les Francs quand ils vont à Ephese, tâchent de rompre un petit morceau de ce bassin pour l'emporter avec eux comme une relique" (81) (When they go to Ephese, the Greeks, the Armenians, and above all the Franks try to break a small piece of this basin to bring back home as a relic). Tavernier only condemns the looting because he is skeptical of the belief according to which this particular basin was used by Saint John to baptize Christians.

[47] Think Iran and nuclear technology at the present time. See, for example, online at: http://www.lemonde.fr/proche-orient/article/2012/02/21/vers-des-pourparlers-entre-l-iran-et-les-occidentaux_1646300_3218.html#ens_id=677013 (last accessed Feb. 21, 2012). In many ways, the western world's attitudes toward Iran today are strikingly similar to those expressed by Tavernier more than three centuries ago.

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therefore implying that his recently established wool business was quickly discontinued. One might wonder, then, whether the locals were not right in thinking that the wool had no value and whether Tavernier was as cognizant about emerging markets as he claimed to be.

Early modern travels gave individuals the opportunity to be actors in an expanding world where trade went hand in hand with diplomatic service, authorship, and, often, unabashed chauvinism. More importantly perhaps, the subsequent writing of travels allowed scholars and merchants alike to fashion themselves. Drawing from the multiple identities they endorsed in faraway lands, returning travelers continued to wear different hats in their narratives. On occasions, however, early modern identity building got out of hand. Tavernier's self-portraits of diplomat, author, *héros de roman*, and *homme de cour* ultimately undo themselves in *Les six voyages*. Bypassing or unaware of conventions such as the opening woodcut or engraving in a travel narrative, the Protestant undermines his own literary creations when instead he confesses to wearing a turban, in other words to being like an Oriental, or, more disturbingly for a merchant perhaps, a conniving robber ignorant of emerging markets and commercial opportunities. In his travels and particularly in his text, Tavernier first donned and then dropped masks to, in the end, reveal his true self. Regardless of the different personae he attempted to construct in his narrative, Tavernier appears as an individualistic merchant engaged in a protocapitalist, protocolonialist and protoorientalist quest.

Orientalism, therefore, is already very much at work in the seventeenth century and it is not solely the doings of playwrights and scholars. Early modern merchants, too, engaged in dominating and domesticating the East. In *Les six voyages*, Tavernier affirms France's preeminence and Louis XIV's power while justifying the kingdom's expansion in the East. At the same time, the traveler's narrative shows disregard to royal authority by offering the portrayal of a cunning individual who operates very much on his own and for his own interests. Tavernier incarnates the paradoxes of self-fashioning in the seventeenth-century: the primary narrative of his life and adventures reveals the portrait of a callous merchant eager to please his king while boasting about his own accomplishments, ready to plunder the Orient while succumbing to its charms.

Tavernier's neutral descriptions of eastern places and customs and his identification with the Orient, then, are not the indication of a capacious and generous cross-cultural encounter between a French merchant and Oriental peoples, as some scholars have argued. Instead the traveler uses parallels between Persia and the French kingdom as an excuse to loot eastern lands and resources. Similarly, the acclaimed translations of Tavernier's works, and particularly of *Les six voyages*, reflect the progress of the printing industry and a burgeoning marketing industry rather than the emergence of a more tolerant Europe.

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Tavernier would have strongly disagreed with the Persian proverb according to which Isfahan is half the world for he built his ethnographic report as a backdrop for himself, a worldly yet ruthless merchant whose portrait appears gradually through his narrative's details and anecdotes.[48]

Certainly Tavernier does not belong to the baroque Orientalism described by Dew. Nevertheless, he was an active and zealous participant in the mentality that would preoccupy Said in his study of nineteenth-century's France. Making his contemporaries and modern scholars uncomfortable, he unveiled the workings of early modern Orientalism and the outrageous abuses of his kingdom and of a merchant, fully exposing the dark side of individualism combined with expansionism.

[48] اصفهان نصف جهان. The proverb is said to have originated at the time of Shah Abbas II when Isfahan was the capital of the Safavid Empire. Tavernier, therefore, could have encountered it. He does not allude to it in his *Six voyages*, however.

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Fig. 1: Frontispiece of Jean Thévenot's *Relation d'un voyage fait au Levant* (1664)

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DESSEIN
DE L'AUTEUR,

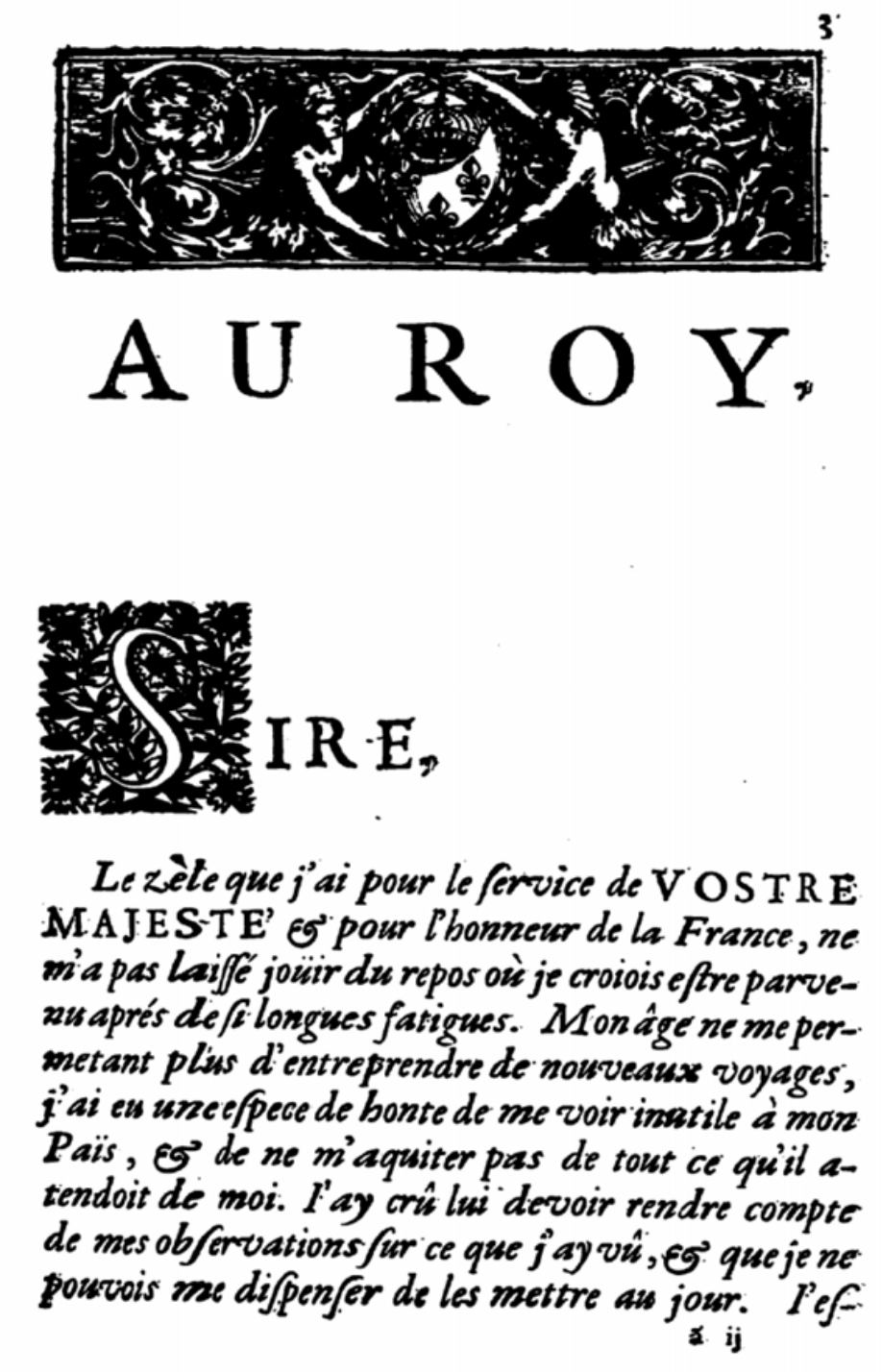
Où il fait une briéve relation de ſes premiers voyages dans les plus belles parties de l'Europe, juſques à Conſtantinople.

SI la premiere éducation eſt comme une ſeconde naiſſance, je puis dire que je ſuis venu au monde avec le deſir de voyager. Les entretiens que pluſieurs ſçavans avoient tous les jours avec mon pere ſur les matieres de Geographie qu'il avoit la reputation de bien entendre, & que tout jeune que j'eſtois j'écoutois avec plaiſir, m'inſpirerent de bonne-heure le deſſein d'aller voir une partie des païs qui m'eſtoient repreſentez dans les Cartes, où je ne pouvois alors me laſſer de jetter les yeux. A l'âge de vingt-deux ans j'avois vû les plus belles regions de l'Europe, la France, l'Angleterre, les Païs-bas, l'Allemagne, la Suiſſe, la Pologne, la Hongrie & l'Italie, & je parlois raiſonnablement les langues qui ſont les plus neceſſaires & qui y ont le plus de cours.

Ma premiere ſortie du Royaume fut pour aller en Angleterre, où regnoit alors Jaques I. du nom VI. Roy d'Ecoſſe, & qui ſe fit appeller Roy de la Grande Bretagne pour ſatisfaire les Anglois & les Eſcoſſois par un nom commun à ces deux nations. D'Angleterre je paſſay en Flandre pour voir Anvers la patrie de mon pere, de Flandre je continuay mon voyage dans les Provinces-Unies, où l'inclination que j'avois

Fig. 2: "Dessein," *Les six voyages de Jean-Baptiste Tavernier* (1676)

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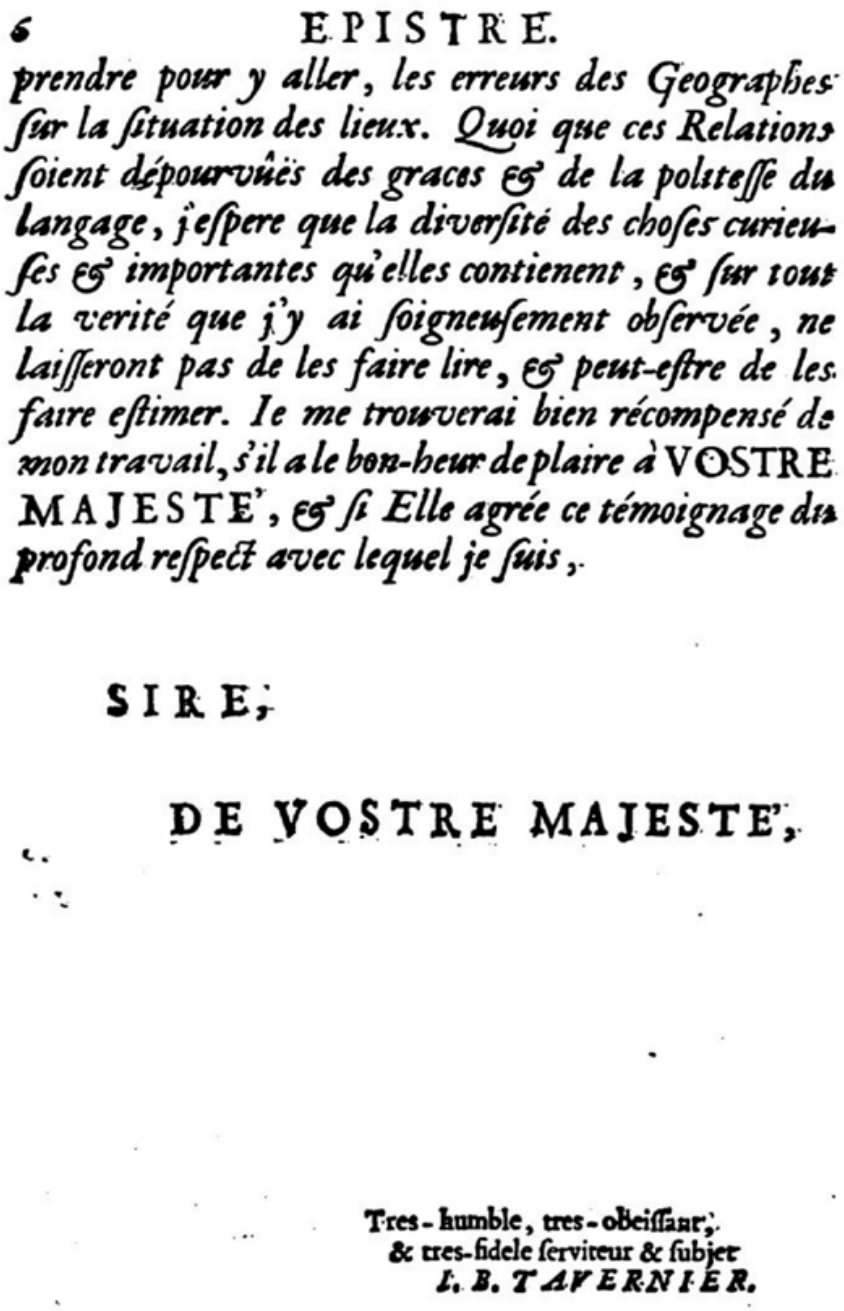
AU ROY.

SIRE,

Le zèle que j'ai pour le ſervice de VOSTRE MAJESTE' *& pour l'honneur de la France, ne m'a pas laiſſé joüir du repos où je croiois eſtre parvenu aprés de ſi longues fatigues. Mon âge ne me permetant plus d'entreprendre de nouveaux voyages, j'ai eu une eſpece de honte de me voir inutile à mon Païs, & de ne m'aquiter pas de tout ce qu'il atendoit de moi. I'ay crû lui devoir rendre compte de mes obſervations ſur ce que j'ay vû, & que je ne pouvois me diſpenſer de les mettre au jour. I'eſ-*

Fig. 3: Beginning of the dedicatory epistle to King Louis XIV, *Les six voyages de Jean-Baptiste-Tavernier* (1676)

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6 EPISTRE.

prendre pour y aller, les erreurs des Geographes sur la ſituation des lieux. Quoi que ces Relations ſoient dépourvûës des graces & de la politeſſe du langage, j'eſpere que la diverſité des choſes curieuſes & importantes qu'elles contienent, & ſur tout la verité que j'y ai ſoigneuſement obſervée, ne laiſſeront pas de les faire lire, & peut-eſtre de les faire eſtimer. Ie me trouverai bien récompensé de mon travail, s'il a le bon-heur de plaire à VOSTRE MAJESTE', *& ſi Elle agrée ce témoignage du profond reſpect avec lequel je ſuis,*

SIRE,

DE VOSTRE MAJESTE',

Tres-humble, tres-obeiſſant,
& tres-fidele ſerviteur & ſubjet
I. B. TAVERNIER.

Fig. 4: End of the dedicatory epistle, *Les six voyages de Jean-Baptiste Tavernier* (1676)

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Illustrations

Illustrations for Albrecht Classen's Introduction:

Fig. 1: *Fortunatus*: Departure of Fortunatus's son Andalosia from Famagusta (*Romane des 15. und 16. Jahrhunderts*, ed. Jan-Dirk Müller, 1990), 509) (image taken from: http://www.luminarium.org/mythology/ireland/etain1.htm (for all illustrations in the Augsburg woodcut, see http://www.michaelhaldane.com/Fortunatus%20Woodcut%20Augsburg.htm)

Fig. 2: From a manuscript copied by 'Alī ibn Hasan al-Hūfî al-Qāsimī in Cairo in 1456, now preserved in the Bodleian Library in Oxford. (Mss. Pococke 375 fol. 3v-4) (taken from: http://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/d/db/Al-Idrisi%27s_world_map.JPG)

Fig. 3: Picture of Saracens, by Erhard Reuwich, in Bernhard von Breydenbach, *Peregrinatio in terram sanctam*, Mainz: Peter Schöffer, 1486 (fol. 76r) (taken from: http://www.gutenberg.org/files/39845/39845-h/39845-h.htm)

Fig. 4: King of Cambay (present-day Gujarat India) : Ludivico Da Varthema, 15th Century (taken from: http://pennyyak-testcase.blogspot.com/)

Fig. 5: Ludovico Da Varthema, fifteenth century: The ladies of the Kingdom of Cambay (present-day Gujarat, India) washing themselves in a pool (taken from: http://www.mudraa.com/trading/152801/0/first-travel-best-seller-on-india.html)

Illustrations for Courtney Catherine Barajas's article:

Fig. 1: The cynocephali. London, British Library Cotton Tiberius B.V., folio 80r

Fig. 2: The blemmye. London, British Library Cotton Tiberius B.V., folio 82r

Fig. 3: The "fremfulle men." London, British Library Cotton Tiberius B.V., folio 86r

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Illustrations for Jens T. Wollesen's article:

Fig. 1: London, British Library, Ms Add. 15268, fol. 101v. Coment les dames de scite alerent vengier lor barons et lor fiz et lor amis. The Scythian Women (Amazons) take revenge for their barons, sons and friends. Photo after Hugo Buchthal, *Miniature Painting in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1957), plate 107c

Fig. 2: London, British Library, Ms Add. 15268, fol. 181r, Come iudit fu menee devant Holofernes. Judith brought before Holofernes. Photo after Hugo Buchthal, *Miniature Painting in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1957), pl. 120c

Fig. 3: Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, MS 5211, fol. 252r. Photo after Daniel H. Weiss, *Art and the Crusade in the Age of Saint Louis* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), fig. 44

Fig. 4: Vézelay, church of la Madeleine, central porch, the Mission of the Apostles. Photo after: http://hortulusjournal.files.wordpress.com/2011/09/centraltympvezelay-1.jpg (last accessed on Sept. 26, 2012)

Fig. 5: Vézelay, church of la Madeleine, central porch, the Mission of the Apostles, detail, Photo after: http://hortulusjournal.files.wordpress.com/2011/09/panottivezelay-2.jpg (last accessed on Sept. 26, 2012)

Fig. 6: British Library, the Arnstein Bible. MS Harley 2799, fol. 243r. *Monstrous Races*. Photo after Alixe Bovey, *Monsters and Grotesques in Medieval Manuscripts* (Toronto: The University of Toronto Press, 2002), fig. 9

Fig. 7: Parker Library, Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, MS 16, fol. 166. *Matthaei Paris Chronica Maiora* II. Photo after Suzanne Lewis, *The Art of Matthew Paris in the Chronica Majora* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987), fig. 180

Fig. 8: British Library, Royal 16 G VI, fol. 442. *Chroniques de France ou de Saint Denis* (mid-fourteenth c.) John of Acre, bouteiller de France, receiving Saracens willing to be baptized. Photo British Library

Fig. 9: Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, lat. 6912, vol. 1, fol. iv, *Havi seu continens. Faraj ben Salim interpretatio*. The Sultan of Tunis offering the Arabic text of Rhazez to Charles I. of Anjou. (1270-80). Naples 1279-1282. Photo Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale

Fig. 10: Madrid, Real Bibl. Del Escorial, Ms T.I.1, *Cantigas de Santa Maria*, 169 (second miniature at top right).Photo after *Alfonso X el Sabio. Cantigas de Santa María. Edición facsímil del códice T.I.1 de la Biblioteca de San Lorenzo de El Escorial, siglo XIII* (Madrid: Edilán, 1979)

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Fig. 11: Madrid, Real Bibl. Del Escorial, j. T. 6. Fol., fol. 13v, *Libro de acedrex, dados e tablas*. Photo after *Alfonso X el Sabio. Libros de ajedrez, dados y tablas*. (Madrid: Ediciones Poniente; Valencia: Vicent García Editores, 1987)
Fig. 12: Madrid, Real Bibl. Del Escorial, j. T. 6. Fol., fol. 22r, *Libro de acedrex, dados e tablas*. Photo: Princeton Index of Art. Photo after Alfonso X el Sabio. Libros de ajedrez, dados y tablas. (Madrid: Ediciones Poniente; Valencia: Vicent García Editores, 1987)
Fig. 13: Washington, DC, the Smithsonian Institution, the Freer Gallery of Art. The Freer Canteen, Syrian, ca. 1245-50; photo after Fred S. Kleiner & Christin J. Mamiya, *Gardner's Art Through the Ages*, 13th edition (Wadsworth: Thomson, 2005), fig. 13-30
Fig. 14: Washington, DC, the Smithsonian Institution, the Freer Gallery of Art. The Freer Canteen, Syrian, ca. 1245-50; the flat side. Photo after Ranee A. Katzenstein & Glenn D. Lowry, "Christian Themes in Thirteenth-Century Islamic Metalwork," *Muqarnas* 1 (1983), plate 6
Fig. 15: Washington DC, Smithsonian Institution, Freer Gallery of Art. The d'Arenberg Basin, inscribed to Sultan al-Malik al Salih Najm al-Din Ayy b, ca. 1240-50. Photo after http://www.profimedia.si/picture/d-arenberg-basin/0019681419/ (last accessed on Sept. 25, 2012)
Fig. 16: Washington DC, Smithsonian Institution, Freer Gallery of Art. The D'Arenberg Basin, detail; inscribed to Sultan al-Malik al Salih Najm al-Din Ayy b, ca. 1240-50. Kufic inscriptions, polo players, animals, and a musician. Photo after Laura T. Schneider, "The Freer Canteen," *Ars Orientalis* 9 (1973), fig. 19
Fig. 17: Paris, Musée du Louvre, inv. No. MAO 101, copper basin with Arabic inscriptions. Egypt or Syria. Photo after: http://www.qantara-med.org/qantara4/public/show_document.php?do_id=1265&lang=en (last accessed on Sept. 25, 2012)
Fig. 18: Paris, Musée du Louvre, inv. No. MAO 101, copper basin with Arabic inscriptions. Egypt or Syria. Photo after http://www.qantara-ed.org/qantara4/public/show_diaporama.php?do_id=1265 (last accessed on Sept. 25, 2012)
Fig. 19: London, British Library, Histoire Universelle, Ms Add. 15268, fol. 1v. Photo after Hugo Buchthal, *Miniature Painting in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1957), plate 83
Figs. 20, a-d: London, British Library, Histoire Universelle, Ms Add. 15268, fol. 1v. Photo after Hugo Buchthal, *Miniature Painting in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1957), plate 83, details
Fig. 21: Dijon, Bibliothèque municipal, 562, fol. 1r. *Histoire Universelle*. Photo Wollesen
Fig. 22: Cyprus, Nicosia, Byzantine Museum of the Makarios III Foundation. Panel with St. Nicholas with scenes of his life from the church of Saint

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Nicholas of the Roof, ca. 1300, (203 x 158 cm). Photo after Helen C. Evans & William D. Wixom, ed. *The Glory of Byzantium. Art and Culture of the Middle Byzantine Era A. D. 843-1261* (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art/Harry Abrams, Inc., 1997), fig. 263

Fig. 23a-b: Cyprus, Nicosia, Byzantine Museum of the Makarios III Foundation. Panel with St. Nicholas with scenes of his life from the church of Saint Nicholas of the Roof. ca. 1300, (203 x 158 cm); detail: donor portraits. Photo: Wollesen

Fig. 24: Cyprus, Asinou, Panagia Phorviotissa, narthex. Mary as *Schutzmantel* Virgin protecting a Frankish female donor with her mantle, with her husband and child on the other side. Late 13th century. Photo Wollesen

Illustrations for Connie Scarborough's article:

Fig. 1: *Cantiga 167*, ms. Escorial T.I.1 (with permission borrowed from Alfonso, King of Castile and Leo, *Edición facsimil del códice T.I.1 de la Biblioteca de San Lorenzo el Real de El Escorial, Siglo XIII* (Madrid: Edilán, 1979)

Fig. 2: *Cantiga 95*, page 1, ms. Escorial T.I.1 (see above)

Fig. 2a:Cantiga 95, page 2, ms. Escorial T.I.1 (see above)

Fig. 3: *Cantiga 323*, Florence ms. folio 30v (with permission borrowed from Alfonso, King of Castile and Leon, *Cantigas de Santa María: edición facsímil del códice B.R.20 de la Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale de Florencia, siglo XIII*, ed. Ana Domínguez Rodríguez, Agustín Santiago Luque, and María Victoria Chico Picaza. 2 vols. (Madrid: Edilán, 1989–1991)

Illustrations for Pascale Barthe's article:

Fig. 1: Frontispiece of Jean Thévenot's *Relation d'un voyage fait au Levant* (1664). Bibliothèque nationale de France

Fig. 2: "Dessein," *Les six voyages de Jean-Baptiste Tavernier* (1676). Bibliothèque nationale de France

Fig. 3: Beginning of the dedicatory epistle to King Louis XIV, *Les six voyages de Jean-Baptiste-Tavernier* (1676). Bibliothèque nationale de France

Fig. 4: End of the dedicatory epistle, *Les six voyages de Jean-Baptiste Tavernier* (1676). Bibliothèque nationale de France

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Illustrations for Thomas Willard's article:

Fig. 1: http://books.google.com/books?id=9l07AAAAcAAJ&printsec=frontcover&dq=intitle:fama+intitle:fraternitatis&hl=en&sa=X&ei=e7ZKUd-7GoXaqgGSk4DIDw&ved=0CD4Q6AEwAg#v=onepage&q&f=false

Fig. 2: Michael Maier, *Symbolum Aureae Mensae Duodecim Nationum.* Facsimile reprint, introduced by Karl R. H. Frick (Graz, Austria: Akademische Druck- u. Verlagsanstalt, 1972. Personal copy.

Fig. 3: Michael Maier, *Symbolum Aureae Mensae Duodecim Nationum.* Facsimile reprint, introduced by Karl R. H. Frick (Graz, Austria: Akademische Druck- u. Verlagsanstalt, 1972. Personal copy.

Illustrations for Allison P. Coudert's article:

Fig. 1: William Hogarth, "Credulity, Superstition, and Fanaticism," borrowed from: http://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/3/3e/William_Hogarth_-_Credulity,_Superstition,_and_Fanaticism-2.png

Fig. 2: William Hogarth, "O the Roast Beef of Old England," borrowed from: http://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/8/87/William_Hogarth_-_O_the_Roast_Beef_of_Old_England.png

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Words of Love and Love of Words in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance (2008), *Sexuality in the Middle Ages and Early Modern Time* (2008), *Urban Space in the Middle Ages and Early Modern Time* (2009), *War and Peace* (2011), and *Rural Space in the Middle Ages and Early Modern Time* (2012). A three-volume *Handbook of Medieval Studies* (with Walter de Gruyter) appeared in 2010 (award of the "Outstanding Academic Title" by *Choice*). His latest books dealt with the history of German-speaking Jesuit missionaries in eighteenth-century Sonora, *The Letters of the Swiss Jesuit Missionary Philipp Segesser (1689–1762)*, and *Early History of the Southwest Through the Eyes of German-Speaking Jesuit Missionaries* (both 2012). In 2008 the University of Arizona bestowed upon him its highest award for research, the "Henry & Phyllis Koffler Award." In 2004 the German government awarded him with the *Bundesverdienstkreuz am Band* (Order of Merit), its highest civilian award. He has also received numerous teaching and service awards over the last two decades, most recently the "Five Star Faculty Award" (2009) and the "Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching 2012 Arizona Professor of the Year Award." He is serving as editor of *Tristania* , editor of *Mediaevistik*, and editor of *Humanities–Open Access, Online*. For many years he has been the president of the Arizona chapter of the American Association of Teachers of German, and recently completed his function as President/Past President of the Rocky Mountain Modern Language Association for the third time.

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main interest lies in cultural dynamics being activated by cultural encounters between representatives of the Occidental and Oriental culture. These encounters can lead to new identity constitutions based on potential hybridization processes. The postcolonial theorist Homi Bhabha subsumes these cultural interactions under the concept of hybridity and suggests that different elements of cultural identity can coexist in a so-called Third Space. His concept will be the theoretical core of the work and will help to examine the impact of migratory processes on individual identity.

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Index

The index occasionally also includes the German and French terms for the respective two articles by Helmschrott and Bjai composed in those languages; only some of the standard names are combined under the name in English spelling. Arabic names and terms are rendered as closely as possible to the original in transcription.

A Third Letter for Toleration 727
Abbasid Caliphate 267
abbé Prunis 649
Abd al-Aziz 349
ʻAbd al-Massih 39
Abdelmessie, raʻis of Margat 305
Abdul Abbas 17, 69
Abdurrahmane Al-Haji III 3, 71
abendländisch 627–29, 642
Abraham ben Jacob 1, 2, 69, 73, 85, 116, 120, 122, 215
Absolutist 757
Abū ʿAbdallāh Muammad ibn Mūsā al Khwārizmī 686
Abu Bakr Muhammad ben Zakariya ar-Razi 197
Abū ʻl-Fidā 27
Abu Hayyan al-Tawhidi 35
Abuʻl Kasim Obaidallah ibn Khordâdheb 70
Abu ʻl-Qasim ibn Hammud 40
Abu Salih al-Mansur 197
Academic 267
Achilles 281
Achmed Bey 726
Acre 293, 299, 301, 302, 307 311, 318, 323–25, 333–35, 337, 341–43, 346, 348, 350, 359–61, 372, 459, 465, 476, 481
Adam 670–71, 676, 687
Adam and Eve 584–85
Adelard of Bath 64, 234
Adémar of le Puy 312
Adiaphora 727
Adler 729
Adorno, Jean and Anselme 47
Adralestus 312
advice works 227–29, 240, 241
Ægidius Colonna (Giles of Rome) . . 235
Afanasy Nikitin 149
affect 579–80, 586–88, 593
affinity 581, 583
Africa 757, 765, 769
Agnes 81
Agnes de Courtenay 338
Ahmedi 238
Aikenhead 727
ajab 599
Akhlāq-i Jalālī 237
Akhlāq-i Muhsinī 237
Akhlāq-i Nāsirī 235
al-ʿAbbāsī 238
Al-Adab al-Kabīr 229
al-ʿĀid li-Dīn Allāh 326
Al-Battānī 26
Al-Bira 32
al-Ghazālī 225, 228, 233–35
Al-Haji III 3, 71
al-Hakam II 2
Al Hawi 351
al-Idrísí 62, 63, 189
al-Ifranj 173
al-Jarmi 29
Al-Kindī 192–93, 267, 527, 539, 542, 544–45, 569, 571
al-Malik al-Kāmal 32, 42

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Download Date | 10/11/14 1:50 PM

Al-Mansur 189
Al-Mas ʻūdī 25–26, 29
al-Mu'azzam 32
al-Mubashshir b. Fātik 231
al-Muktafi 27
al-Muqtadir 29
al-Turtūshī 167, 232–33
al-Tūsī 228
al-Wathiq 29
Albert of Aix 453
Albert of Aachen/Aix 347, 453
Albertus Magnus . 527–28, 533, 547, 571
Albumazar/Albumasar 282, 539–41, 550, 559, 561, 563, 569, 571
Alcaldes 508
Alchemy 747–49
Alcuin 229
Aleppo 298, 318, 321, 329
Alessandro di Filippo Rinuccini 47
Alexander the Great 12, 228, 238, 246, 255, 531, 564, 572, 573, 591, 655–56
Alexander texts 603
Alexanderlied 256
Alexandria 685
Alexiad 171, 263, 264, 266, 268–72, 274, 276–81, 283–89, 312–13
Alexios I 81, 171, 172, 263, 264, 269–73, 276, 280–81, 284–89, 312
Alexios II 270
Alfarabi 447
Alfarabi . . . 550–51, 559–60, 562–63, 569
al-Fath al-qussi fi l-fath al-qudsi . . . 335
Alfonso X 61, 189, 352, 359, 362, 505–13, 515–16
Alfonsi, Petrus 59
Alhacen 527, 569, 571
'Alī ibn Hasan al-Hūfī al-Qāsimī . . . 219
Aliscans 21, 180, 438, 441
Al-Kāmil fī'l-tārīkh 325, 330–31
allegorical 490–93, 504
allegorical veil 491
Allegory 490–92, 500–01, 503
alliance 769
ally 757, 759–61, 763–66, 768–72, 775
Almagest 277
Alpujarras revolt 136
alterity 580, 595
Amalric I of Jerusalem 318
l'Amant 492, 494, 498–503
Amasi 238
Amazons 341, 342, 360, 365
ambassador 758, 761
Ambroise 330, 332, 334, 336, 337
Amurat 660–62, 664
Anatolia 307
Andere (Others) 626, 628, 630, 633, 635–39, 642–43, 645–46
Andersartigkeit 628
Andersgläubigkeit 640
Andersheit (Otherness) 637, 638
Andreä, Jakob 673, 675
Andreae, Johann Valentin 203, 667, 672, 676
Andreas Capellanus 478
Andronikos I 270
animal 579, 582–83, 587, 592–93
Anna Komnene 263–67, 269–90, 312–13
Annäherung 634, 636–37, 639
Annales Francorum 69
Annales Sultanorum Othmanidarum . 142
Anson 743–44
Anthropological Revolution 735
Antichrist 345, 524, 529, 538, 547, 553, 555, 557, 564, 566–67, 571, 573
anticlimax 594
Antioch 266, 311, 313–15, 317, 319, 321–22
antithetical 581
Antoine Mathé de Laval 660
Anton von Pforr 153–55
Antonio da Crema 47
Antonio, Giovan 143
Apartheid 294
apathy 580
apocalypse 408, 419, 425
Apollonius of Tyana 688, 690
Apomasar 282
Apostasy 511

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appraisal 578, 584, 586
Arab 264–68, 275, 277, 279, 282, 283, 289–90, 509–10, 512, 514
Arabel 639, 640
Arabia 765
Arabian Nights 600
Arabic 225–26, 228–31, 233–34, 264–68, 279, 282, 289–90, 311–13, 316–18, 323–24, 326, 328-29, 331-32, 335–38, 509–10, 512, 757, 762
Archangelus Madrignanus 147
argumenta 602
Arians 727
Aristotelian 231, 233, 236, 237
Aristotelianism 267, 269
Aristotle 192, 231, 235, 269–71, 274–76, 283,524–26, 529–30, 534, 536–37, 539, 543, 557, 568, 568, 569, 572–73, 688
Aristotle's Advice to Alexander 228, 237–38
arithmetic 270
Armenia 314-15, 321–23, 583
Armenian Orthodox Church 300
Armenians 298, 300, 304–09, 314, 321–23
Armenus, Barda 307
Arndt, Johann 676, 682
Arnulf of Turbessel 327
Arnold of Villanova 682–83
Arnold von Harff 47, 73, 86, 92, 109, 137
Arnstein on the Lahn 344
Arrian 598–99
Arrien 659
art 757, 759, 762, 764, 770
as-Hasan al-Wazzan 152
Âsafnâme 239
Ascalon 301, 318-19, 323
Ash-Sharíf al-Idrīsī 27
Asia 576, 650–51, 654, 655, 757, 760, 762, 768–69, 773
astrology 263–65, 268, 277–79, 281–84, 286, 289, 681, 687, 689
astronomical ideas 266
astronomy 270, 277, 282, 283, 509
Āthār al-Uwal fi Tartīb al-Duwal . . 238
Atlas Chinesis 731
Atonement 727
Aucassin et Nicolette 24, 198
Augsburg Confession 680, 682
Augustijn van Dordt 23
Augustine 229, 244, 245, 254, 604–05, 613
authenticity 764–65
Averroes . 192, 233, 447, 526–28, 550–51
Avicenna 192, 447, 526, 528, 534, 535, 537–38, 545–46, 550–51, 559–61, 568–72, 682
Awhadi 27
Axouch, John 274
Ayios Nikolaos tis Stegis 363
Ayyūbid 329, 332, 335
Azaz 318-19
Bacon, Francis 674, 692
Bacon, Roger 100, 191, 192, 231, 523, 525, 527–38, 540–43, 545–63, 565–68, 571–73, 683, 742
Badā'iʿ al-Silk fī Tabā'iʿ al-Milk 238
Baghdad 226, 231, 233, 238, 265–67, 290
Bahāʾ ad-Dīn ibn Shaddād 327
Bahr al-Favā'id 235
Bajazet II 658–660, 662, 664
Baldric of Dol 453
Baldwin I 323-24
Baldwin II of Jerusalem 320
Baldwin III of Jerusalem 326
Baldwin de Bourcq 322
Baldwin of Picquigny 33
Balian d'Ibelin 332, 333
Balinus 670
Balkans 312
Bandello, Matteo 659
Banū Ashqilūla 561
Banu Munqidh 317
Banyās 321, 331
Baptistère de Saint Louis 357
Baptizatus, Gaifredus 302
Baptizatus, Uldrichus 302
Barani 234

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Download Date | 10/11/14 1:50 PM

Barbarians 25, 74, 109, 180, 183
barbarity 585
baroque 758, 775
Basil the Bogomil 284
Bay of Bengal 586, 590
Bayle 738
Beaufort 331
Bede 448
Bedouin 302, 304, 661
Beirut 293, 301, 335
Bellarmine 241
Benimerines 512, 516
Benjamin of Tudela 49, 69, 71, 73, 75, 78
Beowulf 12, 169–70, 184, 244, 246, 248–51, 255
Bernard von Breydenbach 95, 130
Bertrandon de la Broquière 49
Bescheidenheit 410
bestial and human images 594
Bethlehem 298
Bible 228, 229, 232, 393, 404, 407, 408, 417, 423, 424, 441, 669, 676, 681, 684
Biblical 396, 403–05, 419, 425
Bigollo Pisano 693
Birmanie 654
Bisclavret 458
Bishop Arculf 47
Blaise de Vigenère 658
blemmye 252, 254, 260
Blessed Virgin 412, 413
blitzkrieg 524
blood 278, 286, 288
bloodletting 278, 288
Bocados de Oro 231, 238
Boccaccio, Giovanni . 120, 121, 491, 601
Bodin, Jean 241, 659
Bodley 246, 247, 251
Boethius 156, 650
Bohemond of Taranto 284, 312, 322
Bohemond the Turk 319-20
Bomk 590
Bonaventura 530, 571
Book of the Body Politic 236
Book of Kings 229
Book of Precious Records 26
Book of the Crown 229
Born 738, 748
Bostrum 320
bourgeois 766
Boutoumites 313
Boyle 749
Bradwardine, Thomas 605
Bragmen 577
Brahmins 575
Brant, Sebastian 719
Breu, Jörg, the Elder 149
British 757
Brünhild 629, 631, 633–34, 640, 642
Brut y Tywysogion 15
Bryennios, Nikephoros 271
Bryennios 271–74, 280
Buch der Beispiele der alten Weisen . . . 153, 155, 156
Buddhism 551, 578
Buddhist priests 740
Buddhists 524, 554, 559
Buondelmonti, Cristoforo 137, 138
Burchard of Monte Sion 47, 56
Byzantine culture 264, 265, 269, 278, 285, 290
Byzantium 298, 309, 311, 333, 683
Cabala 674
cabinet de curiosités 764
Cabral 596
Caesar 272, 273
Cairo 226, 229, 231, 238, 326
Calanus 656
Calia e Dimna (see also *Kalila*) 510
Caliph of Baghdad 431, 434, 442
caliphs 268, 326
Calonache 582
Calvinist 680
cannibalism 585–87
cantiga 506, 510, 512–16, 518–21
Cántigas de Santa Maria 352
Capitalism 743
Capitulaciones 508
Cara, Pietro 150
Caracalla 686
caravan 770

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Cardinal Mariscotti 700
Careri 731
carpet 765
Casa de Contratación 707
Casola, Pietro 47, 113
Cassa 46, 104, 125
Cassel 679–80
Castilian 507, 510, 515
cat beards 582
Cathars 466
Cathay 588, 651
Catholicism 726, 737
cautery 289, 290
Cavendish 729
Caxton 231–32
censure 585, 587
Cessay 583
Chadragupta 597
Chalcondyle, Laonicus 658
Chaldeans 535, 556, 704, 713
chansons de geste 427, 459, 485
Chanson de Roland 183
Charles I of Anjou 351, 359, 362
Charles II 721, 726
Charles de la Mure 660
Chassignet, Jean-Baptiste 653
Chaucer 601
child-abuse 585
China 234, 575, 583, 588, 716, 730–36, 651–53, 665, 739–43, 745–46, 750
Chinese language 737, 742–44
Chinese art 744, 746
Chinois 653
Chinoiserie 743–46
Chirurgia 615, 619, 621–22
Chisdai Abu-Yusuf 71
Choniates, Niketas 271, 272, 277
Choniates 271–74, 276, 277, 282–83
Chorography 195
Chrétien de Troyes 169
Christ 390, 394–97, 401, 403, 406–08, 410–11, 413, 415–16, 423–24
Christendom 397–99, 418, 577, 579, 640, 642–43
Christi Milites 450
Christian Europe 576
Christianity 398, 405, 408, 411–12, 414, 418, 420, 424, 425, 512–14, 578
Christians 390, 392, 396–97, 400, 406–07, 409, 411–14, 421, 423–24, 505–07, 509, 511–13, 515–16, 668–60, 687
Chronica majora 344–46
Chroniques de France 346, 348, 372
chronology 583
Cibinensis, Melchior 683
Cicero 232, 598
Cilicia 276
circular 490, 492, 496
climate theory 768
Coexistence 505
Colbert 241, 762
collectanea 603, 606
colonial 757
Colonialism 294
colonization 757
Columbus 607
commerce 578, 762
commodity 771
communicative acts 625
compassion 588
Confucianism 578, 733, 736–37, 740
Conrad III of Germany 278
Conrad III 81
Conrad of Montferrat 311, 332-33, 335, 338-39
Constantine VII 228, 230
Constantinople 266–68, 276–78, 281, 285, 289, 449, 455, 459, 482, 485, 575, 642, 650, 662, 672
contemplation 593
Conversion 511–14
Convert 511–12
Convivencia . . . 40, 61, 62, 135, 136, 188, 505–07, 509–10
Copernicus 573
Córdoba 231, 507
Cormeau 392, 410
Corpse 611–14, 616–23
Corsairs 718–22, 724

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Cosimo di Medici 747
Couldrette 163
Council of Nablus 323
Counsel for Kings . . . 225, 233, 235, 238
Crésus 663
Cribratio Alchorani 199
Cristoforo da Bollate 150
cross-cultural 759, 774
Crucifixion 736
Crucigerus, Eusebius Christianus . . 204, 680
cruelty 587
crusade 390, 392, 395, 400, 402, 405, 410–11, 423, 425
Crusade/Kreuzzug 643
Crusader lyrics 397, 408
Crusader naturalism 348
Crusader handbook 344, 346
crusaders 263, 281–82
Crusades 5–7, 16, 22, 30, 41–42, 45, 69, 82, 171, 173–74, 177–80, 184, 186, 191–93, 213–14
cultural diversity 583, 594
cultural intersection 577
curiositas 595, 598, 637
curiosity 768
customs 758, 762, 763, 769, 770, 774
Cynocephali 343, 577, 603
Cyprus 293, 299, 323, 346, 351, 357–63, 386–88, 649, 659, 667, 672
d'Arenberg basin 359, 379, 380
Dalassene, Anna 272
Damascus 293, 298, 301, 320–21, 328, 331
Damien De Goes 658
Dandamis 656
Dānishmend 322
Dante Alighieri 425
Dāvānī 228, 237
De administrando imperio 230
De amore 478
De consolatione philosophiae 156
De Expugatione Terrae Sanctae per Saladinum 454–55
De Missione Legatorvm Iaponensium . 164
De pace fidei 113–14, 199–200
De rebus in oriente mirabilibus 169
De regimine principum . 223, 231, 235–36
De sophisticis elenchis 275
De unitate intellectus contra Averroistas 528
De varietate fortunae 150
Decameron 120–21, 124, 184, 410
Dernschwarm, Hans 143
Descartes 726
La Descrittione dell'Africa 152
devil 395, 397, 407
Devisement 196
diamond 759, 764, 770
Diana 581
Dido 670
Dietrich von Schachten 47
Diodore de Sicile 655
Diogène 656
diplomacy 762, 767
diplomat 761–63, 766, 767, 774
Directorium vitae humanae 154, 155
Disciplina clericalis 59
disguise 763, 764
dissimulation 761–64
diversity 576, 577, 583, 593, 594
Donne, John 208, 733, 734
Doukaina, Eirene 273
Doukas, Constantine 271
Doukas, Michael 266
dragon 581
Dragoman 324, 325
Drugoman 324
drama 758
Draper 731
Druckproduktion 629
Druckrezeption 629
Dubois, Pierre 449, 455
Duke Louis I of Anjou 618
Dutch East India Company 732
Dyrrachion 271
eagle 399–400
East China Sea 583
East 757, 758, 760, 762, 763, 767–72, 773, 774
Eastern Christians 328

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Eastern travelers 576
Eastern Rite 699, 700, 707, 709
Eastern 757, 769, 774
Ebstorf 170
eccentricities 582, 588
Echo 498, 499
Eckhart 628, 631, 637, 645
eclipse 266
ecology 402, 411
Edessa 311, 322, 323, 326, 329
Edit de Nantes 759
Edward I 568
eels 587
Effendi, Ahmed Resmi 144
Effendi, Yirmisekiz Çelebi Mehmed 144
Egeria 47
Eginhard 69, 70
Egypt 266, 282, 326-27, 612, 617, 674, 682–84, 730, 747–48
Egyptian hieroglyphs 747
Eigentliche beschreibung 46, 94
Eine kurtze Beschreibung 204
Einhardt 596
El libro de axedrez, dados e tablas 510
Elegie 422, 423, 425
Elijah of Ferrara 85, 671, 681
Elisabeth of/von Ungarn 639
Elizabethan 677
Elphahallo 119, 122
Embalming 611–22, 668
emissary 761, 763
Emperor Conrad II 620
Eneas 436, 441
England 577
engraving 766, 774
Enlightenment . . 716, 727, 733, 735, 746
entrepreneur 759
Envoy 315, 319-20, 326, 333, 335-36
Epicurean 267
Epidemics 285
Érasme/Erasmus of Rotterdam 658
Eratosthenes 597, 599
erbärmde 417
Erzherzogin 630
Esotericism 750
Essais (Montaigne) 201
Estienne, Henri 660, 662
Estoire de la guerre sainte 330, 332
ethics 760, 772
ethnographer 763
Etymologiae 169
Euclid 64, 234. 267
Eudoxus 606
eunuchs 271
Europe 757, 763, 765–70, 772–74
European 757, 763, 766, 768–70, 773–73
Eustratios, Metropolitan of Nicaea . 275
Evagatorium in Terrae Sancta 46, 94
Everyman 577
exchange 578, 772
exotic 629, 644, 757, 765–66
exoticism 757, 766
Ezaz 318
fable 590
Fabri, Felix 39, 46, 48, 93–120, 122–30, 132, 133, 137, 164
fabulae 597, 602, 604
Fāṭimid 7
Fakhr ad-Din 32
Fall of Constantinople 625
Fama Fraternitatis 202
Fantasm 546
Far East 576
Faraj ben Salim 351, 373
Fāṭimids 323, 326-27
Faust 681
Fazlullāh b. Rūzbihān Khunjī Isfahānī 237
Feindbild 643
Fénélon 737–38, 744
Ferdinando de' Medici 723
Fernando III 505, 507–08
fête champêtre 360
Feyrabend, Sigmund 95
Fez 674
Ficino, Marsilio 747
Fifth Crusade 524
First Crusade 281, 311–16, 322-23,
(cont.) 326, 334, 337, 450–53, 456
Firuz 314–15
fitna 601

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Flamel, Nicolas 692
fleur-de lis 357
Floire and Blancheflor/Blanscheflur 24, 198
Fontevrauld 618
Fortunatus 20, 77–79, 169, 184, 185, 218, 457, 467, 481–86
Fountain 498–500
Fourth Crusade 282
France 576, 757–59, 761, 763–64, 766–67, 769–70, 772–73, 775
Francis of Assisi 41–46
Francisco de Almeida 148
François de Belleforest 659
François de la Noue, ... 662
'Franco-Syrian' society 296
Franks 291, 292, 294–309, 443, 451
Frederick I 630
Frederick II 32–34, 39, 46, 176, 191, 345, 352, 449, 455
Frederick III 119
free will 540, 541, 547, 549, 557
Freemasonry 693
Freer canteen 349, 353–56, 359, 377–78
Fremdheit 638
Fremdwahrnehmung 643
French language 299
French 577, 584
Friedrich I. 630
Frobischer 607
Froissart 602–03
Fulcher of Chartres 298, 307, 308, 314, 316, 321–23
Fulk 12, 31
Galen 279, 286–88, 611
Galilee 303, 304
garb 762, 765–66
Garden of Eden 361, 735, 747, 749
garment 765
Gasparo Balbi 654
Gellius 606
gelotophobia 107
General estoria 510
Genesis 735
Genghis Khan 237
genre 225–28, 241
Geoffroy de la Chassaigne, sieur de Pressac 652
geometry 270
Georgiewitz, Barthélemy 661
Georgius of Hungary 141, 207
Gerald of Cahors 451, 453
Gerard of Cremona 197, 431, 614
Gerard of Borgo San Donnino 530
Gericht 632, 635, 638, 640
Germany 674, 682–83, 692
Gervase of Tilbury 604
Gesta Dei per Francos 316
Gesta Francorum et Aliorum Hierosolimitanorum 452
Gesta Francorum et Aliorum Hierosolimatanorum 314
Gesta Francorum Jerusalem Expugnantium 314
Gesta Orientalium Principum 318
Gesta Tancredi 314
Gesta Romanorum 410
gharib 599
Gibbon, Edward 280
gift 772
Giles of Rome 235
Glanvill 751
globe 765
Glykas, Michael 279
God of Love 499–501
Godfrey of Bouillon 312, 319
Gog and Magog 345–46, 522, 555, 564–65
Goodman 735
Gouguenheim 275, 276
Graf Rudolf 429
grammar 270, 271
Granada 505, 507–08, 512, 515–16
Grande Mahomerie 32
Great Khan 559, 588, 591
Great Palace 273
Greco-Arabic Translations 265, 268, 282
Greek Orthodox Church 295
Greek/s 264–70, 275, 279, 281–85, 289, 290, 298, 305–07, 309, 312-13, 315, 318, 322, 338 575

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Gregory IX 41
Gregory VII 215, 216
Gregory XIII 652
Gregory Abū'l Faraj 323
Grenzverwischungen 645
Grosseteste, Robert 527
Grünemberg, Konrad 47
Guibert of Nogent 316, 434, 451
Guillaume (William) II 38
Guillaume de Lorris 186
Guy de Chauliac 615
Guy de Lusignan 335
Gyburg 638, 639
Gymnosophistes 656
Habsburg Empire 702
hajj 25
Hakluyt 601, 607, 609
Handschriften 629–30
Hangchow 583
Hanno 606
Hanway 745
harmonic theory 270
harrowing of hell 406, 408
Hartlib, Samuel 749
Hartmann von Aue 638
Hārūn ar-Rashīd 17
Harun ibn Yahya 26
Harvey 730
Hasarth 318
Haslmayr, Adam 670, 671
heathen 389, 395, 396, 398–400, 405, 416, 418–19, 421
heaven 582
Hebrew 685
hegemon 760
hegemony 510, 517, 578, 594
Heidelberg 680, 690
heiden (pagans) 391, 399, 407, 415, 421, 424–25
heidenschaft 396, 397, 401, 421, 425
Die Heidin . . . 184–85, 457, 476, 478, 480
Heilsgeschichte 403, 411, 413
Heinric en Margriete van Limborch 23
Heinrich von Veldeke 436
Heiric of Auxerre 596
Hejaz 684, 687
Hellenism 263–68, 277, 280, 285, 289, 290
Hellenistic legacy 268
Henri III 662, 664
Henry de Mondeville 609, 613–14, 618–20, 622
Henry II of England 277
Henry III 531, 568
Henry IV 215
Henry de Mondeville 197
Henry the Navigator 149
heraldic symbols 399
heresy trials 265
Herluin 315-317
Herman of Carinthia 9
Hermann von Sachsenheim . . . 148, 157, 198–201, 625, 627, 630–31, 633, 634, 638–39, 642–46
Hermes Trismegistus . 209, 687, 690–91
Hermetica 747
Hermitage 589
hero 762
Herodotus 597
heroic epics 459
heroic 762, 765, 767
Herrad of Landsberg 613
Herzog Ernst 20, 77, 184, 429, 457, 466–69, 483, 486
Herzog von Braunschweig 23
Heß, Tobias 203
Hincmar of Rheims 229
Hippocrates 279, 287
Hisham II 189
Historia Iherosolimitana 316
Historia naturalis 343
Histoire d'Outremer 348–49, 359
Historia Peregrinorum Euntium Jerusolmam 313, 317
Historia Rerum in Partibus Transmarinis Gestarum 316, 318
Historia Troyana 603
Histoire Universelle 341, 342, 348, 359–62, 383–85
Historia ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum . 17
Historia Occidentalis 44
Historia orientalis 342

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Hobbes 239, 241
Hoccleve, Thomas 236, 239
Hogarth 753–54
Holy City 417
Holy Land 292, 293, 295, 296, 390, 392, 395–97, 400–02, 405–13, 415, 417, 418, 421, 423, 425, 667, 672
Holy Roman Emperor 393, 396, 424
Holy Mary 513–14
Holy Land 446, 451, 453, 455
Homer 270, 278, 281
Homs 329
Honorius Augustodunensis 597
Hortus deliciarum 613
Hrotsvita of Gandersheim 3
Hugh of Caesarea 326
humanist 757
Humbert of Romans 449, 455
humors 285–88
Humphrey II of Toron 326, 338
Humphrey IV of Toron . . . 332, 337, 339
Husayn Vā'iz Kāshifī 237
Hybridity/Hybridität 506–07, 516, 645–46
Hyphasis 689
I Ching 747
Iarchas 689, 690
Iberian Peninsula 231, 236, 505–08, 508, 512
Ibn-al-A'rabī 67
Ibn al-Athīr 325, 330-34
Ibn al-Azraq 238
Ibn al-Hajar 40
Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ 229, 230
Ibn al-Qalānisī 314, 325-26
Ibn Baṭṭūṭa . . 195, 595, 596, 600–02, 606
Ibn Fadlān 127
Ibn Jubayr 36–41, 96, 97, 324
Ibn Khaldūn 238
Ibn Khordadbeh 29
Ibn Rushd 233
Ibn Rustah 26
ibn Wasil 32
Ibn Yahya 26
Ich-Erzähler 634, 635, 638, 646
identity 762–66, 774
idol 589
Idrísí-Map 21, 63
Ihyā' ʿUlūm al-Dīn 233
Il-Ghazi 320-21
Iliad 270, 281
Ilyas bin Hanna al-Mawsuli . . . 158, 204, 701, 713
image 493–94, 496–98, 500–01
ʿImād ad-Dīn Zangī 321
imagery 490, 501, 503
imperialism 578, 585, 717
Incarnation 727
Indes 653, 655–56, 659, 665
India 226–29, 232, 234, 237–39, 582, 587, 590, 716, 729, 730, 732, 738, 745, 758, 760–61, 763, 770
India Recognita 150
Indica 597
Indus Valley 234
Inferno 407
Informationsaustausch 645
Ingebrand 401, 403, 412
Inquisition 671
Integration 640
interaction/Interaktion 625–26
intercultural 625
Interkulturalität 628
Intermediary 319-321, 324-25, 327-29, 333-34, 336-37
Interpreter 315-17, 319-20, 324-26, 329, 332-37
Introductorius ad Evangelium Aeternum 530
invention 757
Irenaeus Agnostus 204
Irving 730
Irwin 725, 751–52
Isaac ben Sid 352
Isaac 69–71, 85, 214
Isabella of Jerusalem 333, 335, 338
ʿIsā ibn Jābir 9
Isidore of Seville 169, 244, 602, 606
Isis 748
Iskandar nāma 356
Iskendernâme 238
Islam 268, 392, 397, 402,

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(Islam, cont.) 420–21, 424, 511, 578, 642–43, 669, 674, 670, 715, 717–18, 721–30, 736, 752, 769
Islamic 391, 396, 401–02, 405, 418, 424, 757
Ispahan 762, 769
Israel 294
Italicus, Silius 654
Italos, John 269, 275
Italy 609–10, 619
itineraries 758, 766
Itinerarium Peregrinorum et Gesta Regis Ricardi 333
Jacob Ben R. Nathaniel Ha Cohen . . . 85
Jacob ben Nathaniel ha Cohen 69
Jacob 1, 69, 79, 85, 90, 93, 95, 96, 110, 128, 131, 160, 165, 188
Jacobites 292, 299
Jacques de Lavardin, ... 663
Jacques 23, 43, 44, 95, 198
Jacques de Vitry 43, 342, 343, 347
Jaffa 334, 337
James of Venice 267, 275
Jan de Langhe 605
Japan 651, 716, 730, 732, 733, 735–36, 741, 750
Jean d'Arras 163
Jean de Léry 149, 661
Jean de Meun 118, 186, 489–92, 494, 500, 503
Jean sans Peur 659
Jechiel of Paris 85
Jehuda ben Moses 352
Jerónimo Osório 656
Jerusalem 311-14,317-26,328-39, 577, 672–73, 686–87, 761
Jesuits 676, 736, 739–40
Jesus 394, 405, 414, 417, 426
Jew 510
Jewish 418, 505, 509–10, 512, 516
Jews 292, 294, 298, 299, 301, 303–04, 309, 390–92, 394–96, 407, 409–11, 413, 414, 421, 407, 424, 505–06, 509, 511–12, 516, 626, 637, 641, 726, 736, 748
Jews of Kaifeng 736
jihad 22, 213, 446
Jiménez de Cisneros 136
João de Barros 653
Joel 154
Johann von Würzburg 479
John II 276, 285
John de Plano Carpini 10
John of Acre 346, 348, 372
John of Capua 154, 155
John of Lancaster 618
John of Montecorvino 10
John of Salisbury 167, 232
Joinville 603
Jonas of Orléans 229
Joos van Ghistele 47
Jordanes 597
Joscelin of Turbessel 322
Joseph of Arimathea 616
Jove, Paul 653, 662
Juan González de Mendoza 652
Juan de Segovia 9, 10, 160
Judaea 304
Judah Halevi 68
Judaic 402, 407
Judaism 420
Judgment Day 419
Jules César 654
Jüngere Titurel 638
Kabbalah 727, 747–48, 750
Kafir 730
Kaiserchronik 436
Kalila and Dimna (and variants) 154, 226, 227, 229, 232, 237–38, 266
Kallikles, Nicholas 285–87
Kant, Immanuel 239
Kassel 680
Kaufringer, Heinrich 477
Kecharitomene Monastery 274
kelek 706
Kempe, Margery 57, 124
Kenzü'l-Kübera (Treasure of the Great) 238
Kepler, Johannes 527, 573
Kerboghā 315-17
Kerman 772–73
kharjas 60

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Khartpert 307
Kilij Arslan 277
Kınalızâde 228
King Corsablix 454
King Alfonso 514, 516
King Charles VII of France 618
King Edward I of England 614
King Henry V of England 618
King Hugh IV 358–59
King Henry I of England 620, 622
King Louis X of France 615
Kingdom of Jerusalem 311, 312, 318-24, 326, 328-29, 331-32, 334, 336-39
Kitāb al-I ʿtibār 328
Kitab al-mathal al-sāir fi adab al-kātib wa-al-shā`ir 205
Kitab al-Mansuri fi al-tibb 197
Kitāb Nushat al-mushtāb fi 'khtirāb al-āfāk 62
Knights of Saint-John-of-Jerusalem . 761
Koexistenz 645
Kommunikationsformen 627
Kommunikationshabitus 637, 643
Kommunikationsmittel 633
Kommunikationspartner 633, 641
Kommunikationsprozesse 626
Kommunikationsschwierigkeiten . . 636
Kommunikationssituationen 627, 628, 646
Kommunikationsvarianten 639
Kommunikationsverhalten 634
Kommunikationsweisen 646
Komnene, Anna 171, 263, 265, 266, 270, 272, 280
Komnenian 265, 280
Komnenos family 264, 270, 280
Konfliktpotential 637
König Rother 429, 475, 478
Konrad von Würzburg . . . 185, 457, 471, 472, 475
Konsens 634, 637, 638
Konsensbestrebungen 638
Konstantin von Ostrovica 143
Koran (see also Qur'an) 508
Koranic 508
Kreuzlied 397, 412–13, 418
Kreuzzug poetry 403
Kreuzzugslyrik 390, 392, 397, 401, 403, 412, 424
Kulturtransfer 626, 637
Kulturtransferansatz 626
Kulturtransferforschung 626, 646
Kulturvermittlung 626
Kydones, Demetrius 290
Lady 499, 501
Lamprecht 256
landscape . . 392, 396, 400, 401, 404, 405
lantrehtære 408
Las Cantigas de Santa Maria 190, 512
Last Judgment 613
Latin Church 291, 295, 300, 308
Latin 264, 268, 275, 277, 282, 290
Lebanon 295, 300, 305
Leibniz 750
Les six voyages 210, 211
Lessing, Gotthold Ephraim . . . 410, 750
Letter of Prester John 15
Letter of Alexander the Great 11, 171
Letter of Tansar 227, 229–30
Letters Writ By A Turkish Spy 728
Levant 311, 315, 317, 320, 322, 323, 325, 326, 328, 333-335, 337, 338 397, 401, 404, 407, 412, 421
Levantine 401, 410
Lewenklaw, Hans 142
Lex Mahumet pseudoprophete 9
Libavius, Andreas 681
Liber Insularum Archipelagi 137, 138
Liber medicinalis ad Almansorem 197, 614, 616
libri naturalis 527
Libro de acedrex, dados e tablas . . 351, 352
Lima 700, 708, 710–11
limpieza de sangre 136, 708
lion and the hare 495
lion 399, 400
Lipsius 241
literary hoax 576
literary tactic 581
Liudprand of Cremona 17

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Locke, John 726–27, 749
locus amoenus 498
logica nova 275
Lohengrin 479
Lollards 464
Lombards 443
Louis VII 81, 344
Louis IX the Saint 176, 564, 567
Louis XIV 144, 701, 705, 758–59, 764–65, 776
Luc de la Porte 652
Ludolph of Sudheim 47, 362
Ludovico di/de Varthema 147, 149, 150, 196, 221, 222
Lull, Raymond 683
Lunandus 344
Lusignan 357–59, 362
Luther, Martin 464, 675–76, 680–82
Lutheran 675–76, 680–81
luxuriance 589
Luxury 743, 745
Maatzuiker 738
Macchiavelli 168, 202
Macedonian Renaissance 265, 267
Macedonian dynasty 265
Machiavel/Machiavelli 665
Machiavel (character) 679
machiavélien 664
Machiavelli 224, 225, 234, 236, 239–40, 677, 681
Macrobius 494, 501
Macrobius 606
madhabs 600
Maghrib 674
Magi 735, 747, 749
Magog 347–48
Mahomet 659–62, 664, 726
Mahomet II 659–60, 662, 664
Maier, Michael 682
Maier, Michael 204
Makarios III Foundation in Nicosia 362
Mamluk 48, 53–55, 92, 96, 119, 124, 129, 131, 134, 178, 238, 761
Manaqib Rashīd ad-Dīn 336, 337
Mandeville, John 49, 56, 78, 95, 149, 151, 193. 244. 250, 461, 468, 595, 598, 601, 603, 605, 607–09
manheit 400
Manuel I Komnenos 81, 171, 263–65, 267–68, 272, 276–79, 281, 283, 286, 289
map 764–65
mappa mundi 170, 461, 593
Marana 728
Marburg 679, 681
Marcellus, Nonius 606
Maria of Alania 271
Marianus 312
Marie de Bretagne 618
Marie de France 458, 468
Marlowe, Christopher 677
Maronites 292, 299, 300, 305, 309
Marsh 730
Martianus Capella 597
marvel/s 575, 577, 581, 594
Marvels of the East 343
Master of Hungary 547, 558, 566
material culture 342, 350, 354
Mathnawī 186–94, 499, 503
Matthew of Edessa 15, 322–23
Mauritania 681
Mauritius von Craûn. 478
Mazarin 241
mæren 476, 480
Mechthild 630
medical knowledge 264, 278, 285, 286, 289
medical learning 264
medicine 263, 264, 269, 277–79, 282–84, 289
Megasthenes 597
Mehmed II 202
Mehmet 660
Mejeredin (Mujīr al-Dīn) 320
Mela 596–98, 606, 607
Melke 586
Melkites 292, 295, 304
Melusine 583
Menavino, Giotto Bondone 43
merchandise 766, 767
merchant 757–63, 767–68, 770–75
Mercurio da Gattinara 664

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Die Merfart 148
Meshullam Ben R. Menahem of Volterra 86–88
Mesopotamia 291, 307, 309
Miasma theory 620
Michael of Ephesus 275
Michael VII Doukas 271
Michel de Montaigne 201
Middle East 389–93, 396–99, 402, 413–14, 424–25
Middle East 757, 769
Mieszko I 2
Migrationshintergrund 645
Millennium 671, 692
milte 400
Milton, John 675, 734
Minnelied (courtly love song) 390
Minneprozess 630
Minnevergehen (infraction in matters of love 629, 635
Minority 509–10
Mir'at al-Zamān 235
Mir'at al-Mulūk 238
mirabilia 595, 598, 603–08
Miracles 727
mirror 491, 493–94, 496–99, 503
Mirror for/of Princes 166–67, 532, 223–28, 230, 232–36, 237–42
mission 761
Die Mörin 198, 200, 201
Mohammed 582, 676, 680, 725-26
Mohammedan 680
Monastras 313
Mongol 228, 237, 524, 547, 523–24, 551, 554–56, 560, 564–67, 573, 577
Mongol Empire 577 560–61, 564–67, 573
monstrosity 589
monstrous 576, 577, 579–80, 582, 585, 588, 591–93
monstrous races 343, 344
Mont-Saint-Michel 275, 276
Montague, Mary Wortley 208
Montaigne 649–65
Monte Cassino 313
Montpellier 615
Moor/s 505–08, 511–17
Moorish 506–09, 511–14, 516–17
More, Thomas 258
Morfia 314, 322
Morgan Picture Bible 348
Die Mörin 625, 627–40, 642–46
Moriscos 9, 10, 136, 188
Morocco 667, 674, 681, 684
Moses 747–48
mosque/s 508, 511, 763
mudéjar/es 188–90, 505–06, 508–09, 512–14, 516
Mudhayyal Tārīkh Dimashq . . 314, 325
Muhammad 425–26, 433, 435–37, 441, 446
Muhammad V 61
Muhammad ibn 'Abbâd 35
Muhammad Ibn Abi ʿAmir Al-Mansur 189
Muhammad ibn Qasim 23
Muhammad Ibn al Zain 357
Muhammad ibn Zakaiya Razi 351
Muhjī ed-Din Ğemali 142
Mujīr al-Dīn (see Mejeredin)
Muley-Hassan 662
Muley-Mohamed 662
Muling,Johann Adelphus 629, 644
multiculturalism 538, 569
Multilingualism 34
multiplicity 576
Mummy 612
Münchner Oswald 429
Muqaddasī 599
Murad I 238
Murūj ah-Dhahab 26
musk 770–71, 773
Muslim power 577
Muslim/s 390–92, 401, 407, 412, 421, 505–11, 508–09, 511–12, 516, 636–37, 641–42, 643, 645, 575, 717–18, 720, 722–30, 740, 751
Muslim Spain 226
Muslim dignitary 360
Muslim poetry 356

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Mustafa ʿÂlî 168
mustaghribīn 354
muwashshaa 60
Najm al-Dīn Ayyūb
Abū [sic] Muhammad
b. Abū Bakr b. Ayyūb 356
Nanchardin 51
Naples 619
Narcissus 498–501
Narid 601
narratives 577, 579, 581
narrator 577, 581, 588–92, 594
Narsingue 656–57
Nasīhat al-Mulūk 225
Nasīr al-Dīn Tūsī 235
Nathan der Weise 410
nature of reality 579
Neoplatonizing 269
Neugier (see also *curiosity*) 636, 637, 643
Neuwe Chronica Tuerkischer Nation . . 142
Neuwer Musulmanischer Histori Türkischer Nation 142
New Testament 393, 403, 414, 417
New Barbarians 443
Newton, Isaac 727, 749
Nibelungenlied 170
Nicaea 312–13
Nicene Creed 404
Nicholas V 119
Nicholas of Cusa 10, 14, 113, 114, 160, 199–200
Nicodemus 616
Nicolò de' Conti 150
Nicomachean Ethics 275
Nietzsche, Friedrich 715
Nieuhoff, Jan 732
Ninachetuen 656
Nizām al-Mulk 228, 233–35
Noah 734, 747
noblesse 657–58
non-Western world 578
Norman Sicily 268
North Africa 757
Nūr ad-Dīn 326–27, 329
Obadiah 88–91
Obadiah Jaré da Bertinoro 88
Occident 650–51, 659, 665
Occidental 625
Occidentalism 20, 160, 207
Ockley 725–26, 747
Odoric of Pordenone 10, 603
Odyssey 270
Öffentlichkeit (public) 627
Ogier Ghislain de Busbecq 661
Okzident 628, 634
On the Offices and Powers of Spirits . . 546
On the Death of the Soul 546
On the Notary Art 546
On the Seals of Solomon 546
On Stellar Rays 544
Opus geographicum 63
Ordoño II 3
Orendel 429
Oresme, Nicholas 605
Organon 275
Orient 578, 593–94, 651, 653–55, 657, 659–60, 625, 628–29, 631, 633, 634, 637, 638, 645, 646 663, 665, 757–60, 762, 764–71, 773–75
Oriental 578, 593, 625, 628, 645, 762, 765–66, 768, 770, 773–74
Orientalism 12, 14, 20, 22, 139, 142, 148, 160, 169, 171, 204, 207–11, 214, 246, 462–63, 484, 757, 758, 760, 773–75
Orientalist 757–58
Origen 749–50
Original sin 727
Orphanage 285
Orthodox 265, 281
Österreich (Austria) 630
Ostrogoths 443
Othello (character) 169
Othello 243, 244
Other . . . . . 389, 391, 396, 398–400, 403–07, 410–13, 417, 421, 423, 425, ... 507–10, 513, 515–16
otherness 766
Otia imperialia 604

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Ottenton 392–94, 401, 415, 424
Otto I 2–4, 71, 393, 395–401
Otto of Freising 434, 439
Ottoman advice literature 238, 241
Ottoman Empire . . 718–19, 722–23, 727, 728, 730, 737, 740, 750, 706, 709, 714
Ottoman Turks 444, 448
Ottoman/s 18, 50, 98, 137, 140–42, 144, 145, 156, 162, 185, 202 223, 228, 240–43, 650, 659, 664–65, 672, 758, 768–70, 773
Outremer 291–94, 297, 298, 300, 303, 308, 309, 342, 344–46, 349, 350, 353, 359
Palaiologan 266
"Palästinalied" 401–03, 410–11, 419
Palermo 277, 290
Palestine 291–94, 296, 299, 303–05, 307
Panagia Phorviotissa in Asinou 363
Panchatantra (see also *Pañacantra*) 227, 229, 601
Panegyric 359, 361
Pantokrator Monastery 285
Pañacantra (see also *Panchatantra*) . . 154
Pasquier, Étienne 653
Paracelsus 203–04, 701–72, 674, 676, 681, 684, 692–93
Paradise 582, 590
Paris, Matthew 344–46
Paris 344–46, 612–13, 615, 617–20, 757–62, 764–65, 767, 769, 770
Partonopeu de Blois 470
Partonopier und Meliur 185, 471, 472, 475
Parzival 14, 15, 20, 124, 169, 176, 180, 182, 184, 198, 425, 430, 431, 434, 436–39, 441, 442, 469–71, 475, 479, 481, 486, 638
Pasha, Lütfi 168, 239, 240
Patarenes 464
Paul Walther of Guglingen 95, 131
Pegu 654–55
Pelagius 3, 4
Peninsula 505–08, 510, 514–16
pepper 288
Perceval 169, 431
Peregrinatio in Terram Sanctam 95, 110, 130–32, 220
Persia 758, 760, 762–64, 766, 768–75
Persian 317, 321, 758, 762–64, 766, 768–70, 772, 775
personification 491, 501
Perspektivenwechsel (change of perspectives) 638
Petachia 81–84
Peter the Hermit 315, 316
Peter the Venerable 9, 436, 439
Peter of Poitiers 9
Peter I 61
Petrarch 195, 596
Petty 721, 742
Peutinger Map 63
Pfalzgraf 630
Pfalzgräfin 630
Philip Augustus of France 311
Philip le Bon 49
philosopher king 272
Philosophers' Stone 683–84
philosophy 264, 265, 267, 269, 271, 275–77, 284, 289
Philostratus 688, 690
phlegm 286
Phoenix 683, 689
Phrasebook 323
physician 264, 269, 278, 284
Physics 275, 283
Pietro d'Argelata 615
Pierre de l'Estoile 662
Pietro Della Valle 139
pilgrim 761, 763
pilgrimage 667, 761
Pirates 718, 720, 724, 751
Pitts 725
Pius II 114
plagiarized 594
Plato 232, 270, 276, 283, 654
Platonic 691–92
Pliny 244, 344, 597, 606–07
Plotinus 691–92
Plutarch 655, 656

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Poema de Mío Cid 61, 62
poetics 271
Poggio Bracciolini 149, 150
Polemon 549
Policraticus 167, 224, 232–34
political philosophy 226
Politics 275
Polo players 354, 356, 380
Polo, Marco 2, 10, 11, 27, 56, 75, 76, 78, 147, 195, 207, 209, 244, 250, 258, 576, 594–96, 603, 605, 607, 608, 651, 693
Polomee 590
polygamy 589
polytheistisch 642
Pomponius Mela 195
pool 494, 496, 498–501
Pope Alexander 73
Pope Clement IV 526, 529
Pope Francis 215
Pope Gregory XV 704
Pope Gregory VIII 454
Pope Innocent III 449, 455
Pope Urban II 347, 451, 453
Porus 655
possession of women 582
Postel 655, 748–49, 757
Posterior Analytics . . . 275, 527–28, 569
postkolonial 645–46
pre-Islamic Persian 227, 229
preexistence of souls 749
prejudices 577
Prester John 470, 603
Prisca theologia 747–48
Le Prise d'Orange 180
production 576
propaganda 401–03, 411, 425
propagandistic 390, 395–97, 399, 402, 412, 418, 421, 425
prophecy 675, 689
prostitution 585
Protestant Reformation 486
Protestants 726
Ps. Ovid 552
Psellos, Michael 265–67, 269
Pseudo-Yahya 569
psychology 594
Ptolemy 282
public (see Öffentlichkeit)
purgatives 287
pygmies 588
Pythagore 656
Pythagorean 689
Qur'an (see also Koran) 446, 454, 481, 492, 497, 554, 561
Quadrivium 270
Qualawun Nasir al-Din Muhammed 357
Queen Blanche 547
Rabbât, Antûn 700, 706, 711
Rabelais 8
races 577, 579, 585, 592
Racial 506, 514
Raguel 4
Rainier of Montferrat 81
Ralegh/Raleigh, Walter . . . 243, 607, 735
Ralph of Caen 314
Ramsey 734, 750
Ramusio, Giovanni Battista 147
Raymond III of Tripoli 329
Raymond D'Aguilers 316, 319, 323
Raymond of St. Gilles 451
Raymond of Toulouse 312, 317, 319
Ra'ıs/Rayses 324–25
Recemundus of Elvira 4
Reconquista 136, 189, 459
Reden 633, 636
reductive polarization 578
reed 493–94, 497
referentiality 580
reincarnation 750
Reinfried von Braunschweig . . . 20, 24, 77, 467, 475, 479
religion 508
religious practices 575, 589
Renaissance 576, 583–84
René de Lucinge 659, 662
repopulating 509–10
Republic 272, 283
res gestae 602
resurrection 736
Reubeni, David 91

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Reuwich, Erhard 130, 220
Reynald de Châtillon 330, 335
Reynald de Sidon 329, 331–33, 335–39
Rhazes 176, 197, 351
rhetoric 263, 270, 271, 275, 280–81, 283
Rhodomerus 313
Ricci 733, 735–36, 739
Richard I of England 311, 333, 338
Richard of Cornwall 345
Richard of the Principate 313, 317, 326, 338
Ricoldo da Monte Croce 56
Riḍwān of Aleppo 318
Rieter, Sebald 47
rila 66, 195, 205–07, 595, 600–02
risāla 599
Risāla fī al-Sahāba 229
Rites Controversy 737
robbers 18, 108–09, 112–13, 115–17, 126, 129, 211, 770, 774
robbery 115
Robert de Boron 440
Robert of Chester 686–87
Robert of Ketton 9, 10, 686
Robert of Rheims 451
Robert the Monk 316
rodents 588
Roger I 62, 146
Roger II 62, 268, 277
Rolandslied 181, 429, 432, 433, 436, 441–42
Rollenverteilung 628
Roman de la Rose 186–87, 489–94, 498, 500, 503
Rome 267
rose 489–94, 498–503
Rosencreutz, Christian 202, 669–71, 671, 676, 687, 691–93
Rosenplüt, Hans 141
Rouen 618, 619
Royal Society 751
Rudolf of Ems 15
Rudolf II 675
Rūmī 38, 41, 186–88, 489–92, 494, 496, 497
Ruska, Julius 685, 670
Rust 750
Rustichello 195, 603
Saadya Gaon 69
Safavid 761, 775
Sahib al-Diwan 324
Said, Edward 14, 22, 156, 204, 605, 608, 702, 715, 717–18, 729, 734, 738
Saint Bernard 344
Saint Bonaventure 42
Saint Boniface 170
Saint Brendan 170
Saint Denis 618
Saint Francis of Assisi 41
Saint François Xavier 651
Saint Louis 661
Saint Nicholas of the Roof 363
Saint Pedro de Mezonzo 189
Saint Petersburg 589
Saladin 36, 292, 303, 311, 325, 327–37, 447, 454
Saljūqs 312–13, 321
Samaritans 292, 294, 303, 309
Samson, Samuel Ben 85
Saracen beliefs 581
Saracens 298, 299, 301–04, 308–09, 315, 317, 325, 343, 345–46, 372
Sardanium 320
Saris 736
Sassanian Persia 282
Scaliger, Juste-Joseph 652
schedography 271
Schiltberger, Hans 143
Schonung 640
Schweigen 633, 635
scientia 605
Scientific Revolution 716, 749
Scott, Michael 681
Second Crusade 278–81
Secret of Secrets/*Secretum* . . 167, 192, 226, 230, 231, 233, 237–38, 531–33, 544, 573, 531–35, 537, 541, 549, 557, 564–66, 568, 570
Segregation 506
Selcath 320

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self-fashioning 763, 774
self-mutilation 590
Sélim II 660–64
Semedo 736
Sendivogius, Michael 683
sensory details 580
Sermon on the Mount 404
Seth, Simeon 266, 282–83
Seu-ma Kouang 652
Seven Sages 601
Sevilla 507–08, 515
Şeyhoğlu Mustafa 238
Shakespeare 169, 243–44
Shaizar 317, 319, 328
Shangri-la 405
Shaqīf Arnūn 331
Shawār 326
Sheba 673, 687
Shebbeare 745
Shīʾa 601
Shīrkūh 327, 328
Shīʿite 326
Sibylla of Jerusalem 329
Sicard of Cremona 616
Sicily 234, 313, 315, 317
Sidon 301, 329, 331–33, 335–39
Siete Partidas 190, 352, 506, 511
simulacres 589
Sionpilger 47, 94–96
Sirāj al-Mulūk 167, 232, 233
Sirr al-Asrār 226, 230, 231
Skiapods 597
Smith, Thomas 716, 749
Socrates 656, 665, 744
Soliman le Magnifique (see also Suleiman) 658, 660, 662, 664
Solinus 597
Solomon 673, 687
Somaber 590
Song of Roland 454
Sorbonne 737
Sorel, Charles 660
sound 493, 494
South Vietnam 582
space 226, 232–35, 238, 391–93, 396–98, 401, 405–07, 411–12, 414, 417, 421, 424–25, 611, 614, 645, 671, 683, 686, 692
Spanish *Mirrors for Princes* 226
Speculum regum [The King's Mirror] 228–29, 236
Speyer 620
Der Spiegel 198, 629, 638
Sprat, Thomas 742
Sprenger, Balthasar 148, 196
Spruchdichter 408
Spruchdichtung 390
Sprüche 401, 412, 417
spy 761, 763
Stamperia Orientale 723
Stephanus of Alexandria 275
Stoic 267
Strabo 201, 597–99, 655
Stubbe 726
Suétone 654
suffocation 587
Sufism 601
Suleiman the Magnificent 140, 239, 485, 749
sultan of Tunis 347, 351, 373
sultan 658–60, 663–65, 761, 764, 766
Sultan al-Malik al-Sālih 356
Sultan Mehmet IV 705
Sultan Muhammad ibn Qalāʾūn . . . 357
Sumatra 584, 590
Sunnī 326
superiority 760, 767–68, 773
supersessionist 463
Suriano, Francesco 47
surveillance 394, 407
Symbola Aureae Mensae Duodecim Nationum 204
Syria 291–93, 295, 296, 298–300, 303–05, 307–09, 315, 317, 319-325, 328, 329, 336, 338
Syriac 317, 701, 704, 707
Syrians . . . 293, 298–300, 303–05, 307–09
Tʿoros, king of Cilicia 307
Tablas Alfonsíes 509–10
Tacitus 444, 456, 664
Tahāfut al-Tahāfut 233
Tatikios 312

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Talmud 681
Tamerlan 658–60
Tancred 313–14, 317, 326, 338
Tangiers 721–22, 751
Tannhäuser 635
Tate 745
Tavernier, Jean-Baptiste . . . 207, 210–11, 757–75, 777–79
taxes 769–71
Taxila 688
Tea 715, 726–27, 731, 735, 738, 740, 745–46
Telegu 234
Templars 328
teratology 159
Ternate 654
Tertullian 254
Tetrabiblos 282
Teutonic Knights 671
Thadi 107
The Book of Government 233
The Book of Ways and Kingdoms 70
The Chemical Wedding of Christian Rosencreutz 203
The City of God 228
The Customs of the Tartars 565, 571
The Discovery of Guiana 243
The Letter of Alexander to Aristotle 246, 256
The Life of St. Christopher 246
The Path of God's Bondsmen from Origin to Return 235
The Prince 223, 240
The Theory of the Magic Art 544
theft 770–71, 773
Thenaud 761
Theophrastus von Hohenheim (see also Paracelsus) 203
Thevet, André 658
Thévenot 757, 763, 765
thieves 767, 769
Third Crusade 311, 327, 329-33, 337–38, 344, 360, 452
Thirty Years' War 208
Thomas Aquinas . 80, 235, 269, 290, 526, 568, 680, 681
Thomas à Becket 233
Thomism 525
Thoros of Marash 322
Thucydides 270
Thüring von Ringoltingen 163
Tiberias 330
Tiberius 246, 247, 251–57, 259–61
tiftik 704
Tikkun 748
Timur 237, 238
Titurel 428
Toland 726
Toledo 506, 507
toleration 577
Tongjian, Zizhi 201
Tordesillas 700
Tornikes, George 270, 286
Tortosa 232
Tractatus quomodo Sarraceni expugnandi 48
Transferphänomene 624, 643, 644
Transjordan 299, 304
Transkulturalität 643
translation 226, 230, 234, 236, 237, 240, 507, 508, 510–11, 514
Translator 318
transportation 766
Transubstantiation 724–25, 736
travel literature 592
travel 9, 16, 24, 27, 29, 36, 49, 71, 72, 82, 95, 122, 137, 139, 147, 149–53, 193–96, 208, 210, 212, 756–65, 765–69, 772
traveler 757, 758, 760, 762–65, 767–69, 772
Travels (Mandeville) . . 243, 250, 480–82
Travels of Friar Odoric 580
Trinity 724–26, 734, 742
Tripoli 311, 318, 319, 329
Tucher, Hans 47
Tudebode, Peter 449, 451
turban 760, 763, 772
Turks 653, 657–59, 661, 662, 720–21, 726
Türkengefahr 641

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Authenticated
Download Date | 10/11/14 1:50 PM

Turkish 235, 238, 241, 641
Turkish bath 726
Turkish women 726
Turks 277, 298, 299, 306, 717–19, 721, 725
Tūsi, Asadi 228, 235–37, 361
Tyre 316-318, 320, 321, 326, 331, 336–37
Twelfth-Century Renaissance 267
Tzewers, Wilhelm 47
Ulrich von Etzenbach 477
Unitarian 725
universal 576, 591
Universal Salvation 747
Universities 609–13, 618–21
unnatural 580
Us (vs. Them) 503–05
Usāmah ibn Munqidh 30, 328, 338
Utrecht 618
Valignano, Alessandro 164
Vasil, Kogh 322
Vatican II 215
Vaughan, Thomas 204, 666, 668, 685–86, 690
veil of allegory 489
the Venerable Bede 17
Venetian 759, 760
Venice 668–69
Venus 623, 626, 629–34, 638, 640, 642–43
veracity 584
vernacular 234–36, 238
vernacularization 235
Verständigung 632–33, 643
Verständigungsdefizit 633
Verständnisprobleme 634
Vézelay 343, 344, 346, 368, 369
Viceroyalty of New Spain 698
Viceroyalty of Peru 708
Vilayet Antila 704
Virgil 668
Virgin Mary 510–13, 726, 734
Visigoths 441
Vitellius . 244, 246, 247, 250–52, 256, 257
Vitruvius 603
Le Voyage d'Outre-Mer 49
Voltaire 736
voyage 759, 763, 765, 769, 774
Waldensians 462
Waleran of Le Puiset, lord of Bira . . 308
Walter the Chancellor 306
Walther von der Vogelweide 178, 389, 391–95, 398, 401, 404–13, 415–25
Warton, Joseph 743
water 488, 492, 495–98
Webb, John 732, 733, 740, 745
Weishaupt 748
Weltchronik 15
west-östlich Dialoge . 623, 627, 630, 641
western world 623
Western sensibility 578, 584
Westminster Abbey 612
Wiener Hofton 418, 419, 421
Wilhelm von Boldensele 47
Wilhelm von Österreich 473, 477
Wilhelm von Wenden 477
Willehalm 14, 21, 175, 176, 180–82, 184, 186, 198, 200, 410
Willehalm 425, 428–34, 436, 437, 439, 460, 473, 483, 484, 623, 630, 636–41, 644
Willelmus Baptizatus de Blanca Garda, ... 302
William IX of Aquitaine 59
William of Rubruck 10, 562–63
William of Malmesbury 435, 437
William of Tyre . . . 80–81, 298, 303, 305, 307, 316-318, 320, 326, 342, 347, 361, 452
Wolff 748
Wolfram von Eschenbach 14, 15, 20, 21, 124, 175, 176, 180–81, 184, 186, 198, 200, 426, 428–31, 436, 455, 460, 463, 467, 623, 630, 636–38, 639–41, 644
Wonders of the East 11, 168, 170, 196, 243–48, 252, 256, 258
wool 768–72
worship 580, 587
Württemberg 627, 629
xenology 5, 6, 159

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Xénophon 657
Yates 745
yellow bile 286
Yemen 685
Yeni Dünya 697–98, 701, 710
Yūsuf 336
Zabhne, Makhtbhanuth 322
Zangī 321, 329
Zardanā 320
Zhamanakagrutyun 322
Zhang Chao 734
Zohar 746
Zoroastrianism 576
Zoroastrians 770

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